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WHY PARADOX? THE CONTRADICTIONS OF MY LIFE AS A SCHOLAR

BY

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Distinguished historian Caroline Walker Bynum discusses influences on her work in medieval European history as teacher and scholar and draws conclusions about methods of writing history.

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When I entered the Harvard Graduate School in fall 1962 to study history, the department secretary asked me immediately what field I really intended to pursue. "You put on your application medieval or early-modern history," she said. "You must decide so we can assign you an adviser." Profoundly unsure, I thought for a few minutes and then chose the Middle Ages. I have not been sorry for the choice. But that choice is not the point of what I recount here. The point is rather that my confusion about where to locate my interests either chronologically or disciplinarily was nothing new. I had tried four different undergraduate majors before settling on history and had done so more because it gave a great deal of latitude than because I thought it—or any other major—was what I really wanted. Yet, had I been asked in 1962 what sort of history I wanted to write rather than what period I wanted to study, I could have replied without hesitation.[1]

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[1]For an exploration of the forces from my childhood, especially the role of both religion and region, that shaped my need to situate events in their historical context, see

Perhaps I could have articulated only awkwardly the complexity of what I thought doing history was, and I am certain that I looked pretty much unsuccessfully for a model of this approach during my graduate student days. But I was never unsure of what sort of questions I wanted to explore. It was not just that I wanted to study religion in its historical context, although that might have served as a short answer had the department secretary asked me what sort of topics I wished to pursue. It was rather that I had a deep conviction that cultures have basic assumptions about issues I could think of only as ontological and cosmological; that these assumptions are in part conditioned by the structures of the society; and that studying religious practice as well as religious theorizing was a way of ferreting out these assumptions, which (even with my 1960s optimism and naïveté) I never assumed to be internally consistent. So I began graduate study with a profound uncertainty about how I fitted into the structure of the Harvard curriculum and indeed, given a rather ragged undergraduate preparation at the University of Michigan, an inadequate grounding to do any very sophisticated research. Yet I already possessed a tough sense of what I thought was really worth doing. In other words, a contradiction between disciplinary insecurity and self-confidence in my own curiosity.

It seems to me that this initial contradiction mirrored what came to be a fully acknowledged contradiction in my vision of history itself: the contradiction between an effort to find the basic structures of thought, the deep assumptions characteristic of the particular period of a culture, and yet a commitment to a variety of perspectives—that is, to the recognition that within any period there are radically different voices that cannot be reconciled or reduced to each other. And as I never, I think, managed to reconcile the oppositions of disciplinary and chronological diffuseness, on the one hand, and what one might call clarity of methodological commitment, on the other, so I did not reconcile the contradictory desiderata that underlay my scholarly approach. I did, however, come to reject profoundly the idea that the reconciliation of opposites, synthesis following upon dialectical oppo-

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"Curriculum Vitae: An Authorial Aside," *Common Knowledge,* 9, no. 1 (2003), 1–12; published in a slightly different version as "My Life and Works," in *Women Medievalists in the Academy,* ed. Jane Chance (Madison, WI, 2005), pp. 995–1006. The present essay is a complement to the earlier one. Remarks about my efforts to teach graduate students, which are also autobiographical, can be found in "Teaching Scholarship," *Perspectives on History,* December 2009, 14–16.

sition, mono-causal answers crafted after considering alternatives, was possible or desirable. This rejection came to be rooted not only in personal stance and in the historical method to which I was instinctively drawn but also in a sense of what life is like. What is the opposite of opposites, I have often asked myself during my growth as a scholar. And the opposite to opposition is not answer but paradox—that simultaneous (not serial) affirmation of the totally irreconcilable, incompatible, opposed. When Eamon Duffy reviewed my most recent book in the *New York Review of Books* last summer, he commented quite rightly that paradox had become a familiar theme of my work—almost a mantra.[2] It has. But that is so because I feel as if I can never get away from students, colleagues, and the general public asking: But what's the real reason? What does it all come down to? How could medieval people have held those funny, incompatible beliefs and done such silly, incompatible things? To which the only answer is: So do we. Because life is like that.

As I emphasized in my presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1997, quoting a wall slogan from the Paris student revolution of 1968 that had long been tacked on the bulletin board in my office: "Toute vue des choses qui n'est pas étrange est fausse." (Every view of things that is not strange [i.e., bizarre or foreign] is false.)[3] Only when we really see the oddness of the past—and of our own present as well—do we begin to ferret out the anxieties, structures, and fundamentally incompatible needs that shape lives. And, as the slogan says, it is not "toute chose" that is "étrange" but "toute vue des choses." It is not so much that the bits and pieces of the past we encounter are bizarre (although they are) as that the view we must take of them (for taking a view is not optional) must preserve their foreignness. We must stub our toes over bits of the past that strew our path where we least expect them and accept that these bits will be as incompatible yet simultaneous as life and death. Writing history is like performing ritual. As the Dutch anthropologist J. C. Heesterman says about sacrifice: "Sacrifice deals with the riddle of life

[2]Eamon Duffy, "Sacred Bones and Blood," *New York Review of Books*, August 18, 2011, 66.

[3]Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review,* 102 (1997), 1–26; rpt. in Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York, 2001), pp. 37–75. For the slogan, see Stephen Spender, *The Year of the Young Rebels* (New York, 1969), p. 42. For other methodological remarks, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "In Praise of Fragments: History in the Comic Mode," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), pp. 11–26.

and death, which are ultimately linked and at the same time each other's absolute denial. The riddle cannot be resolved, it can only be reenacted."[4] Writing about the culture of the past is a little like such reenactment: striving to contain in a single sentence or paragraph the simultaneous yet contradictory glory and horror of the world, without muting the incompatibility and utter strangeness of either.

With this as introduction, then, I tell the story of my journey toward becoming a historian, emphasizing contradictions as well as continuities. But my final point will be not contradiction but paradox—the opposite of opposites.

I did not find my voice in graduate school, and my dissertation was only marginally successful. History was mostly institutional history at Harvard in those days, at least when it was not flirting with the new fields of cliometrics and quantification. All of us were excited by those odd index cards with holes along the sides that were to be cut out so one could put a knitting needle through them and shake out one's data according to various themes one coded in—an early paper form of the search engine. We graduate students tried to count many uncountable things. But by and large, we were taught conventional philology by professors who were studying institutional developments. My mentors, Giles Constable and Charles Taylor, were doing research on monastic and secular taxes respectively. They taught me a care for the genre of documents and their immediate context, and a need to consider the historiography of every topic; for this I have always been grateful. If they had been asked (as professors were not in those days), "what is your methodology?," they might well have answered what David Stone, a Member at the Institute for Advanced Study, answered a few years ago to the same question: "My method is knowing what you're talking about." As I remember it, all my professors tended to begin their lectures, and their published articles, with a survey of the relevant literature in many languages going back well into the late-nineteenth century. And I have continued to impose such a sense of required expertise on my own students, who often think anything published before 1990 is out of date. Hence I am inclined to say, to the dismay of students: yes, this topic on the tactility of altar furnishings, for example, is a wonderful one, but you really need to read Joseph Braun on "der Altar" (1924), or Eduard Dumoutet on "le désir de

[4] J. C. Heesterman, *The Broken World of Sacrifice: An Essay in Ancient Indian Ritual* (Chicago, 1993), p. 2.

voir l'hostie" (1926), or Reiner Haussherr on "der tote Christus" (1963) before you take another step.[5] My teachers had a sturdy integrity that cut no corners in research; there was never a sense that one should publish for careerist reasons, or that one should publish in haste at all. Extreme care to take the past in its own terms was the norm, perhaps buttressed by a confidence that came from security in a Harvard setting that knew what "we" assumed and therefore should avoid projecting back. Fortunately, several of the good habits of our mentors stuck with my scholarly generation—habits of caution, historiographical attentiveness, and scrupulous fairness to scholars who came before. It was from my teachers at Harvard that I learned that the footnote is neither a place to parade one's learning nor an exercise in one-upsmanship, but an opportunity to say "thank you" for what one has learned from the literature of the past, both primary and secondary.

Nonetheless, for all the support I found in my mentors' nuanced determination to put the past in its own context, buttressed by their keen historiographical habit, I did not find in graduate school the way of doing history that I was looking for. I had caught a glimpse of it as a sophomore in a history-of-science course I had taken with John Murdoch while at Radcliffe (before I transferred in my junior year to the University of Michigan); I caught another glimpse during my second year of graduate school when I studied briefly with Hannah Gray, who visited for a semester to replace Myron Gilmore who had taken a leave of absence to direct I Tatti. But the only place I encountered it fully was when I discovered M. D. Chenu's *La théologie au douzième siècle* (1957).[6] Father Chenu's sense of the Gospel at work in the world seems perhaps a bit naive today, and perhaps also a little sad, given what has happened to the vision of the Second Vatican Council he embodied. But I was not a Catholic and was relatively immune to the ideological currents in the Roman Catholic Church that led to some of his emphases. For me, to read Chenu's collection of essays was to encounter a historian doing in print what I had always known I wanted to do—ferret out the basic assumptions that

[5]Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1924); Edouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie: les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement*(Paris, 1926); Reiner Haussherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz: zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes* (Bonn, 1963).

[6]Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, [Études de philosophie médiévale 45], (Paris, 1957); partially translated into English by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Chicago, 1968).

drive religious thought and practice while understanding such assumptions to be almost infinitely complex, responsive to fundamental characteristics of social structure, and derived from other cultures (Chenu's attention to Arab influence has sometimes been forgotten) as well as indigenous.

I do not remember that I talked to anyone much about Chenu, although I was excited enough about the essays to translate some of them into English for my undergraduate tutees in History and Literature, developing a healthy respect for the liquid and elegant (almost untranslatable) style in which the arguments were presented. But then I had a chance to meet Chenu himself. In 1967, while a graduate student, I decided to attend the meeting of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Philosophy in Montreal. Most of the major figures in the field were there, and the place was awash in clerical collars. I hung out with a group of Francophone students from Quebec, and given the limitations of my spoken French, I mostly listened. On the last day of the conference, as we students took our accustomed place in the far corner of the cafeteria, we looked up to see Chenu bypassing the head table where the other worthies were sitting. "May I join you?" he asked. "I'm tired of sitting with the old folks. I want to find out what the young think about the world." Then he questioned us not only about how we perceived trends in medieval scholarship but also about *aggiornamento* and the Church, about sixties radicalism and war. And he listened. When we looked up, the cafeteria was empty. Everyone else had gone on to the afternoon sessions, while we, engrossed in our discussion, had not heard the room emptying.

Despite my best efforts, my dissertation did not turn out to be very Chenuian. And I lucked into an assistant professorship at Harvard more on the strength of my performance in the oral examinations, I suspect, than owing to any excellence of research. I submitted my thesis on the day students occupied University Hall to protest ROTC on campus, and my first teaching as a full-time faculty member was done in 1969–70, with the whiff of tear gas wafting in from Harvard Square and massive student strikes during Cambodia spring. I was young; thus I had in many ways more sympathy with the students than with the department faculty. Yet increasingly I felt at home in neither group. The student leadership was male, and indeed the crucial, close-to-the-bone issue was a male issue; women did not have to decide whether to give up their citizenship or their integrity if they opposed the war in Vietnam. The faculty was male, too. In spring 1970, there were approximately 670 members of the faculty of arts

and sciences; only ten of them were women, and all the women were in the assistant professor rank. (The Zemurray-Stone chair, endowed for a woman, was vacant at the time.)[7] I had barely noticed the gender imbalance when I was a graduate student; I was too busy exploring Widener Library and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, teaching bright and articulate Harvard and Radcliffe tutees, and debating anthropological theory and, yes, Marxism with graduate student peers (who were all men—something I barely noticed, so excited was I by the play of ideas I'd had little of at Michigan or in my large Atlanta high school). Once I became an assistant professor, I noticed that I had almost no female colleagues. So did my friend Janet Martin in Classics. After making a thorough study of the Harvard situation, using the statistical techniques 1960s students employed so enthusiastically, Janet and I spent the night in Boylston Hall cranking a mimeo machine, turning out the first, informal report on the status of women and requesting that the dean establish a committee to look into why the numbers were so skewed. In response, Michael Walzer and I were asked to cochair a committee that produced in spring 1971 the "Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences." It was a radical document, none of whose recommendations (for parental leave, a halt to the tenure clock for junior-faculty women who gave birth, better procedures for mentoring women graduate students and conducting searches, and so forth) were adopted by the Harvard faculty, but it became a model that circulated widely and influenced changes in procedures and atmosphere at several other major universities.

I encountered a good deal of personal animosity during these years. I received hate mail, some of it pornographic. Much of the hostility was quite overt. Such things were permissible in those days. Two examples will suffice. The wife of a faculty member in the English department accosted me in the little parking lot behind the faculty club, saying, "You have no right to a job here. You are taking the bread out of the mouth of some young man who has a wife and children to support. I was always content to be Mrs. _____; why can't you be content to be a wife?" A male member of my department sought me out while I was looking up a book in the Widener Library card catalog to tell me, "I suppose you think you are going to get tenure for yourself by this sort of activity; I warn you, you aren't." The second

[7] *Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences* (Cambridge, MA, April 1971), Table I, p. 73.

attack hurt more than the first because in my innocence, I had never assumed that my activity would do me anything other than harm. Nor had I ever assumed that tenure was a possibility. I had simply discovered that I had to act.

This is not the place to describe in any further detail the Harvard politics of those years. But they cannot be simply passed over without gloss. For that period in my life as a scholar was as deeply characterized by contradiction as the periods before or since. No matter how engaged I was in holding hearings for the Committee on the Status of Women or in counseling female graduate students, I was also teaching and writing medieval history and in doing so was resisting some of the academic feminism of the 1970s. It was not until the later 1970s, when I wrote the article "Jesus as Mother," that I found something like a Chenuian voice and began to feel satisfied with my scholarly stance. But the lessons of my Harvard graduate school mentors—lessons of attention to context and genre, and avoidance of presentism—were never in the early 1970s forgotten. I could no more have undertaken to "update" Julian of Norwich, changing her tough-minded exegesis of the parable of the servant and her feminine language for the Trinity into the cozy new-age spirituality espoused by some activists, than I could have ignored the cruelty of some of the academic discrimination and condescension around me.[8] To do either would have seemed to violate the basic integrity of other human beings. In order to explain this, I need to examine the development of my scholarship from another direction.

There was a contradiction in the way my scholarly interests grew that characterizes the work of most scholars. At the moment topics are undertaken, their genesis often seems accidental, even arbitrary, impelled by the moment. Yet when one looks back, there are usually deep connections between what one studied last and what one takes up next. Certainly there have always been threads in my work that carried me forward from one subject to the next, yet timely and almost fortuitous impulses as well have led to my questions. Following both the fortuitous and the continuous will take me back to the deeper contradictions I felt in the 1970s and early 1980s as I

[8]Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*, ed. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, [Studies and Texts 35], 2 parts (Toronto, 1978). For my own sense of Julian, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 204–08.

moved from studying religious men ("religious" in the technical French sense of "those in orders") to studying religious women.

My dissertation, later published as *Docere Verbo et Exemplo* (1979), grew out of a desire to look at the ways in which a sense of obligation to community and neighbor shaped the vocations of men in the twelfth century who chose to join orders of monks or regular canons. It was shaped both by the presence in much literature of spiritual advice of the little tag "to teach by word and example" and by my intuition that responsibility for one's impact on one's companions and the broader community would be felt in different ways depending on the extent to which the order in question was withdrawn from the world or committed, at least in part, to clerical work within it. I had originally intended to include the polemical literature of the period—and it would have been a better study and one with more consequence if I had done so—but I was persuaded to take a narrower focus in order to deal more thoroughly with the material. That was probably sage advice to give an apprentice scholar, especially one who needed to work on paleography, codicology, and even Latin. In any case, the most valuable aspect of the dissertation for me was probably the pursuit of the manuscript work necessary to study Stephen of Paris's unedited and extremely long commentary and—a very different sort of challenge—my plunge into the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux to situate within his spirituality the little treatise "The Steps of Humility," which I treated as a commentary on the Benedictine Rule. Perhaps the most valuable aspect for other scholars was the appendix in which I located and characterized all extant sources of two types written by the two religious groups in question: commentaries on the rules of the two orders and works of advice and instruction for novices. Nonetheless, I did not feel then—and do not feel today—that the study succeeded. I made the argument that the clerical vocation of the regular canons shaped their spirituality to include in more direct ways responsibility for neighbor, but I did not fully articulate the nuance of the rather different monastic commitment to some version of the same responsibility; and I vacillated in rather confused prose between the distinctiveness of each treatise I studied and an argument concerning the different sense of identity of the two vocations, which I probably overstated.[9] In other words, I

[9]Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo* (Missoula, MT, 1979). Bynum, "Wonder," is much more successful at ferreting out the contradictory assumptions of different groups, or one might say "discourse communities."

failed to find a balance between two impulses: to recognize distinctive and incompatible voices and to dig out the basic, not fully conscious or articulate-able, assumptions of groups or religious milieux. Yet it was in reading the Cistercians St. Ælred of Rievaulx and the sometimes disparaged St. Bernard of Clairvaux that I came upon the language that led to the essay "Jesus as Mother," where I finally found a way—if not of reconciling then at least of simultaneously asserting—the distinctiveness of a voice and the assumptions of a group.

I wrote the article "Jesus as Mother" during the summer I was in transition between Harvard, where I had moved from the History Department to the Divinity School in 1972, and the University of Washington, where I began to teach in fall 1976. I would doubtless not have written it without the stimulus of the politics of the Divinity School, which were angry and presentist and which, in ways too complex to discuss here, I opposed as much as supported. But it was also a response to my sense, from reading the advice Cistercians gave to their novices and from being myself a teacher at a time of enormous challenge to the pedagogical role, that the responsibility to advise and instruct others is a weighty and even dangerous one. Nor—enjoined by my own teachers to begin always with a survey of existing scholarship—would I have written it without the guidance of the 1949 essay by André Cabassut, which should have been groundbreaking but had gone almost unnoticed at the time of publication.[10]

It was undoubtedly the title (later used, at the publisher's insistence, for the volume of essays I published with the University of California Press in 1982) that drew attention, but the article itself was not a contribution to the 1970s pressure to update and feminize liturgical language nor was it, to the surprise of some readers, about women. The argument of "Jesus as Mother," put simply, is that twelfth-century monks who occupied positions of authority used feminine, often maternal, imagery for both God and self to express newly complicated notions of what it means to lead, and that their roles were newly complicated exactly because of broad social and economic as well as religious changes that resulted in an increased sense of the importance of individual choice in religious vocation. The essay was actually an early example of what would later be called "men's history"—that is, the study of male attitudes, not as the norm but as spe-

[10]André Cabassut, "Une dévotion médiévale peu connue: la devotion à Jesus Notre Mére," *Mélanges Marcel Viller*, *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique,* 25 (1949), 234–45.

cific to only half (at most) of the human race. It was also, I felt, my first successful attempt to ferret out unspoken assumptions and anxieties behind texts without violating individual voices. Some of the argument spilled over into my essay "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?," which maintained, against a good deal of 1960s scholarly debate about when "individuality" emerged, that increased awareness of individual choice and self-assertion is inevitably accompanied and even impelled by a greater self-awareness of group identity. In other words, to define self is to define not-self. Some of the argument of "Jesus as Mother" also led to the little essay on the nuns of Helfta, which was the final article in the 1982 collection; that essay led, after many years of further work, to *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

The study *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, my most influential book, arose almost seamlessly from "Jesus as Mother." Having explored the pressures and opportunities that led certain groups of religious men to use explicitly gendered images for themselves and for the divine, I was curious about whether religious women did so. And I discovered, again to put it a bit simply, that what seemed distinctive about woman-authored texts and male accounts of women was not awareness of gender or complex and self-conscious use of gendered language, but food images and food practices. Although misunderstood by some critics as "essentializing" (this was a nasty charge in the 1990s) or as a glorification of female masochism, it was in fact neither. The argument that women's texts were characterized by specific metaphors and their lives by specific behaviors was not the imposition of modern assumptions about "woman." It was empirical, based on a careful comparison of female-authored texts about the divine, female-authored texts about women, and male-authored texts about women, with texts about men by religious men, such as St. Francis of Assisi or Heinrich Suso, who appeared to be closest in their spirituality to that of women.[11] I could not, after all, explore all male-authored texts from three centuries, but I thought (and still think) that this was an ingenious solution to the question of how to choose material for comparison: that is, to choose the material that appears on the face of it most likely to prove your provisional conclusions wrong.

Moreover, the book was not an apology, or an excuse, for female self-punishing. As I stated explicitly in my epilogue, no one today

[11]Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 94–112.

would hold out the behavior and piety I described as a model for his or her own daughter. My point was rather to see what women at a particular moment in the past made of the cultural material they had at their disposal (and I argued that they made of it a kind of agency and a kind of truth), not to urge their choices or their sensibility on the present, or to use modern medicalized models to explain it.

In writing *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, I was not only responding to my own essay of the mid-1970s on male language; I was also inserting myself into number of traditions concerning women's history, some going back to the early years of the twentieth century, some considerably more recent. As far as the religious content of women's experience was concerned, there had long been a tendency to psychological reductionism, especially when treating the sort of visionary and ascetic phenomena about which historians had the largest amount of evidence, both through women's own writing and through accounts about them by confessors, hagiographers, and inquisitors. For example, William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), for all its phenomenological awareness and its antireductionism, became reductive when it treated women's religiosity. James took the visionary texts written by and about medieval women as cases of psychopathology:

> A[n] . . . example . . . of theopathic saintliness is that of St. Gertrude, a Benedictine nun of the thirteenth century, whose "Revelations" . . . consist mainly of proofs of Christ's partiality for her undeserving person. Assurances of his love, intimacies, and caresses and compliments of the most absurd and puerile sort, addressed by Christ to Gertrude as an individual, form the tissue of this paltry-minded recital. In reading such a narrative, we realize the gap between the thirteenth and the twentieth century, and we feel that saintliness of character may yield almost . . . worthless fruits if it be associated with such inferior intellectual sympathies. . . . A God indifferent to everything but adulation, and full of partiality for his individual favorites, lacks an essential element of largeness; and even the best professional sainthood of former centuries, pent in as it is to such a conception, seems to us curiously shallow and unedifying.[12]

"Theopathic," "paltry-minded," "intellectually inferior," "shallow and unedifying"—not only is this a condescending dismissal not accorded to other forms of religiosity with which James disagrees, it is also a

[12]William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902; New York, 1961), p. 275.

fundamental misinterpretation of what he calls Gertrude's "Revelations," which is a multiauthored text whose basic message is the importance of community (not personal reassurance).[13]

But even where women's practices such as fasting or prayer to the baby Jesus were not taken as pathological and or potentially heterodox, scholars often reduced them to mechanisms of psychological compensation, as if celibate women prayed to a baby God because they did not have babies of their own or fasted because they hated their bodies. In the early years of the twentieth century, the only place where texts authored by women were regularly studied without reductionism and condescension was by philologists, who did notice that some of our earliest examples of European vernacular languages occurred in woman-authored texts. It seems that it was acceptable to study the adverb in the Flemish poet Hadewijch but not very interesting to consider seriously the ideas those adverbs expressed.

Where women's religiosity was taken seriously in early-twentieth-century scholarship was in the long tradition of treating it as compensatory in a socioeconomic sense. If we look, for example, at the discussion of the so-called *Frauenfrage* (the "woman problem") in German scholarship, we find that it was taken up enthusiastically by American medievalists, who were attracted to the notion that the increase of religious opportunities for women in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries was the result of changing dowry structures and the marriage market. According to such interpretation, the informal religious groupings known as *beguinages* that were in fact the first real women's movement in Western history were understood as places created to park unmarriageable or "surplus" women. Not only did this deny what we today call female agency, treating women's groups and structures as mere reactions to what men did, it also tended to interpret as economic arrangements the great outburst of female literary and religious creativity that was a major factor in changing the religious attitudes of both women and men. Herbert Grundmann, who resisted this and, in the 1930s, attributed to women both agency and creativity, was virtually unknown in the United States until the 1960s and not translated into English until 1995.[14] (Grundmann's reputation

[13]For this interpretation, see Anna Harrison, "I Am Wholly Your Own: Liturgical Piety and Community among the Nuns of Helfta," *Church History*, 78 (2009), 549–83.

[14]Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter; Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden*

has, quite rightly, suffered recently, especially in Germany, as his Nazi connections and postwar efforts to hide them have become known.) I was not the first American medievalist to discover Grundmann—whose impact on me was at least as great as Chenu's had been more than a decade earlier—but I discovered and used his paradigm at a time when another model of women's history, broadly speaking, was reigning in American historical scholarship. This was, of course, the exuberant and highly politicized feminist history of the 1970s. Although I was, as I have explained, a committed feminist in my efforts to open up the misogynist academy I had known at Harvard, the women's history popular in the 1970s and early 1980s was, for me, a complicated and in some ways problematic context.

It is hard, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, when work on women's texts and women's lives is so multifaceted and sophisticated, to remember how politicized—and in some ways, crude—it was in the 1970s. Much of it was engaged in counting women and in giving grades to historical periods. This sort of history was very preoccupied with the so-called "status of women," which was thought to go up and down in history, but to be always suppressed by what was called "the patriarchy." It was a curious approach—one that has been questioned by most later feminist historians. For how can half the human race have "a" status? It is true that we do today have indices of maternal health, women's literacy, women's wages relative to men's, and so forth, that can be used to construct a worldwide comparison of women's statuses across cultures in a socioeconomic sense. But there were—and are—problems with using this approach for the Middle Ages in general and for the topic of medieval religion in particular.

First, medievalists lack statistical evidence for many of these categories. For all the recent progress in medieval archaeology and demography, we still have only very fragmentary information about such basic matters as life expectancies, age at marriage, infant mortality, and so forth. And even what we thought we knew about the

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und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik (1935; rpt. Darmstadt, 1977); trans. Steven Rowan, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, introd. Robert Lerner (Notre Dame, 1995).

changing structure of the medieval family from clan to lineage has recently been questioned by much good research. Second, as feminists such as Denise Riley have pointed out, "woman" is clearly an unnuanced category.[15] Not only does it ignore class; it also puts various sorts of incommensurate cultural phenomena on a spectrum as if they are parallel. For example, if there are more women troubadours than before, but peasant women *and men* are still starving, does "the status of women" go up or down? Is the opportunity to enter a convent, or the experience of being forced into one, oppression or liberation in a period when the dangers of arranged and abusive marriages and of death in childbirth were high? Third, much of the women's history of the 1970s was so busy casting blame for the absence of women in certain categories that it did not notice where the women were. To point out this blind spot in 1970s and 1980s feminism is not to deny that it saw important beginnings of the search for hidden women and new efforts to find and read their texts. It did. But there was also much assuming that women's voices were not there and much seeking of answers for the presumed absence that was driven more by theory than by research.[16]

Two further assumptions framed the model of women's history that prevailed when I began to do the research for *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. From the 1970s, indeed well into the 1990s, some interpreters suggested that women's writing was not women's writing at all. Under the influence of certain forms of French feminism, it was sometimes taken as a kind of false consciousness, a ventriloquism; women, not just when viewed by men but even when themselves writing, were interpreted to be merely conveying male stereotypes of the female. Second, a great deal of the feminist scholarship of the 1970s—and this was particularly true in the area of women and religion—assumed that women need female symbols. That is, that the goddess and the mother as religious figures appeal to women, whereas gods of war, for example, appeal to men. It was a kind of divine role-model argument, and it is difficult today to remember how prevalent it was and how inappropriate for the study of the Middle

[15]Denise Riley, "*Am I that name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (Minneapolis, 1988).

[16]Two recent works that counter this trend and have discovered significant new information about women's artistic and literary activity are Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997) and Alison I. Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (New York, 2004).

Ages. For example, Marina Warner's *Alone of All Her Sex*, a brilliant cultural study that has had a liberating influence on many contemporary Catholic women who feel burdened by their tradition with unrealistic and contradictory expectations of being simultaneously virgin and mother, has been less helpful as a guide to medieval Christianity.[17] I see little evidence that medieval women or men took the virgin so literally as a symbol. The linkage of gender and gendered symbol in a one-to-one relationship drew scholars in the 1970s and early 1980s toward judging medieval writers with contemporary standards—just the sort of thing William James did to such unfortunate effect, albeit with a very different agenda.

Holy Feast and Holy Fast went against the grain of such scholarship. Unconcerned with ascertaining or judging the status of women, unconvinced that people necessarily express gendered assumptions in language that is explicitly about gender, but far from denying the force of gendered values or of patriarchy in the medieval church, I saw texts by and about women not as ventriloquism but as creative, even courageous, self-expression. Such interpretation located places where the male scribe or confessor who did the recording resisted what he was being told and let the historian see his resistance, or where (to take another example) he wrote down the woman's vernacular utterances exactly because they were not in Latin and could not be rendered in it. It also located points where the women, in their own writing, explicitly or implicitly criticized and rejected norms or turned them in new directions.

There was another deep vein of twentieth-century scholarship against which *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* stood. This was the assumption, found in scholarship about religion emanating from Catholic, Protestant, and secular circles, that medieval Christianity was dualistic.[18] Valuing the soul and heavenly rewards, promoting virginity, celibacy, fasting, and asceticism, the religion of the Middle Ages was understood to purvey a message of body-hating that was especially damaging to women, who tended to be equated with Eve, uncleanness, and sexual temptation. Although rejecting the cosmological dualism of the Manichees and Albigensians, which supposedly

[17]Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York, 1976).

[18]For an example, see Jacques Le Goff, "Body and Ideology in the Medieval West" and "The Repudiation of Pleasure," in *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1988), pp. 83–85, 93–103.

assumed evil to be a force in the universe equal to good, Christianity, especially in its medieval version, was understood to theorize the human person as a soul trapped in a body, from which it sought release by often extreme forms of self-mortification such as flagellation and self-starvation. Hence the female behavior I studied in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* was to be interpreted either as the abnormal psychological response of women whose culture led them to extravagant gestures toward bodily control and self-denial or as a religious pathology induced by a fear of sex often laid at the door of St. Paul. In arguing that women's food practices (such as charitable distribution and food miracles) gave them control of what was often the only family resource they could control and that their self-discipline (even in some of its most extravagant forms) was a kind of change rung on the body to induce the pleasure of encounter with God, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* ran up against a deep secular distrust of religion and an equally deep distrust in modern religious thinking of any form of renunciation. Yet behind the bizarre behaviors I studied in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (and I always had that wall slogan on my bulletin board reminding me of the need to keep my vision of things "strange"), I found a counter-intuitive and paradoxical affirmation of person as psychosomatic unity. It was that sense of person that some of the essays in *Fragmentation and Redemption* (1991) began to explore. And that is what *The Resurrection of the Body* (1995) is about. It is an argument against understanding the anthropology (that is, the theory of person) of medieval Christianity as body/soul dualism.[19]

The Resurrection of the Body did not, however, arise seamlessly from *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. It was impelled, most specifically, by a suggestion from my old friend, the Renaissance historian Donald J. Wilcox, who was dying of AIDS in 1990. He had wanted to work on the topic himself. It was also facilitated by two almost simultaneous events. In July 1986, just before accepting a position at Columbia University, I was awarded a MacArthur fellowship—the grant, known in the press although not by the foundation, as the "genius award." Like many MacArthur fellows before me, I plunged into what can only

[19]This is not to deny that there are elements of practical dualism in medieval Christianity, or that a sense of spirit striving against flesh can be religiously useful. On this, see Peter Brown, "A Tale of Two Bishops and a Brilliant Saint," *New York Review of Books*, March 8, 2012, 29. Striving with and striving against the flesh are often, of course, indistinguishable in religious practice, and the importance of both in medieval Christianity is evidence of the fact that body was understood to be crucial to person.

be called MacArthur guilt. Why me? Since I didn't deserve it, what should I do to earn it retroactively? Shouldn't I retool? Become something more relevant? Go to Africa and cure dengue fever? Found a shelter for the homeless? Tackle a comparative topic and learn six Indian languages? As many scholars know, there is nothing like a deadline to put an end to narcissism, self-doubt, and unrealistic self-expectations. And, luckily, I was almost simultaneously invited to give the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Lectures in Religion, an invitation that committed the recipient to a series of lectures to be given at a number of universities around the country and published subsequently by Columbia University Press. Once I accepted the ACLS invitation—and some sense of self-preservation must have led me to say "yes"—I could forget all those "why me?/what else should I do?" questions and get to work to have something ready in time.

The MacArthur fellowship enabled me to take two and a half years off from teaching, spread out over the next five years; thus I had time, while preparing the ACLS lectures, to tackle some of the conceptually very difficult theological reading I had always wanted to tackle (shades here again of the inspiration of Chenu). The time off from teaching was crucial in another sense, for when I was not in Butler Library immersing myself in abstruse scholastic discussions of which bodily particles would return to a perfected but identical body at the end of time, I was reaping the rather dubious rewards of my lingering disciplinary multi-location. Because the sort of material I had examined in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* and was now turning to in *The Resurrection* included poetry, natural philosophical discussion of what we would call scientific and medical issues, visual images of the Last Judgment and the General Resurrection, as well as women's mystical writing, I ended up, despite my determination to say "no" to such requests, directing or codirecting dissertations in comparative religion, English and comparative literature, and art history as well as history. It was a lot to juggle. The relentless deadlines of lectures to give at places as diverse as Harvard, the University of California at Berkeley, and Sarah Lawrence College kept me focused almost in spite of myself.

Much about writing *The Resurrection* was fun, as scholarship can be when one has both time to explore and a deadline to pull one up from endless wandering in the sources. I did a good deal of reading in philosophy of mind, arguing that there were parallels between scholastic inquiry and the questions that contemporary scholars such

as Bernard Williams, Derek Parfit, Richard Swinburne, and Robert Nozick were asking about personal identity and survival. The issues explored by university theologians in quodlibetal questions and commentaries on the resurrection of the body—questions about such bizarre matters as, for example, to which individual an eaten embryo would return when the last trumpet sounded—were, I argued, questions about ontology: What is essential to the nature of the body and hence of the person as psychosomatic entity? What must survive for an individual to have the same identity over time?[20] I also watched a number of episodes of *Star Trek* and other TV and film sci-fi productions, convinced by my daughter that the popular culture of the 1990s was obsessed with issues of identity in the sense of continuity through time as well as with the more polemically debated sense of identity as group self-identification—that is, identity as what might survive a brain transplant operation as well as identity as, for example, Hispanic or lesbian or middle-aged.

But it was not all fun. Not only was struggling with the philosophical texts hard work, there was always the loneliness attendant upon the determination to let individual voices be individual and to let the past be different. The philosophers I talked to insisted that I did not understand the medieval issues if I did not translate them into issues of modern epistemology or logic; the literary critics I talked to were, in the 1990s, not interested in religious texts; feminists were still dubious about whether one could ever hear a woman's voice. Despite the Apostles' Creed and the three core beliefs of rabbinic Judaism, Christians and Jews alike insisted that their traditions did not hold the resurrection of the body but only the immortality of the soul. The avoidance of the fact of death reflected in the euphemisms that afflict our language when we substitute "passed away" or "passed" for "died" made my readers and hearers uncomfortable with my subject matter. Audiences might giggle or be appalled at discussions of eaten embryos, but it was very much more difficult to share the soaring beauty of, for example, Mechtild of Magdeburg's description of the crystalline body in heaven or the deep seriousness of medieval exegesis of I Corinthians 15: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall rise

[20]For the relevance both of current philosophy of mind and of popular culture, see Bynum, "Material Continuity, Personal Survival and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in Its Medieval and Modern Contexts," in *Fragmentation and Redemption*, pp. 239–97.

again incorruptible; and we shall be changed." Although "the body" and "identity" were popular topics in the 1990s, they very often did not mean what I meant in my study of the resurrection. For all my careful explanation that the asceticism of medieval religious practice was not based in a sense of body as trap so much as a sense of body as necessary component of person, and despite the almost innumerable passages I cited in which *identitas* meant "numerical identity" or enduring as the same entity, I had trouble making much headway against the textbooks and even specialized studies that still today impose modern sensibilities back onto medieval texts.[21]

It was twelve years after *The Resurrection of the Body* that my next big book, *Wonderful Blood* (2007), appeared. Of all my writings, it has the most ostensibly fortuitous genesis, originating as it did in a moment in 1999 when Paul Freedman of Yale called me up and said, "We're going to have a conference on 'Blood, Sweat, and Tears.' We've got someone doing 'sweat' and someone doing 'tears'; can you do 'blood'?" Having done some work for *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* on the literalism of medieval Eucharistic devotion, I thought I might be able to put together something fairly quickly on "blood." That conference invitation led to almost ten years of research on blood cult in northern Germany.

Centered on cult sites in the states of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg close to Berlin, *Wonderful Blood* entailed a sort of local history that I had never done before—something I would not have tackled had I not had the opportunity of two resident fellowships in Germany during the early years of the research—one in spring 2000 at the Warburg Haus in Hamburg and another in fall 2002 at the American Academy in Berlin at Wannsee. My interest in the German Middle Ages had been piqued earlier, however, during the many trips I took to Germany with my husband, Guenther Roth, whom I married in 1983. My passionate love of Berlin began in 1994–95 when I spent a year at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin, but the affinity I felt for that guilty yet tortured city had roots, I think, in the guilt I felt in my own history as an American Southerner—something too complicated to write about here.[22] In any case, finding the little town of Wilsnack,

[21]For remarks on our recent impoverished understanding of "identity," see Marilynne Robinson, *When I Was a Child I Read Books* (New York, 2012), pp. 26–27.

[22]See Bynum, "Curriculum Vitae," pp. 7–8, and Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Presence of Objects: Medieval Anti-Judaism in Modern Germany," *Common Knowledge,* 10, no. 1 (2004), 1–32.

site of an almost forgotten fifteenth-century pilgrimage, in my guidebook, I visited it on the last day of my stay in Germany in 1995, although I made that initial trip more because it was a railway stop en route to the lovely cathedral of Havelberg, see of the twelfth-century bishop Anselm whose treatises I had studied long before in *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, than because of its intrinsic fascination. Ten years later, the cult at Wilsnack—which provided manna for the full range of my research interests, from abstruse scholastic debates and extravagant miracle claims to the details of local power politics—served as the opening chapter of my study of fifteenth-century blood piety.

Wonderful Blood is a far darker book than *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* or *Resurrection*. Whereas they are a sort of defense against the reduction of Christianity to politics or pathology, *Wonderful Blood* focused on the increasing centrality in late-medieval Christianity of an ideology of sacrifice in all its horrific consequences. Not only did the fifteenth-century cult of relics of Christ's blood and of what German historians call *Dauerwunder* (transformed Eucharistic hosts or chalices that endure as such) become excuses, and incentives, for antisemitic persecution and pogroms and for harsher definitions of heresy turned against flagellants, Hussites, and Waldensians, but the killing at the heart of the Eucharistic offering—the sacrifice of God to God by God in the Crucifixion—took its toll as well on the logic of Scholastic theologians and the hearts of pious laity.

At the center of *Wonderful Blood* was the conundrum that became the theme of *Christian Materiality* (2011), a set of lectures first given in Jerusalem in May 2007 that appeared from Zone Books last year after much reworking. Together, the books move beyond the topic of "the body" explored in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* and *Resurrection* to explore the paradox of matter itself. Both books consider miraculous matter, albeit in different contexts—that is, graven or painted images that come to life, weeping or oozing; blood relics of Christ or the saints that liquefy; Eucharistic wafers that appear as bloody meat and chalices that fill with viscous red fluid. In part, the books make a specific argument about historical periodization and causation. They suggest that the increasing emphasis in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century theology on the power of God as explanation, like the new stress in spirituality on interior response cut free from any necessity to conform that response to outer gesture or speech, is one pole of a view of the world whose other pole is an increasing sense that the sacral is manifested and conveyed in matter. The fear and rejection of images

that culminated in Protestant iconoclasm were in part reactions to renewed instances of their animation. The increased emphasis on interiority was not merely a reformist response to an old-style religion of mechanical and "superstitious" spirituality but rather an uneasy complement and counter to a new enthusiasm for matter that disclosed the divine. The need to account for miracle led natural philosophers such as Nicole Oresme to an understanding of the rules imbedded in matter that limited as well as explained its anomalous behaviors. Nor did the voices of philosophers, pilgrims, and reformers, or of the Jews and heretics they persecuted, fall into a single pattern. Persecution of out groups and definition of ideas and practices as "other" increased as contradiction sharpened within Christian communities between inner and outer forms of devotion.

Wonderful Blood and *Christian Materiality* locate one of the causes of the reformations of the sixteenth century, both Protestant and Catholic, in the increasing pressure exerted by miracles of material transformation—miracles that bodied forth the paradox that matter is created by God to manifest his glory and yet utterly different from him in his eternity, omnipresence, intangibility, and utter incomprehensibly. In their suggestion about causation and periodization, the books argue not for a perduring paradox but for the pressure exerted in a particular historical period by an increasing awareness at every level of society of the contradiction between the material and the divine and yet the contradiction to that contradiction: the manifestation of the divine in matter, which is by definition totally "other" from it.

The basic argument of *Wonderful Blood*, as of *Christian Materiality*, is not, however, about periodization but about conceptions of matter in Western Christianity in the later Middle Ages and hence about paradox itself. What I try to explain—and here language almost fails me—is that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century devotion in the West not only assumed the opposition of an eternally unknowable God and an essentially animate and labile matter he created. It also assumed that miraculous matter itself asserted that God. Ever-living blood erupted on ever-decaying bread, painted wood, and bone. In so doing, it asserted the presence of life in death, eternity in change. Transformation miracles were moments when matter contradicted itself. But it could do so only in material ways. Hence, if matter transcended its own ordinary changeability by denying decay and death, it could do so only by another change. Such change could, however,

last only a moment before it itself decayed. Bleeding hosts, glowing relics, and weeping statues inevitably faded. Other miracles were then necessary. But the repeated eruption of miraculous stuff was threatening to ecclesiastical authorities who wished to control pilgrimage, to philosophers and theologians theorizing the natural world, and to the Christian devout who wished their cult objects to endure. The paradox of matter, which in Christian theology and practice must and cannot be divine, parallels the paradox of the body, which must and cannot be the locus of salvation.

I am not sure what comes next for me. At the moment, I am immersed in two kinds of comparative reading—both some theoretical reading about materiality as art historians understand it and an exploration of Hindu cults, stimulated by a five-week visit to India in autumn 2009, that suggests to me that the ostensible parallels of Western and Indian images fade once one knows more about specific practices. I expect that whatever does come next will be propelled both by fortuitous suggestion and by the continuities of my long-standing concerns. I also suspect that I shall be, as I usually am, tongue-tied in my first efforts to grasp and articulate radical contradictions as contradictions.

I am not sorry that I chose medieval history when I was asked to specify my field back in 1962, although I seem to have crept up recently at least to the brink of the early-modern period I also considered studying. But I am not confident that I have managed to find the Chenuian voice to which I aspired as a graduate student or a young professor. It would be arrogant to think so. I am convinced, however, that the balance I sought between recognizing incompatible perspectives and digging out the underlying assumptions of a religious tradition in a specific historical period is both impossible and necessary. We have to write serially, crafting one sentence after another, piling up note card after note card, reconciling opposing bits of evidence; yet that is not how life happens. Life is much more like the realization we have, just after we manage to shape a lovely interpretation in our prose, that if we look at things another way, we have gotten them quite hideously wrong. Nonetheless, there is comfort, I think, in realizing that, as historians and as human beings, we must live in paradox and that paradox—the simultaneous assertion of contradictions—is the opposite of opposites. For paradox is not a method; it is life.

"GOD REIGNING THROUGH YOU, REIGNS WITH YOU": THE CHARENTON CONTROVERSY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROYAL AUTHORITY IN EARLY BOURBON FRANCE

BY

JASON SAGER*

During the years of 1617–20, a little-known polemical debate raged between the Protestant ministers, led by Pierre du Moulin, in the town of Charenton, just outside of Paris, and the Jesuit Jean Arnoux, confessor to Louis XIII. Marked by the crisis of Henry IV's assassination in 1610 and the revolt of the princes against the regency government of Marie de' Medici, the first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed an intense debate over the nature of royal authority. The author argues that the Charenton Controversy, influenced by the ideological clashes that occurred during the Estates-General, demonstrates that the ambiguous notions of royal authority were beginning to take concrete form.

Keywords: Arnoux, Jean; du Moulin, Pierre; Estates-General 1614; Huguenots; Louis XIII

With the assassination of Henri IV in 1610 at the hand of Jean-François Ravaillac, the project of restoring the prestige of the monarchy and placating French society was thrown into doubt. There was no question that in the aftermath of 1610 France entered a period of political uncertainty.[1] However, the disputed succession that Henri had feared, with the attendant civil wars, never materialized.[2] Despite the very real constraints on the exercise of royal authority following Henri's ascension in 1589, the smooth succession of his son as Louis

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[1]Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), p. 257.

[2]Vincent J. Pitts, *Henri IV of France: His Reign and Age* (Baltimore, 2009), p. 329.

XIII is indicative of the relative success of the crown's efforts to pacify French society.[3] The discourse of the new conception of royal authority that began with Henri's conversion at St. Denis in 1593 was still an ongoing concern at the Estates-General of 1614.[4]

Ostensibly called to pronounce Louis XIII's majority, the Estates-General of 1614 took place during a period of political crisis.[5] With Henri II de Bourbon, prince of Condé, out of the country, Marie de' Medici moved rapidly to take control of the regency. This move combined with the filling of regency offices with the queen mother's favorites led to a break between the government and much of the nobility, led by Condé.[6] The propaganda campaign that followed the princes' revolt against the queen mother's administration demonstrates how far the theory of royal absolutism had developed and permeated the political elites since Henri IV. Although the concepts of political authority and sovereignty were "ambiguous notions in early-seventeenth-century France," the rhetoric emanating from the pamphlet wars leading up to the Estates-General reveal that these ambiguous notions were beginning to take concrete form.[7] Indeed, the discourse of royal authority became even more acute during the years 1614–17. The suppression of the First Article of the Third Estate notwithstanding, the Estates-General addressed the crisis of 1614 by affirming the sovereignty of the crown.[8]

[3]James B. Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1988); Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (New York, 1995); Pitts, *Henri IV*, p. xi.

[4]Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early-Modern France* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), p. 190.

[5]J. Michael Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614* (London, 1974), p. 2.

[6]Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion* (New York, 1995), p. 176; Orest Ranum, "Money, Dignity, and Self-Esteem in the Relations between Judges and Great Nobles of the Parlement of Paris during the Fronde," in *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Athens, GA, 1991), pp. 117–31.

[7]Jeffrey Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 108.

[8]The First Article of the Third Estate, or the so-called "Lost Article," was submitted on December 15, 1614, by the Third Estate. It presented in the strongest language possible a defense of the inviolate sovereignty of the king in his realm. Members of the First Estate, including Cardinal du Perron, along with the backing of Pope Paul V, sought to suppress this article, since it would in effect put the Church completely under the authority of the crown. By early spring 1615, the First Estate, with the support of Marie de' Medici's regency, had successfully suppressed the First Article. When the cahier was presented in March 1615, a blank sheet of parchment was included to indicate where the text of the First Article should have been as a gesture of protest. See Hayden, pp. 131–48.

The reluctance of the queen mother's government to embrace the claims of royal sovereignty proposed in the Third Estate and the First Estate's successful campaign to suppress the First Article was part of the continuing debate over the nature of monarchial authority in the aftermath of the religious wars. Even after Henri IV's efforts at centralizing the state, the boundaries of Bourbon royal authority were still fluid. The confessional polemics between Louis XIII's confessor and the Protestant ministers at Charenton were one aspect of the continuing debate over the defining the boundaries of royal authority in favor of increasing royal sovereignty.

By the first decades of the seventeenth century, religious polemics such as the ones in the opening months of the Estates-General of 1614 rejected framing religious opponents in a rhetoric of dehumanizing otherness.[9] We see during Louis XIII's minority an acceptance in Catholic preaching that the Protestant threat could not be exterminated by the sword but rather by the word through conversion. The Protestants for their part mirrored this rhetoric. Recognizing their precarious position in France, they took great pains to profess their loyalty to the crown and, in the face of Catholic proselytizing efforts, to remind the crown of its responsibility in maintaining the articles of the Edict of Nantes. The Charenton controversy represents a microcosm of the debate over the nature of French kingship and the changes in the religious controversies of the seventeenth century.

In 1617, the well-known Jesuit Jean Arnoux replaced the long-serving Pierre Coton as confessor to the young Louis XIII.[10] Shortly after his appointment, the king requested that Arnoux preach a sermon at Fontainebleau.[11] In it, Arnoux attacked the privileges granted to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes. The centerpiece of the sermon was the Jesuit's appeal to Louis to curtail Protestant liberties. The sermon was well received, and Arnoux was advised to publish it as a part of polemical attack on the Protestant community at Charenton. His *Confession de la Foi* appeared later that year. Citing the zeal of Louis XIII for the spiritual well-being of his subjects and reunion of the Protestants again with the Catholic Church, Arnoux set for himself the

[9]Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 152–88.

[10]Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts and Confessors* (New York, 2003), p. 17.

[11]Bireley, *Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, p. 45.

task of proving in a systematic manner that the Protestant doctrine found no support within the biblical text:[12]

> All their Church . . . is founded on a void that the pretended religion has neither resource, nor support on the words of God. In short that within the State of their religion, there is nothing at all to affirm it by the Holy Scripture.[13]

The Catholic controversialist Honnorat de Meynsier (1570–1638) continued this idea. Operating under the patronage of Cardinal Jean-François-Paul de Gondi de Retz, Meynsier authored several pamphlets against the Charenton ministers.[14] In his *Confession du Sieur du Moulin* (1618), dedicated to de Retz, Meynsier argued that the Protestant translation from the Greek to the French was highly inaccurate, thus invalidating the entire foundation of Protestant doctrine.[15] In response to these accusations, the Protestant ministers, led by Pierre du Moulin, published the *Défense de la Confession de la Foi* in Charenton in 1617.The more comprehensive *Bouclier de la Foi* followed (Geneva, 1625).The Protestant response elicited in turn a sharp reaction from the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy both within and without the court of Louis XIII; the ensuing controversy would include some of the best-placed ecclesiastical figures of the Gallican Church, including the young Armand-Jean du Plessis, bishop of Luçon and the future Cardinal Richelieu.

Much of what Arnoux wrote in his *Confession* was not particularly innovative.The *Confession* treads a well-worn path in equating Protestant heresy with political schism. But the importance of Arnoux's sermon lies in the way in which he engaged with the Protestant population in the Paris environs. Arnoux's sermon, although full of traditional anti-Huguenot sentiment, reflects a sensitivity to the changing religious and political realities of early-seven-

[12]Jean Arnoux, *Confession de la Foi* (Paris, 1617), p. 22.

[13]"Tout leur Église . . . est fondée sur le vuide: que la religion pretendu n'a aucune resource, ni appui dans la paroles de Dieu: bref que dedans l'État de leur profession, il n'y a du tout rien d'affermi par l'Écriture sainte."Arnoux, *Confession*, p. 23.

[14]These titles include *La Confession du Sieur du Moulin, ministre de Charenton, contra la doctrine des ministres pretendus reformées* (Paris, 1618); *La Doctrine de l'Antichrist* (Paris, 1625); *Les Plaintes du Sieur du Moulin* (Paris, 1618); *Les Preuvres demandées par le Sieur du Moulin, ministre de Charenton touchant le fondement, sainctété et fermeté de l'Eglise Catholique* (Paris, 1618); and *Les Reproches du Sieur du Moulin, ministre de Charenton, contre le P.Arnoulx* (Paris, 1619).

[15]Meynier, *Confession du Sieur du Moulin* (Paris, 1618), n.p.

teenth-century France.[16] Arnoux's sermon resembles a scholastic *disputatio* in which he, through a systematic point-by-point exposition, attempts to dismantle the Huguenot doctrinal framework. Du Moulin's response also falls into this category.The *disputatio* became more important in the seventeenth century as a way of resolving confessional strife without recourse to physical violence.[17] Encouraged by the king, these disputes became part of the larger campaign to re-Catholicize France's Huguenots.[18] They also form an important component within the discourse of royal authority in early Bourbon France. As in other confessional debates such as the one between Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay at the Conference at Fontainebleau in 1600, the Charenton Controversy placed the king squarely in the role of arbiter of religious disputes. But unlike the Conference at Fontainebleau, the Charenton Controversy did not take place in the physical presence of the king. Rather, by appealing to the wisdom of the monarch through their dedicatory epistles and prefaces, both sides of the confessional divide created a symbolic court presided over by the monarchial presence. Because the legitimacy of the symbolic presence of the monarch rested on a mutual understanding of the omnipresent judicial function of the king, he did not need to be present to adjudicate over issues of religion.

However, the Jesuit walked a fine line when participating in these confessional polemics—one that du Moulin was able to exploit. Even after the Jesuits' return to France under Henri IV, other factions at court viewed them (especially those who served as royal confessors) with considerable hostility, distrusting their influence over the king.[19] The reintroduction of the Jesuits did not mean that the king had entirely forgiven them, but seeing an opportunity to tame the Jesuits, he did not fail to take it. Especially after 1614, the Jesuits, as well as other orders, were acutely aware that their survival in France

[16]Susan Rosa, "Seventeenth-Century Catholic Polemic and the Rise of Cultural Rationalism: An Example from the Empire," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 57 (1996), 87–107, here 88–89.

[17]Michael Wolfe, "Exegesis as Public Performance: Controversialist Debate and Politics at the Conference of Fontainebleau (1600)," in *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, ed. Alison Forrestal and Eric Nelson (New York, 2009), pp. 65–85, here pp. 65–66.

[18]Eric Nelson, *Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Burlington, VT, 2005), p. 116.

[19]Armstrong, *Politics of Piety*, p. 90.

depended on their absolute loyalty to the crown. The employment of Jesuits almost exclusively as confessors ensured the good behavior of the members of the Society of Jesus.[20] Thus, in his polemic with the Charenton leadership, Arnoux was keen to avoid "rabble rousing sermons against the Huguenots."[21] The published attacks that emanated from both Catholic and Protestant controversialists lacked the incendiary language that had been the hallmark of religious polemics in the sixteenth century. Instead of destroying the body of heretics, seventeenth-century Catholic religious rhetoric attacked the confessional identity of the Protestants. This rhetoric focused on the conversion—not the physical destruction—of the heretics.

In response, the Charenton ministers published a remonstrance in 1617 titled *Défense de la Confession des Eglises Reformées*. Sold at Charenton, the *Défense* was initially submitted to Louis as a move to denounce the "injustice" of Arnoux's accusations against Protestant doctrine. The ministers were keenly aware of the need to profess that their continual loyalty to the crown was not incompatible with non-Catholic beliefs.[22]

To combat the position taken by the Charenton ministers, Richelieu, while still bishop of Luçon, wrote *Principaux Points de la Foi* (Poitiers, 1617). However, the controversy would not end there. Du Moulin would expand on the initial arguments made in the *Défense* with the publication of the *Bouclier de la Foi* (Geneva, 1618–19). The *Bouclier* was one of the clearest expositions of Protestantism since John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536). Jean-Jaubert Barrault, bishop of Arles, published his own *Bouclier de la Foi* in response to du Moulin's *Bouclier*. Jacques Marcel, a member of the Congrégation de la Doctrine Chréstien, published *Triomphe de la Foi Catholique* (Lyon, 1621). The rapid appearance of these religious polemics, often running into several hundred pages and several editions, confirms that the distrust between the religious parties had not lessened, but it was now being diverted into more constructive channels, eschewing popular expressions of religious violence.[23]

[20]Joseph Bergin, *Church, State, and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730* (New Haven, 2009), p. 113.

[21]Bireley, *Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, p. 45.

[22]Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 12.

[23]Du Moulin's *Bouclier* still had a healthy publishing life into the 1630s, well after the initial controversy began.

Prior to his controversy with Arnoux, du Moulin had already spent much of his early career attacking the claims of papal authority. These early criticisms were dedicated to King James I. Two of the more important tracts, translated into English, were *A Defense of the Catholicke Faith* (London, 1610), and *The Jesuites' Shifts and Evasions* (London, 1624). *Defense* was published first to counteract the accusations of the Dominican preacher Nicholas Coeffeteau (1574–1623), who had written many books favoring papal claims of authority over temporal princes.[24] Many of the arguments that appeared later in the *Défense de la Confession de la Foi* and the *Bouclier de la Foi* were developed and first issued in *A Defense of the Catholicke Faith*.

Throughout his polemic du Moulin distanced himself from the monarchomachist theories of the Protestant writers of the 1570s and 1580s. Where kingship was elective, as in the case of the Holy Roman Empire, the electors had a responsibility to ensure the candidate was not "an Infidel or an Idolater." But according to hereditary kingship, as was the case in France, the "King . . . is a lawful inheritor and to whom, over and above . . . his subjects have taken the Oath of Allegiance. . . ."[25] As du Moulin explains, no subject is permitted to break this oath of allegiance; rejecting the language of resistance and deposition of tyrants popularized by François Hotman, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, and Theodore Beza, he echoes Calvin's position as formulated in the *Institutes* that all subjects owe allegiance and obedience to the sovereign magistrate.[26]

Throughout the dedicatory epistle to the *Defense*, du Moulin acknowledges the precariousness of Protestant existence and lists a series of grievances to this effect. The Protestant faction is hated for its claim to possess the true means of salvation, the doctrine of grace, and the rejection of the real presence. Yet despite all this, du Moulin positions the Protestant faction as truly loyal to the crown.[27] Du Moulin continues to remind Louis XIII that it was the Protestants who had protected his father Henri IV "durant ses afflictions" ("during his afflictions") and, by so doing, had demonstrated that it was they, not

[24]Most important, *Pro Sacra Monarchia Ecclesia Catholicae et Romae* (Paris, 1623).

[25]Du Moulin, *Defense of the Catholicke Religion*, pp. 68–69.

[26]John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Peabody, MA, 2008), XX:24; see Pitts, *Henri IV*, p. 64.

[27]Pierre du Moulin, *Défense de la Confession des Eglises Reformées* (Charenton, 1617), pp. 3–4.

the Catholics who had the interests of the kingdom at heart. Furthermore, the Protestants had shown themselves to be loyal subjects in opposing Spanish involvement in the affairs of the kingdom.[28] It is within this context of protestations of loyalty to the crown that the Charenton ministers first attack the privileges of the papacy. In addressing the threat to France posed by Spain, du Moulin positions his criticism of papal claims of temporal power on "the question that has been asked, if the Pope can depose our Kings, and if it is within the power of the Pope to dispose of your crown."[29]

Furthermore, du Moulin argued that not only had the pope illegitimately claimed the power to depose of duly anointed monarchs but also the Catholic Church had become nothing more than a front for the temporal ambitions of the see of Rome:

> Already he has in his power a third of your land and has removed from your obedience a fifth of your subjects, meaning the Ecclesiastics, who say they are not your subjects, and who are not accountable before your justice, and have even for their temporal lord and sovereign outside the Kingdom.[30]

On the other hand, the French Protestants, along with a sizable portion of the Catholic population, had always maintained the dignity and rights of the crown, which du Moulin suggests are held by the monarch as God's lieutenant:

> A thing that we as well as many of your Roman Catholic subjects would never suffer, knowing that we owe our lives and our means to the defense of the dignity of your crown: Above all to the defense of the right God gives you, and which is founded on his word.[31]

These ideas are developed to their full extent in du Moulin's *Bouclier de la Foi*, where du Moulin again picks up the theme of the

[28]Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 6.

[29]"La question a été agité si le Pape peur déposer nos Rois, et s'il est en la puissance des Papes de disposer de vôtre Couronne." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 6.

[30]"Déjà il a en sa puissance le tier de vôtre terre, et à soubstrait de vôtre obeïssance le quint de vos subjects, à savoir les Ecclésiastiques, qui se disent n'être point vos subjects, et qui ne sont pas justiciables devant vôtre justice, et ont, même pour leur temporel, un autre souveraine hors du Royaume." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 7.

[31]"Chose que nous comme aussi plusieurs Catholiques Romains de vos subjects, ne souffrirons jamais, sachans que nous devons nos vies et nos moyens, à la défense de la dignité de vôtre Couronne: Sur tout à la défense d'un droit que Dieu vous donne, et qui est fondé en sa parole." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 7.

abuses of papal authority and its encroachment on the privileges of the temporal estate. Three chapters are dedicated to the issue of papal and royal authority. The first chapter concerns itself with the power of the pope over the crown and lives of the kings. The second chapter discusses how these papal claims are contrary to the word of God, and the third chapter examines whether the power of the kings exists through divine right. Du Moulin first sets the context for his argument against papal claims to be temporal lords. Throughout the discourse, he displays a highly developed sensitivity to the historical record. Beginning with the papal claim to have the authority to depose emperors and kings, du Moulin lists all the various examples of when popes arrogated this power to themselves, beginning with the Investiture Contest between Pope Gregory VII and King Henry IV.[32] Under the pontificate of Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council "gave the Popes power to absolve subjects from the fidelity sworn to their Lord, and to give his lands to other Catholic lords."[33] Citing the Council of Lyons in 1245 when Pope Innocent IV deposed the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, du Moulin describes the full implications arising from such claims:

> And since Gregory VII until Albert of Bavaria who was completely deprived of the dignity of the Empire, for the period of 260 years, they not only removed, excommunicated, and deposed Emperors, but maintained this by force, thus are brought about bloody wars, more than an hundred battles, and cities without number taken and sacked.[34]

Turning to more contemporary events, du Moulin includes Pius V's deposition of Elizabeth I and the subsequent Irish rebellion; Henri III's assassination by Jacques Clement was the direct result of Pope Sixtus V's excommunication of the king: "With equal injustice Henri III our King, being deposed and excommunicated by Sixtus V, was shortly thereafter killed by Jacques Clement."[35] Pope Gregory XIV had

[32]Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 774.

[33]"donne au Pape puissance d'absoudre les subjects de la fidelité jurée à leur Seigneur, et de donner ses terres à d'autres Seigneurs Catholiques." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi,* p. 775.

[34]"Et depuis Gregoire VII jusques à Louis de Baviere auquel est entierement descheue la dignité de l'Empire, par l'espace de 260 ans, on ne void qu'Empereurs excommuniez et deposez, mais qui se maintiennent par force, dont sont advenues infinies guerres sanglantes, plus de cent batailles, et villes sans nombre prises et saccagees." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi,* p. 775.

[35]"Avec pareille injustice Henri III nôtre Roi, ayant été deposé par Sixte Vet excommunié, fut peu après tué par Jacques Clement." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 776.

declared Henri of Navarre incapable of claiming the French throne in 1592, which had, in du Moulin's opinion, prolonged the violence of the religious wars. In his comprehensive historical review of papal claims of secular authority du Moulin did not limit himself to only Protestant magistrates who ran afoul of the vicar of Christ. Du Moulin brought to bear a laundry list of Catholic sovereigns who had been excommunicated for opposing papal policies.[36]

The pontiff also had challenged the authority of orthodox magistrates. This betrayed the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of papal claims of authority. The exercise of these claims betrayed the agenda of the papacy.[37] The naked pursuit of wealth and power was not the only resulting evil that arose from papal claims of authority. The excessive use of excommunication provided the necessary defense for the abominable crime of regicide:

> From the excommunications and depredations of Kings are born enterprises against their lives. This fulmination thrown against Elizabeth, Queen of England was followed by many conspiracies against her life. From the deposition of Henri III by Sixtus V followed the parricide committed by Jacques Clement, for which the Pope is said to have rendered to God thanks.[38]

After all this, du Moulin cites numerous examples of where the papacy had been at the mercy of the magistrate. The purpose of cataloguing these events is to first demonstrate that the theory of papal authority within the space of the state was a novelty initiated by overweening pontiffs and second, to illustrate that ultimately the pontiffs—and by extension, any ecclesiastical authority—are subject to the magistrate.[39] By calling on the historical record of papal abuses, du Moulin continued to operate within the framework of a public *disputatio*. Du Moulin's historicism, influenced by Catholic Gallicanism, sought to put an objective face on the past.[40] In so doing, du Moulin

[36]Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 788–89.

[37]Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 776–77.

[38]"De ces excommunications et degradations de Rois naissent les entreprises contre leur vie. La fulmination jettée contre la Reine d'Angleterre Elisabeth a été suivie de plusieurs conspirations contre sa vie. De la déposition de Henri III par Sixte V s'est ensuivis le parricide commis par Jaques Clement, pour lequel le susdit Pape rendit graces . . ." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 778–79.

[39]Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 777.

[40]J. H. M. Salmon, "Clovis and Constantine: The Uses of History in Sixteenth-Century Gallicanism," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990), 584–605, here 584.

emphasizes the loyalty of the Huguenot party, in contrast to the machinations of the Catholic leadership in France who were portrayed as agents of papal authority. After all, it had been du Perron who argued, as part of his efforts to suppress the Lost Article of the Third Estate, that the papacy had the right to absolve subjects from their oaths in the case of a heretical king.[41]

Throughout the *Bouclier* du Moulin reinforced the subject's obedience to his earthly lord. He noted that throughout Israelite history, many of the kings had been idolaters, and yet none of the prophets had pronounced that their subjects were free from their obligation, nor possessed the right to kill their duly appointed king. Even Nero could not be justly deposed by his subjects, despite the fact that he was a less than ideal emperor:

> Nero was a monster in nature, the shame of the human race, and the first emperor who began to persecute the Church. Nevertheless, the Apostle Saint Paul, Romans 13, speaking of the Power which then was in state, said that it was ordained of God, and that whoever resisted him, resisted the ordinances of God.[42]

Indeed, "it is also beyond all absurdity to imagine that S. Peter and the Bishops of Rome after him had the power to depose the Emperor Nero, or Domitian."[43] Jesus Christ himself had commanded that people were to render unto Caesar those things that belonged to Caesar, who for the Jews represented a pagan emperor, and yet the popes claimed that they were authorized to incite rebellion among Christian princes. To further drive his point home, du Moulin cites early church history. After the persecutions, such a sizable number of Christians had populated much of the military and political structures of the Roman Empire under the reign of Julian the Apostate that if the Christian elements in the Empire had decided to revolt, there was a serious likeli-

[41]This, of course, ignored the fact that du Perron also carefully warned the deputies at the Estates-General that in no case were subjects to take up arms against their monarch.

[42]"Neron étoit un monstre en nature, l'opprobre du genre humain, et le premier Empereur qui a commencé à persecuter l'Église. Ce néanmoins l'Apostre Saint Paul, Rom 13 parlant de la puissance qui alors étoit en état, dit qu'elle estoit ordonnée de Dieu, et que quiconque lui resistoit, resistoit à l'ordonnance de Dieu." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 786.

[43]"Ceci aussi passe toute absurdité de s'imaginer que S. Pierre et les Évêques de Rome après lui ayent eu puissance de déposer l'Empereur Neron, ou Domitian." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 789.

hood that Julian would have been defeated. Yet "The Bishop of Rome did not advise deposing [the Emperor] of the Empire."[44] Du Moulin, referring back to the conversion of Clovis, argues that Clovis's crowning by the pope had not reduced the power of the king of the Franks:

> It is less believable that if a pagan Prince converted to the Christian faith, as did Clovis King of France, he must become less King than he was as a Pagan, and that his conversion to the faith must mean the diminution of his power. That's nevertheless the opinion of the Pope and Jesuits.[45]

The Protestants, on the other hand, "had never spoken of deposing our Kings, and do not believe that any man in the world could depose the King, or release his subjects from their oaths of fealty."[46] Distancing himself from the arguments of the earlier monarchomachs, du Moulin again advanced an image of monarchy that was not beholden to papal interests.

Even more threatening to the authority of the crown was the Jesuit presence in France. According to du Moulin, the Jesuits were a threat because the superior general of the order was in the employ of the Spanish King, and the Jesuits had been condemned by the Parlements throughout France as "enemies of the State, and to the lives of kings."[47] Even more damning was the fact that the Jesuits taught that the pope had power over the monarch and, harkening back to the contention of Gregory VII and Innocent III that the pope could depose and install the monarch at will, used the confessional to incite rebellion against the crown.

The emphasis on the sovereignty of the crown reflected more than just a cynical effort to maintain the good will of the king, upon which Protestant survival depended. The polemical exchange also reflected the new political realities of early Bourbon France, and it is within its

[44] "l'Évêque de Rome ne s'advisa point de la déposer de l'Empire." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 790.

[45] "N'est non plus croyable que si un Prince Payen se converti à la foi Chrestien, comme fit Clovis Roi de France, il doive être moins Roi qu'il n'estoit lors qu'il étoit encore Payen, et que sa conversion à la foi doive tourner à la diminution de sa puissance. C'est la néanmoins l'opinion du Pape et des Jesuites." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 791–92.

[46] "jamais parlé de déposer nos Rois, et ne croyons point qu'aucun homme au monde puisse déposer le Roi, ou dispenser ses subjects du serment de fidelité." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 793.

[47] "ennemies de l'Etat, et de la vie des Rois." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 7.

political context that the controversy worked in the favor of the crown. Each side took great pains to demonstrate their loyalty to royal authority as a mark of true devotion. On the surface, this is hardly surprising, especially coming from the Protestant camp, given that the Protestants needed the support of the king to maintain their limited privileges. However, further examination of what would seem to be perfunctory declarations of loyalty reveals that the French Protestant leadership, like the Jesuits, understood their survival depended on the good will of the king. The first aspect of this is seen in the description of the nature of kingship itself. In du Moulin's writing, the republican strains that were common in Protestant writings are replaced with a discourse that favored strong monarchical authority.

The second aspect of this evolution is seen as du Moulin pitted the claims of papal authority against the French crown. This encompassed more than just the rhetoric portraying the pope as the anti-Christ and responsible for the decayed state of Christianity in general, although this kind of language is not far from du Moulin's discussion. In this regard, du Moulin tapped into a long tradition of medieval political theorists opposing papal claims over the secular estate.[48]

Du Moulin's accusations also were influenced by the *parlementaire* tradition in French political thought, which maintained that the king was "a sovereign power in Church and State."[49] The question over the nature of the relationship between the monarch and the pope was not confined to Protestant diatribes against the abuses of papal authority. For example, the *parlementaire* Antoine Arnould was an ardent opponent of the Jesuit presence in France. He regarded them as a fifth column that, as agents of the papal see, was a threat to "French laws, the French Catholic Church and French institutions in general,[50] claimed the right to depose kings at will. In a letter addressed to Henri IV, dated in 1603, Arnould warned the king that the Jesuits supported regicide; after all, according to Arnould, the Jesuit Jean Guignant had praised Clement's assassination of Henri III as heroically removing a modern-day Nero from the throne.[51]

[48]Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace,* ed. and trans. Annabel Brett (New York, 2005), pp. 134–35; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (New York, 1979), I:61–62.

[49]Salmon, "Clovis and Constantine," p. 587; Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic* (Washington, DC, 2004), pp. 18–19.

[50]Nelson, *Jesuits and the Monarchy*, p. 36.

[51]Antoine Arnould, *Discours au Roi Henri IV sur l'Utilité ou les Inconviens de la Nouvelle Secte ou Espece d'ordre Religieux des Jesuits* (Laon, 1603), p. 9.

Although Arnould strongly opposed the Protestant party, he also was critical of the ultra-orthodoxy of the Sorbonne theologians who sided with the Jesuits on this issue. Arnould reminded Henri that it was the king's right to install bishops and other ecclesiastical offices, and that the papacy had no authority to free the king's subjects from the oath of loyalty.[52] These factors complicated the Catholic response to du Moulin, especially for Richelieu as he attempted to maintain the supremacy of the pope in spiritual matters while adhering to the view that within the temporal sphere, the king was sovereign.

For the Protestants, these protestations of loyalty were a practical concern. Nearly thirty years of Leaguer thought had effectively portrayed adherence to Protestantism as political schism.[53] However, as the Charenton ministers argued effectively, the Protestants were not alone in formulating the theory of just rebellion. The Protestants were the first to propose the right to resist "the monarchy in defense of true religion," and the Catholic League under Guisard leadership quickly developed its own monarchomach rhetoric toward the French crown if it refused to preserve the orthodoxy of the state.[54] By the end of the Wars of Religion, the theory of just rebellion had become highly developed. The resistance theory developed as the prestige of the crown deteriorated in the wake of the death of Henri II, under the minorities of François II and Charles IX, and the inept reign of Henri III. Catherine de' Medici, although acting as regent for her two sons and wielding a great deal of influence over Henri III, also proved to be a liability to the authority of the crown. As an Italian, she was distrusted as a foreigner. In addition, as the moving force behind the policy of reconciling the Protestant and Catholic factions in the interests of maintaining the stability of the kingdom, she had angered both the Catholic nobility and ecclesiastical estate.

The theories of resistance did not go unchallenged. The emergence of the *Politiques* under Michel de l'Hopital and Catherine de' Medici pursued a policy of religious toleration as the central pillar of a stable France. The *Politiques* supported Henri of Navarre's claim to the throne, notwithstanding his heterodoxy and apparent lack of com-

[52]Arnould, *Discours*, p. 3.

[53]Denis Crouzet, *Dieu en ses Royaumes: Une Histoire des Guerres de Religion* (Seyssel, 2009), p. 434.

[54]Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries: The Political Thought of the Catholic League* (Geneva, 1975), p. 15; Mario Turchetti, *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 2001), pp. 421–26.

mitment after his abjuration. Once on the throne, Henri continued to seek a pragmatic solution to the religious and political crises of the era. One such solution is evident in Henri's religious policies. Henri's first appointments to vacant sees came from those in *Politique* circles such as Jean Bertaut, who had supported Henri during his bid for the crown.[55] Although not directly nominated by Henri, the future Cardinal Richelieu benefited from the support given by his father to Henri after the assassination of Henri III at St. Cloud.[56]

This policy continued under Louis XIII. The Catholic agents also took great pains to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown. Appealing to Louis XIII's piety and sincere devotion to a conservative Catholicism, Arnoux, Richelieu, and others maintained the well-established position that any heterodoxy threatened the political body of France. Richelieu in particular cites the instances when the Protestants demonstrated their disloyalty to royal authority dating to the reign of Francois I. Granted, Richelieu maintained that religious heterodoxy was politically schismatic, yet he did not recommend concrete action to remove this perceived threat to the well-being of the kingdom. This is not to say that the Protestants did not face institutionalized repression from the state.[57] But this repression lacked the violent undercurrents that had accompanied previous attacks on the Huguenots. Based on a renewed confidence in converting France's Protestants, the lack of incendiary rhetoric suggests that the Catholic clergy had developed a new representation of the Protestant that required rejecting the dehumanizing language that had been the hallmark of the sixteenth century.

Richelieu's contribution to the controversy is fascinating. Written prior to his elevation to the rank of cardinal, his *Principaux Points de la Foi* (1617) reveals a complex image of the man who would one day become Louis XIII's most powerful minister. Although the *Principaux Points de la Foi* addresses the political implications of the Charenton ministers' Calvinism, it is not simply a political document. Rather, it reveals to a great extent how Richelieu perceived his

[55]Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate: The Bishops and the Wars of Religion. 1547–1610* (Durham, 1986), p. 189.

[56]Anthony Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the Making of France* (New York, 2000), p. 16.

[57]See, for example, Raymond Mentzer, *Blood & Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette, IN, 1994); Mentzer, *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685* (New York, 2002).

role as a bishop within the context of seventeenth-century devotion and Catholic Reform, and the extent to which he had been influenced by the figures of the devotional currents in the early-seventeenth century.[58]

Not only had Richelieu been influenced by the Ultramontanism of Arnoux, he also had been highly influenced by du Perron, who was an ardent opponent of Gallican privileges.[59] In 1612, Richelieu preached a sermon (the text of which has been subsequently lost) while attending the Council of Sens, in which he denounced the "forthright Gallicanism of Edmond Richer . . . who was aggressively determined to extend the claims of the French church to autonomy from Rome."[60] Although Richelieu in his early career respected the authority of the Pope in religious matters,[61] the *Principaux Points de la Foi* demonstrates that he recognized the need to negotiate carefully the political realities of Bourbon France. Despite his efforts to navigate this territory, the *Principaux Points de la Foi* demonstrates that Richelieu favored the Ultramontane position in which the laity—and, by extension, the king—was unqualified to judge in matters of religion.

Turning his attention to du Moulin's claim that Henri II had promised the Protestants the right to worship, Richelieu sarcastically points out the uselessness of the Protestants in addressing their grievances to the late Henri II. They were now just as mistaken in addressing their complaints to Louis XIII, because it was a "pure fallacy to request a judgment on religious differences from the King."[62] Furthermore, based on Beza's *Confessions*, Protestants had rejected presenting their grievances to the king since he was not authorized to adjudicate in religious matters:

> The Prince, says Beza, assists with Synods, not to rule, but to serve, not to make laws, but to propose those laws which according to the word of God will be explained by the mouth of the Ministers, to be kept by them and the people.[63]

[58]Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu*, p. 4.

[59]Joseph Bergin, *The Rise of Richelieu* (New Haven, 1991), p. 112.

[60]Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu,* p. 38.

[61]Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu,* p. 110.

[62]"Pure fallacie de convier le Roy à cognoistre des differents de la religion." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi* (Poitiers, 1617), p. 205.

[63]"Les Princes, dit Beze, assistent aux Synodes, non pour regner, mais pour servir, non pour faire des lois, mais pour proposer celles qui selon la parole de Dieu seront expliquées par la bouche des Ministres, afin d'être gardées par eux et par le peuple. Le

Even though this was a dangerous position to maintain, given the hostility to Rome's interference in France's affairs, Richelieu stakes the middle ground by claiming the early Christian kings had willingly given up their claims to judge on matters of religion.[64]

Thus when Richelieu wrote the *Principaux Points de la Foi* in response to the Charenton ministers' accusations, he began on safe ground. He reminded the Charenton ministers that the protested loyalty of the Protestants was not evident under the reigns of François I and Henri II, as they disobeyed the will of the early Valois kings by not returning to Catholicism. But even more seriously, Richelieu reminds the ministers, this disobedience under François I and Henri II became all-out rebellion under François II and Charles IX, citing the battles of Dreux, Saint-Denis, Jarnac, and Monconteur.[65] Regarding the claim of protecting Henri IV during "ses afflictions," Richelieu reminds his readership that at the time Henri himself was a heretic, and his Protestant followers had rebelled against Henri III. Now that Henri IV had adjured Protestantism and had returned to the Catholic fold, his Protestant subjects opposed him.[66]

Richelieu asserted, "You claim your predecessors served the great Henri, but unfortunately for you, it seems that all together they served him, not as King, but as a promoter of their sect, for their services anticipated his succession to the Crown."[67] Richelieu continued his attack on the Protestant claims of loyalty by maintaining that the praises sung by Protestants only serve "to hide under beautiful appearances the serpent which kills souls."[68]

Prince dit Junius, ne cognoist, ni ne peut cognoistre en vertu de sa charge, du sens de la foi. Nous disons, dit Witakerus, que les differents Ecclésiastiques doivent être videz par le Ministre en vertu de la Loi. Et en un autre endroit, Je respons que Martin defere à l'Église le jugements touchant les points de doctrine, et qu'il ne l'attribue point à l'Empereur: et qui est-ce nie que ce jugements apparienne aux Évêques." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, pp. 205–06.

[64]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 211.

[65]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, pp. 17–18.

[66]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 22.

[67]"Par la il paroît que vos predecesseurs ont servi la grand Henry, mais le mal est pour vous, qu'il paroist tout ensemble qu'ils l'ont servi non comme Roi, mais comme fauteur de leur secte, puis que leurs services previenent son advenement à la Couronne." Richelieu, *Points de la Foi*, pp. 18–19.

[68]"Coucher sous de belles apparances le serpent qui tue les âmes." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 2.

Richelieu then sets out the tone that subtly belies the seemingly intolerant rhetoric that informs the entire *Principaux Points de la Foi*. Unlike Henry VIII who attempted to silence Martin Luther for his heresies, Louis XIII's policies toward the Protestants would be more moderated.[69] Richelieu's *Principaux Points* reflects this. First, he desired the conversion of the Protestants, not through violence, but rather "the passionate desire and hope which I have of your conversion obliges me to treat you gently."[70]

Although the subsequent arguments throughout the *Principaux Points de la Foi* seem anything but soft, the preceding statement speaks to Richelieu's view of the relationship between the Catholic and Protestant factions. Despite the harshness of the rhetoric, Richelieu is true to his word. Nowhere does he suggest violence against the Protestant faction, although his claims to a reasonable position are strained at times. Richelieu's passionate desire and hope for the peaceful conversion of the Calvinist party did not prevent the bishop of Luçon from uncompromisingly rejecting all of du Moulin's claims. Whereas the first fourteen chapters of the *Principaux Points* are dedicated to refuting, point by point, the doctrinal position described in the Charenton ministers' *Défense*, the last chapters (15–19) contain some of Richelieu's most hostile language employed against the Protestants. In chapters 15 and 16, Richelieu compares the Protestants of his day to the heretics who challenged the early Christian Church. In the fifteenth chapter, the Protestants are compared to the Donatist sect that also had separated from the Church. Throughout his discussion, Richelieu relies heavily on the Fathers to support his attack.[71] Richelieu buttresses his argument by claiming all the Fathers argued that the Catholic Church was the church established by Christ when he gave Peter the keys of the Kingdom.[72]

Chapter 16 continued this theme by arguing that the Protestants had renewed ancient heresies. The first of these heresies was the rejection of the salvatory nature of good works. According to Richelieu, this heresy first appeared under Simon Magus, who was condemned by Ss. Irene and Theodoret.[73] The second heresy renewed

[69]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*. p. 3.

[70]"Le desir passioné et l'espérance que j'ai de vôtre conversion m'obligent à vous traicter plus doucement." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi,* p. 3.

[71]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 219.

[72]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 223.

[73]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 233.

by the Protestants was that infants without baptism could be saved—a view that was originally held by the Pelagians. This heresy had been successfully combated by St. Augustine.[74] The final heresy reintroduced was the position that the true Church was simply a community of believers. This doctrine first appeared with the Donatists, who were condemned by Augustine.[75] The problems with this were self-evident for Richelieu, as he goes to considerable lengths to prove the falseness of the Protestant claims and cites a number of Church Fathers in the process.

Richelieu concludes that the early Christian church had already condemned the ancient heresies reintroduced by the Protestants, showing them to be unsustainable based on the biblical text and patristic writers. As the violence of the civil wars receded after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, the image of the Protestant as represented in Catholic sermon literature moved away from the rhetoric of violent attacks on the body of the Protestant to a more tolerant discourse, at least within the context of the seventeenth century, that reflected the emphasis placed by the crown on the pacification of French society.

This little-studied episode in the confessional polemics of the early-seventeenth century reveal a number of important insights to the political and religious realities of France after the Edict of Nantes. Occurring at the conclusion of the Estates-General in 1617, the Charenton Controversy took place within the larger context of the discourse of the shaping of royal authority that had developed throughout the crisis of Henri IV's assassination and prolonged conflict between the regency government and the prince of Condé. The Estates-General did not provide the foundation of an absolutist state, but there can be little question that the sovereignty of the crown was the victor of this debate.

The Charenton Controversy demonstrates the extent to which the prestige of the crown had been restored under the first Bourbons. Both sides in this confessional polemic regarded the crown as the natural arbiter in this dispute. Furthermore, Arnoux and du Moulin understood that their existence within France was dependant on the good will of the king. Accordingly, they appealed to monarchial

[74]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, pp. 236–37.
[75]Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 240.

authority while portraying themselves as good subjects and their opponents as enemies within the kingdom.

The Charenton Controversy lacked the incendiary rhetoric that had underpinned earlier confessional conflicts. Instead, a more academic framework replaced the violent language. Taking on the form of a public *disputatio*, the proponents sought to cast a rational defense of their respective claims of truth. More important, by appealing to the symbolic presence of the king through their dedicatory epistles and prefaces, the authors constructed an image of royal authority that was becoming increasingly deanchored from its traditional moorings.

In the process, the protagonists in the Charenton controversy provided the basis for strengthened monarchial authority. However, as the literature of the Charenton controversy reveals, this was not imposed by the crown. Furthermore, in the venue of a public *disputatio*, both sides of the confessional divide willingly subsumed a part of their autonomy to the authority of the crown as a means of restraining the popular expressions of religious violence that had been endemic during the Wars of Religion. Coming on the heels of the Estates-General of 1614, these little-studied religious polemics from the first decades of Louis XIII's reign will continue to reveal important insights into the construction and meaning of kingship in France after the Edict of Nantes.

REVIEW ARTICLE

STILL MORE LIGHT ON VATICAN COUNCIL II

BY

JARED WICKS, S.J.*

Dialogo e rinnovamento. Verbali e testi del segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani nella preparazione del concilio Vaticano II (1960–1962). Edited by Mauro Velati. [Istituto per le scienze religiose, Serie: Fonti e strumenti di ricerca, 5.] (Bologna: Il Mulino. 2011. Pp. 939. €60,00. ISBN 978-8-815-13188-1.)

Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ, mit Erlauterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Kommission für Glauben und Sitten, II. Vatikanisches Konzil. Edited and annotated by Alexandra von Teuffenbach. Vol. II, pts. 1 and 2 (1962–63). (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz. 2011. Pp. 1279. €150,00. ISBN 978-3-883-09625-4.)

The Council Notes of Edward Schillibeeckx 1962–1963. Critically Annotated Bilingual Edition. Edited by Karim Schelkens. [Instrumenta Theologica, XXXIV.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. xxx, 77. €28,00. ISBN 978-9-042-92453-6.)

Il Concilio Vaticano II. Una storia mai scritta. By Roberto de Mattei (Turin: Lindau. 2011. Pp. 625. €38,00. ISBN 978-8-871-80894-9.)

This review article continues three earlier presentations of publications of source-documents and scholarly studies on the Second Vatican Council and its documents.[1] Presented here are (1) an ample documentary record of work in the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians during the Council's preparation; (2) the second volume (covering October 1962 to September 1963) of the office diary of Sebastian Tromp, secretary of the Council's Doctrinal Commission; (3) the diary of Edward Schillebeeckx for the Council's Period I of 1962, with added comments during Period II on the ori-

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[1]Jared Wicks, "New Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 609–28; Jared Wicks, "More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94 (2008), 75–101; and Jared Wicks, "Further Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 546–69.

entation votes of October 30, 1963; and (4) a one-volume traditionalist and highly critical account of the whole Council, which treats as well background during the pontificate of Pius XII and reports on the negative effects of the Council on the Catholic Church to 1978 under Pope Paul VI.[2]

The 1960–62 Preparatory Work for the Second Vatican Council by the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians

Mauro Velati has given us a most welcome work of documentation on how the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians fulfilled its mandate of bringing the ecumenical cause into the 1960–62 preparation for the Second Vatican Council.[3] Pope John XXIII instituted the secretariat on Pentecost Sunday, June 5, 1960, by a paragraph of his Motu Proprio, *Superni Dei nutu*, in which he formally initiated the direct preparation of the Council.[4] Following upon the massive collection by the broad-based canvas of 1959–60 of topical proposals from the Council's future members, the curial congregations, and pontifical universities and faculties, in June 1960 the pope established the ten preparatory commissions of the Council. These were to submit schemas in areas such as theology, bishops and the governance of dioceses, religious life, the liturgy, studies and seminaries, the missions, and the lay apostolate. To the ten commissions, the pope added two "secretariats"—one to prepare a conciliar treatment of the modern means of communication and the other to help Christians not in communion with the Apostolic See to follow the work of the Council and more easily find the way "to attaining that unity for which Jesus Christ prayed earnestly to the Heavenly Father." As well,

[2]A recent wide-based and informative survey of historical and interpretative work on the Second Vatican Council is Gilles Routhier, Michael Quisinsky, Philippe J. Roy, and Ward De Pril, "Recherches et publications récents autour de Vatican II," *Laval théologique et philosophique*, 67 (2011), 321–73. Another such work is Massimo Faggioli, "Council Vatican II: Bibliographic Overview 2007–2010," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 32 (2011), 755–91. Both literature reviews note the great interpretive potential of the work of Christoph Theobald, S.J., of Centre Sevres, Paris, in the first part of his two-volume theological study, *La reception du concile Vatican II.* I. *Accéder à la source* (Paris, 2009). This 928-page analysis will be followed by a second part, still in preparation, with the subtitle *L'Église dans l'histoire et la societé*. See, in Routhier et al., pp. 372–73, and in Faggioli, pp. 767–68, 771–73. Theobald also is treated by Faggioli in his compact work *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ, 2012), pp. 127–28.

[3]Velati's monograph, *Una difficile transizione. Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo (1952–1964)* (Bologna, 1996), set forth in its first part the activities, begun in 1952, of the *Conférence catholique pour les questions oecuméniques* coordinated by Willebrands. The book then sketched the work of the secretariat from its founding to the completion and promulgation of the Second Vatican Council Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio*, in November 1964 at the end of the Council's Period III.

[4]*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 52 (1960), 433–37, instituting the secretariat in no. 9 on p. 436.

the pope instituted a large Central Preparatory Commission of cardinals and bishops to review schemas produced by the particular commissions and secretariats to evaluate their adequacy for submission to the whole Council.

The new volume assembled by Velati documents a principal part of the Unity Secretariat's first two years of activity, giving (1) the initial draft texts produced by each of the secretariat's several subcommissions, (2) the minutes of meetings in which the secretariat's members and consultors evaluated each draft, and (3) the revised texts that the secretariat either circulated among the preparatory commissions or in certain cases to submitted to the Central Preparatory Commission for eventual treatment by the whole Council. Velati's collection is unique, since we do not have publications documenting, with texts and minutes of meetings, the genesis of the schemas that the ten preparatory commissions or the other secretariat developed for submission to the Central Preparatory Commission.[5] Now we have just such a record of the Unity Secretariat, whereas for all the other preparatory bodies the initial and intermediate draft texts remain in archives, and we can only pick up the *iter* of the schemas when they came before the Central Commission to be evaluated in their suitability for distribution to the Council members.[6]

1. The Unity Secretariat's Personnel and Subcommissions

The dominant personages in the secretariat's preparatory work for the Second Vatican Council were, of course, Cardinal Augustin Bea, the secretariat's president from its founding until his death in 1968,[7] and Monsignor Johannes Willebrands, the omnipresent secretary who effectively oversaw the complex operations of this new Vatican institution.[8] The detailed minutes of

[5]For the Preparatory Theological Commission, the *Diarium Secretarii* of Sebastian Tromp, now in a volume edited by Alexandra von Teuffenbach (covered later in this article), gives the minutes of many subcommission and plenary meetings, but does not furnish the draft texts under discussion in the meetings.

[6]The texts submitted to the Central Preparatory Commission, the members' *animadversiones*, and the members' votes on the schemas are given in *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apprando*, ser. II (Preparatoria), vol. II, *Acta Pontificiae Commissionis Centralis Praeparatoriae*, pts. I–IV (Vatican City, 1965–68). A narrative of the Central Commission's work through its seven, week-long working sessions, from June 1961 to June 1962, is given in Antonino Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo. Il dibattito nella Commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II* (Genoa, 1962).

[7]On Bea, see *Atti de Simposio Card. Agostino Bea (Roma, 16–19 dicembre 1981* (Rome, 1983); Stjepan Schmidt, *Augustin Bea, the Cardinal of Unity* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992); and Jerome-Michael Vereb, *"Because He Was a German!" Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2006).

[8]Newly published primary materials from Willebrands include *"You Will Be Called Repairer of the Breach." The Diary of J. G. M. Willebrands 1958–1961*, ed. Theo

plenary discussions were taken by the secretariat's first staff members (Thomas Stransky, C.S.P., and Jean-François Arrighi) and were composed in French by the latter for internal circulation. The sixteen voting members of the secretariat in 1960–62 included bishops such as Lorenz Jaeger (Paderborn), Joseph Martin (Rouen), John C. Heenan (Liverpool), François Charrière (Lausanne–Geneva–Fribourg), and Emiel-Jozef De Smedt (Bruges) and senior scholars such as Joseph R. Höfer (ecclesiastical counselor of the German embassy in Rome), Michele Maccarrone (church historian, Lateran University), Gustave Thils (professor of theology, Catholic University of Louvain), and Charles Boyer, S.J. (faculty member at the Gregorian University and director of the center *Unitas* in Rome). Among the twenty consultors serving the secretariat in 1960–62 were Hermann Volk (Münster); Eduard Stakemeier (Paderborn); Johannes Feiner (Seminary of Chur, Switzerland); Christophe-Jean Dumont, O.P. (the center "Istina," Paris); Jérôme Hamer, O.P. (Le Saulchoir, Paris); Gregory Baum, O.S.A. (Toronto); Maurice Bévenot, S.J. (Heythrop College, England); Gustave Weigel, S.J. (Woodstock College, Woodstock, MD); George Tavard, A.A. (Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh); and Edward Hanahoe, S.A. (Graymoor, Garrison, NY).[9]

Bea initiated the work of the secretariat by a letter of October 3, 1960, asking the members and consultors to submit proposals of questions and topics that the new body should consider. Fourteen responses came in, from which came a first programmatic outline for discussion in the opening plenary meeting of November 14–15.[10] The secretariat's program of work was quickly concretized by the formation of ten subcommissions for preparing

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Salemink, [Instrumenta Theologica, 32], (Leuven, 2009); and *Les agendas conciliaires de Mgr. J. Willebrands, Secrétaire du Secrétariat pour l'unité des chrétiens*, ed. Leo Declerck, [Instrumenta Theologica, 33], (Leuven, 2009). Peeters will soon publish, in the series *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, the papers presented at the 2009 scholarly symposia in Utrecht and Rome on Willebrands during the centenary of his birth.

[9]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 18–25 (initial appointments), pp. 103–10 (full roster of members and consultors), and especially pp. 55–76 (previous experiences of the individuals before the preparatory work and their main contributions as they interacted with each other). The distinction between members and consultors played little part in the assigning and drafting of texts, but came into play late in the process when only the members voted to approve texts for further circulation. For the secretariat, some desired appointments went unfilled because of appointments to other preparatory commissions, as seen in the cases of Bishop Léon-Joseph Suenens, who was appointed to both the Commission on Bishops and the Central Preparatory Commission, as well as Bishop James Griffiths (auxiliary of New York) and Yves Congar, who were appointed to the Theological Commission.

[10]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, p. 121 (Bea's letter), pp. 124–51 (the members' suggestions, of which the most elaborate sketch came from Bishop Pieter Nierman of Groningen, pp. 144–51), and pp. 122–24 (outline in English, based on the members' suggestions, for the first plenary).

documents under the lead of a principal *relator*. The topics were (1) the ecclesial condition of baptized non-Catholic Christians (*relator* Bishop Pieter Nierman of Groningen); (2) the Church's hierarchical structure and the source of the powers of its ministers (Jaeger); (3) individual and community conversions to the Catholic Church (Höfer); (4) the priesthood of all believers, laypeople in the Church, and religious liberty or tolerance (Charrière); (5) the Word of God in the Church (Volk); (6) liturgical issues such as the vernacular languages in the Mass and sacraments and Communion under both forms (Martin); (7) mixed marriages (Jaeger); (8) the octave of prayer of unity (Dumont); (9) the central ecumenical problem, related to the World Council of Churches and its concept of unity (Hamer); and (10) questions regarding the Jews (Baum).[11]

A further topic was the question of non-Catholic observers attending the Council, for which Willebrands took responsibility and held a consultative meeting with members and consultors residing in Rome on December 15, 1960. After a report and further discussion at the February 1961 plenary, the secretariat submitted a *votum* favoring the invitation of observers and sketching their roles, which the Central Preparatory Commission approved by a large majority in November 1961.[12]

As the work of the subcommissions developed, Subcommission 1 dropped the term *members* from its topic and reformulated this as "the *ordo* of non-Catholic Christians to the Church." The cumbersome topic of Subcommission 4 was divided in August 1961 into two distinct parts—namely, that of the priesthood of believers and that of religious liberty—with the latter topic assigned to a new Subcommission 5 (*relator*, De Smedt).The newly numbered Subcommission 6 (formerly 5) reformulated its topic as "the power (*virtus*)

[11]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento,* pp. 173–74 (giving members and consultors who volunteered for service on each topic). After the secretariat's institution in June 1960, John XXIII had quietly entrusted it on September 18, 1960, with questions regarding Jews and antisemitism in the Church. For this area, Abbot Leo Rudloff, O.S.B. (Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem), became a secretariat member, and John Oesterreicher (Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University) joined the group of consultors.

[12]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 176–86 (Willebrands's exposition of December, with minutes of the ensuing discussion presided over by Bea) and pp. 301–14 (report and discussion in the secretariat's February 1961 plenary meeting). The *votum* on observers and the Central Preparatory Commission discussion of November 7, 1961, are given in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. I:449–95. See also Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 57–67. For a survey on this topic and the secretariat's further role in hosting the Council's non-Catholic observers, see Velati, *Una difficile transizione*, pp. 275–318. Thomas Stransky reviewed this dimension of the Second Vatican Council at the 1998 congress of the Istituto Paolo VI, published as "Paul VI and the Delegated Observer/Guests to Vatican Council II," in *Paolo VI e l'ecumenismo*, [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Paolo VI, 23], (Brescia and Rome, 2001), pp. 118–58.

of the Word of God and its principal role in the Church." A new Subcommission 12 (*relator* Jaeger) emerged out of the initial Subcommission 9 and began work in August 1961 on a proposal for making the secretariat a permanent body in the Church's central government after the Second Vatican Council.[13] At the same time, the secretariat created Subcommission 13, on tradition and Sacred Scripture (*relator* Feiner), to prepare an ecumenically constructive alternative to directions taken in the Preparatory Theological Commission's schema *De fontibus revelationis*. As Subcommission 3 refocused its original topics on that of Catholic ecumenism, questions arose about practical aspects of ecumenical activities and relations with separated churches, which led to the creation of a new Subcommission 14 (*relator* Thils) entrusted with outlining an Ecumenical Directory for later development and publication.[14] Clearly, the secretariat took on a very full agenda, including several topics that promised positive effects across the whole span of the Council's future work of church renewal.

2. The Secretariat's Proposals (*vota*) for the Preparatory Commissions

Several of the secretariat's preparatory texts were recommendations that it sent to other commissions. The April 1961 plenary meeting approved the report of Subcommission 6, on liturgical reforms especially desirable to dissipate prejudices and objections to Catholic worship among the Orthodox and Protestants. The report, with *vota* and recommendations, went to the Preparatory Commission on Liturgy, with which some members and consultors of Subcommission 6 had already met to exchange views.[15] Subcommis-

[13]Velati gives the documentation of this subcommission's work in *Dialogo e rinnovamento,* pp. 747–62 and 899–914. Shortly after a first draft was circulated and discussed at the November 1961 plenary, John XXIII told Bea that the topic would not be on the Council's agenda but was reserved to the pope. A revised and expanded sketch came before the March 1962 plenary, at which Bea informed members and consultors that the pope did want the SPCU to continue after the Council and would gladly receive this part of the secretariat's work as a memorandum for future consideration (p. 913).

[14]Documentation in Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 793–815. A first outline came before the November plenary along with annexes for other preparatory commissions on imbuing seminary studies and the preparation of missionaries with ecumenical sensibilities. Discussion during the November 1961 plenary showed a consensus on the need for a directory for bishops and others, but the work was then set aside until 1965 when it proved useful in composing part I of the secretariat's *Ecumenical Directory* of 1967.

[15]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 409–13 (editor's survey of this subcommission's activity), pp. 414–19 (initial draft, composed mainly by Tavard), pp. 420–27 (revised report for the plenary, with sections on an expanded lectionary; homilies on scripture; more active congregational participation; wider use of the vernacular; watchfulness over devotional practices; permitting lay Communion from the chalice; allowing concelebration; mitigating rules against shared prayer and worship with non-

sion 8 drew up in early 1961 an ample study in view of reforming the existing canonical legislation on mixed marriages. A text discussed at the April plenary was revised so as to conclude with nine proposals (*vota*) that the August plenary discussed in detail. Subsequent modifications yielded a text with a short introduction and ten *vota*, which the secretariat's members approved in November for submission to the Preparatory Commission on the Discipline of the Sacraments.[16]

In May 1961 three important products of the secretariat's work went to the Preparatory Theological Commission as contributions offered for its schema *De ecclesia*.[17] The first text came from Subcommission 4, which had presented to the February plenary several proposals (*vota*) on the priesthood of all members of the people of God, the active role that the laity should have in the Church, and the complementary relation of the former priesthood with the ministerial priesthood. To this was added a draft of a biblically based conciliar teaching on the royal priesthood of believers, which *relator* De Smedt had requested from Lucien Cerfaux of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Louvain.[18] The April plenary received a developed Latin text on the priesthood of believers, organized around eighteen principal and three complementary *vota* that were stated as what the Second Vatican Council should teach. The discussion led to the definitive form of the twenty-one proposals for the schema *De ecclesia* of the Theological Commission on the dignity and duties of the priestly people of all the baptized.[19]

Catholics; and recognizing, where assured, the Christian baptism of converts), and pp. 431–37 (minutes of the April 18, 1961, discussion, which led to only minor modifications of the report, but in which Bea spoke with conviction on expanding use of vernacular languages and on concelebration as "absolutely desirable," p. 433).

[16]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 439–57 (April text and minutes of discussion), pp. 613–33 (*vota* for August, letter of World Council General Secretary Willem Visser 't Hooft, discussion), and pp. 695–700 (final text for the Commission on Sacraments).

[17]Tromp, the Theological Commission's secretary, noted in his office diary that on May 25, 1961, he received from Willebrands the documents of the secretariat "de Hierarchia, de laicis, de membris Ecclesiae." *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ, mit Erlauterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission für Glauben und Sitten II. Vatikanisches Konzil*, ed. and annot. Alexandra von Teuffenbach (Rome, 2006), I, pt. 1:223.

[18]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 234–40 (French text of the report, with *vota* as well in Latin, including Cerfaux's doctrinal sketch in French) and pp. 240–47 (discussion during the Februrary 1961 plenary in which most members and consultors gave the report their enthusiastic approval).

[19]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 354–69 (revised text for the April plenary, with most of the *vota* beginning "Doceatur . . ." or "Doceantur fideles . . ."), pp. 373–78 (minutes of the April discussion on each *votum*), and pp. 369–72 (definitive text of the proposed teaching).

The second text for the constitution *De ecclesia*, a product of the secretariat's Subcommission 1, benefited from redactional work by Hamer, who prepared eight theses on the Church, the means of grace or elements constituting the Church, the efficacy of individual means even in separation from the complete ecclesial organism, the true but imperfect relation to the Church conferred by elements in separated bodies, and the need to ascertain the different levels at which the Orthodox and Protestants possess the ecclesial means or elements. The report intentionally avoided the term *member*. As a practical conclusion, the report urged respectful use of the terms *dissidents* or *separated brethren*, in place of *heretics* and *schismatics*. In discussion at the April 1961 plenary, an added ninth thesis noted the variety of biblical images applicable to the Church such as the kingdom of Christ or his vine, and to belonging as pertaining to his family or people or being a member of his body or stone of his house.[20]

In the text prepared by Subcommission 2, the secretariat took on topics central to the Catholic-Protestant controversy. The result was an ecumenically sensitive treatment, aimed at influencing of the schema *De ecclesia*, on the Church in its relation to Christ and its hierarchical structure, especially the episcopate. Although the contribution exerted no influence on the Preparatory Theological Commission, it did anticipate major positions of the future Constitution *Lumen gentium*. Here the Church is set forth as "mystery," as people of God on earthly pilgrimage, as united by the Holy Spirit given by Christ, and as living under the "royal dominium" of Christ over his Church. For ministerial service the bishops succeed the Apostles, forming a collegial body united with its head, the Roman pontiff, whose teaching draws on scripture and tradition under the rule of the consensus in faith of the whole teaching office.

Subcommission 2 had first offered the secretariat's February 1961 plenary meeting a treatment, drawn from research by Maccarrone, of the fourth- and fifth-century titles for the pope and of several positions on the pope and bishops advanced in the First Vatican Council's ecclesiological debate. But the February discussion turned the project in new directions, especially toward the Church's intimate connection with Christ, the collegial structure and role of the episcopate, and practical proposals regarding the Roman Curia in church governance. A quite different proposal came before the April plenary, with concise conclusions in the form of eleven ecclesiological proposals (*vota*), which the members and consultors

[20]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 188–98 (a first-draft text, found unsatisfactory at the February 1961 plenary), pp. 318–28 (Hamer's French text, after a March meeting of the subcommission at Le Saulchoir, to which Latin theses were added), pp. 328–29 (addition of the ninth thesis and clarifying "member"), and pp. 329–35 (minutes of the April 17 discussion, making evident the wide approval of the text).

refined, restructured, and approved for transmission to the Theological Commission.[21]

During July 1961 the Preparatory Theological Commission completed its schema *De fontibus revelationis*, which the Central Preparatory Commission reviewed in early November.[22] Bea had offered a lengthy critique in the Central Commission, and he saw the urgency of putting into circulation an ecumenically more constructive account of the relation between tradition and scripture. Thus the secretariat's Subcommission 13 was created, under the lead of Feiner. For the plenary meeting of late November 1961, Feiner—aided by comments from his collaborators Boyer, Bévenot, Stakemeier, and Tavard—produced a Latin study of the relationship of tradition and scripture, which provided eight recommendations for conciliar teaching in its conclusion. For example, revelation given by Christ and formulated in the apostolic age should be called the *unicus fons revelationis,* whereas tradition, a dynamic process, and the written scriptures are to be seen as *media* or *viae* of transmission. The central *votum*, no. 5, urged that the question of the "material sufficiency" of scripture be left open for ongoing discussion among Catholic theologians. But the plenary also received the minority report of Boyer, who contended that the Council of Trent had expressed itself in a manner that excluded the fifth *votum*. The discussion on November 30, with fresh input from Boyer, showed that most all agreed with main request, but the constructive contribution of Bévenot led to a clarifying reformulation of the central point.[23] When this paper went to the Theological Commission, the

[21]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 213–29 (initial text and February discussion, with influential suggestions of a more pronounced Christological grounding by the consultor, Don Alberto Bellini of Brescia, and Hamer's suggestion of treating episcopal collegiality), pp. 337–41 (new text for the April plenary), pp. 347–50 (discussion, on April 17, especially Thils's urging a new order to articulate a basic ecclesiology in *vota* 1–4), and pp. 342–46 (the final twelve proposals on the Church and the episcopate). The consultor, Stakemeier, demonstrated how the Council's *Lumen gentium* took up the twelve *vota* of the secretariat into the Council's ecclesiology. "Leitmotive der Kirchenkonstitution in einem votum des Einheitssekretarits vom 20. April 1961," in *Martyria, Liturgia, Diakonia*, Festschrift Bp. Hermann Volk, ed. Otto Semmelroth (Mainz, 1968), pp. 386–98.

[22]Karim Schelkens treats *De fontibus* in his dissertation for the Catholic University of Leuven on the schema's genesis, published as *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II. A Redaction History of the Schema* De fontibus revelationis *(1960–1962)*, [Brill's Series in Church History, 41], (Leiden, 2010), which informs that on July 29, 1961, the Vatican printing office returned printed copies of the schema to Tromp's commission office (p. 218). The Central Preparatory debate on *De fontibus* took place on November 9–10, 1961, as documented in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. I:523–61, and set forth by Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 77–90.

[23]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 764–80 (the study, with the eight-point concluding *votum* on p. 780), pp. 781–82 and pp. 788–89 (objections by Boyer), pp. 783–88

schema *De fontibus* could no longer be altered, since the Central Preparatory Commission had already reviewed it. But the content gained no little actuality in November 1962, since it expressed the secretariat's main contention in the work of the conciliar Mixed Commission (Doctrine/Secretariat), created by John XXIII to revise *De fontibus* after the vote in the *aula* on November 20 and the pope's removal of the schema from the immediate agenda of the Second Vatican Council.

3. The Secretariat's Schemas for the Council

Other texts prepared by the secretariat in 1960–62 were destined for the Central Preparatory Commission for its approval as schemas for presentation to the full Council.

Subcommission 4, beyond its work on the priesthood of all the faithful, worked out a text on religious liberty, for which John XXIII gave permission in early 1962 for its submission to the Central Commission.[24] The documentation given by Velati includes an original "note" by Louis Jannssens of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Louvain, presented by De Smedt in the February 1961 plenary, on tolerance of those who exercise their natural right to believe differently and on collaboration by Catholics with non-Catholics on secular projects. To this Weigel added a short Latin statement on the church-state relationship, and Boyer cited Pope Leo XIII to call in question the proposed denial that the civil state owes worship to God. De Smedt presented to the April plenary a revised text in Latin, structured around fifteen *vota* for conciliar teaching on religious liberty, secular collab-

(minutes of the November 30, 1961, discussion of the report and proposed *votum*), and p. 790 (reformulated no. 5, from Bévenot's urging that the point be to avoid formulations that exclude views held by Catholics in the debate). Umberto Betti published an extract from the subcommission study, with the eight recommended positions, in *La dottrina del concilio Vaticano II sulla trasmissione della rivelazione* (Rome, 1985), pp. 292–98. In Betti's documentation, no. 5 was further modified beyond what Velati offers on p. 790 before this went to the Theological Commission. The Catholics who held a type of sufficiency of scripture and should not even appear to be censured were indicated as the Fathers, medieval theologians, Matthias Joseph Scheeben, and many contemporaries. Their view is that, "post depositum revelationis completum veritates revelatae omnes—excepta sane quaestione de Canone Scripturae utpote sui generis—in Sacra Scriptura aliquo saltem modo continentur vel insinuantur, quae quidem simul per Traditionem conservantur et explicantur" [once the deposit of revelation is complete, all revealed truths, except of course the Canon of Scripture (a question sui generis), are at least in some way contained or insinuated in Holy Scripture, while they are at the same time preserved and explained through Tradition] (Betti, p. 298).

[24]The long *iter* leading to the Council's *Dignitatis humanae* is set forth by Sylvia Scatena in *La fatica della libertà. L'elaborazione della dichiarazione «Dignatatis humanae» sulla libertà religiosa del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2003), a work presented in Wicks, "New Light," pp. 621–28.

oration with others, and the relation of the Church to civil society. Bea opened the discussion of the *vota* with the momentous proposal that De Smedt should further develop the paper into "a constitution" on this topic, since it pertains to the competencies of the secretariat, because of its importance for Catholic-Protestant relations. Consequently, at the August 1961 plenary the text had the form of a concise three-chapter schema, which, after discussion and revisions, was approved by the secretariat's members, with the exception of the *placet iuxta modum* voted by Boyer.[25] After further stylistic revision, this text came in June 1962 before the Central Preparatory Commission and clashed with the Theological Commission's quite different treatment of tolerance, the church-state relation, and the Church's right to preach the Gospel, which made up chapters IX and X of its schema *De ecclesia*.[26] The Theological Commission's text on the Church was severely criticized by many Council members in December 1962. It was set aside and thus did not proceed to the step of a formal vote. The secretariat then added its text on religious liberty to its schema on ecumenism as chapter V, which began the often troubled *iter* leading to the Declaration *Dignitatis humanae*, promulgated on the Second Vatican Council's final day, December 7, 1965.[27]

A second secretariat text sent to the Central Preparatory Commission was a theological gem of a brief "pastoral decree" on the Word of God in the life and ministries of the Church. It began as a draft in German by Volk of a "theology of the Word," which the author had further developed in the light of comments by the other members of Subcommission 5 (later 6). A French version stimulated a lively discussion at the April 1961 plenary.[28] Later in 1961 Bea realized there was no hope that the Theological Commission would welcome this creative account, and so work turned in the direction of a decree of pastoral applications. By March 1962 a schema was on hand in Latin, which

[25]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 247–61 (the Jannssens-De Smedt "note"), pp. 272–76 (Weigel's contribution), pp. 379–94 (the April text with fifteen *vota* and the discussion begun by Bea's decision given on p. 391), and pp. 591–611 (the August *schema*, discussion of it, and Boyer's statement of his reservation).

[26]The two texts are in *Acta et Documenta,* ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:657–72 (Theological Commission) and pp. 676–84 (secretariat). Scatena recounts the clash in the Central Preparatory Commission between the two options for treating religious freedom in *La fatica della libertà*, pp. 36–42, as does Indelicato in *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 298–307. An attempt to resolve the impasse posed by the clashing texts, by a type of mixed commission under Cardinal Pietro Ciriaci, did not succeed.

[27]The *De ecclesia* chapters are in *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 4:65–74, whereas the secretariat's chapter V, on religious liberty, distributed to the Council Fathers on November 18, 1963, is in *Acta Synodalia*, II, pt. 5:433–41.

[28]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 395–409 (report and minutes). The text treated the word as both gift of God and ecclesial task, the relation of word and sacrament, the word in pastoral ministry, and consequences to be drawn by the Council regarding the Church being under the word such as renewing the first part of the Mass, making scripture more accessible, and urging its more frequent reading by the faithful.

the Central Preparatory Commission discussed on its final day of work, June 20, 1962, but the slightly revised version of July was not published for the Council Fathers and was not mentioned among the twenty texts officially listed at the end of the Council's Period I for future work.[29]

The secretariat prepared a text for the Council to issue as an exhortation to prayer for the unity of Christians. An initial focus was on the existing Octave of Prayer for Unity with its two competing forms—namely, the Atonement Friars' prayer for reunion of the separated with the Catholic Church and the approach of Paul Couturier in which Catholics, together with Orthodox and Protestants, prayed together for "unity as Christ wishes and by the means which he desires." Willebrands insisted at the November 1961 plenary that the issue was not to discuss differences, but to urge such prayer. The March 1962 plenary approved a short text giving the rationale and a draft text for conciliar adoption. This was approved at the final session of the Central Preparatory Commission, but in time was absorbed into the secretariat's draft decree on ecumenism.[30]

Subcommission 10, on relations with Jews, produced for the April 1961 plenary a substantial statement in French by Oesterreicher and Baum, which concluded with four *vota* for teaching on the Church's roots in ancient Israel; on the early church of Jewish and Gentile Christians; on the Jewish people not being under divine malediction; on reconciliation with the Jews as integral to Christian hope; and on all forms of racism, especially antisemitism; as sins against justice, charity, and human fraternity. To these were added three *vota* on having a liturgical commemoration of the just of the Old Testament, on seminary instruction on Israel in the economy of salvation, and on purging prayers and Christian art of calumnies against the people from which came Christ according to the flesh. This text—now in Latin, with an added *votum* favorable to the State of Israel and new documentary references—was the object of a lively discussion at the August plenary, at the end of which Bea urged concentration on doctrine and its consequences, while relegating liturgical and practical points to a later directory. In the November plenary, Bea called for the preparation for the Central Committee of a brief schema of a

[29]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 676–91 (report, proposal by Bea, and the discussion showing full agreement on having a pastoral decree) and pp. 872–92 (a revised report not taken up, schema in ten paragraphs, modifications adding nos. 11–13, and discussion). The schema *De Verbo Dei* treated by the Central Commission in June 1962 is given in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:816–19. In the Council's Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, echoes of the secretariat's pastoral schema resound in chapter VI, on scripture in the life of the Church.

[30]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 462–78 (February 1961 report, remarks by Hanahoe, a Latin *votum*, minutes of discussion), pp. 718–28 (November revised report, minutes, with Willebrands's clarification of the aim on p. 727), and pp. 893–98 (text of March 1962, with brief discussion). The treatment by the Central Preparatory Commission is found in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:813–16.

decree, while sending a *votum* on Israel and the Church to the Theological Commission for *De ecclesia* and a *votum* on human dignity to the secretariat's subcommission on religious liberty. The brief decree of four paragraphs was drawn up from the earlier text, but when Arab nations protested after a report that the Foreign Ministry of the State of Israel was sending an "observer" to the Council, Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Vatican secretary of state and president of the Central Preparatory Commission, decided against any consideration of the decree *De Judaeis* in the Central Commission.[31]

Subcommission 3 suffered at first from an unclear mandate and the geographical dispersion of its members, but Willebrands intervened in July 1961 to steer the work in the direction of a statement on "Catholic ecumenism," adding Thils to the group and asking him to draw up texts for the August plenary.[32] A clear focus emerged from the August sessions that pointed toward what would become the secretariat's main contribution, contained in the Decree *Unitatis redintegratio*, at the Council. A central text of the November plenary was Thils's concise synthesis in Latin of the doctrinal and practical orientations inherent in a Catholic conception of ecumenism, which led to a substantial discussion and constructive additions. The March 1962 plenary treated approvingly a revised text on Catholic ecumenism, from which came the version for the Central Preparatory Commission.[33] This,

[31]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 490–508 (especially pp. 495–504, for the April text), pp. 633–52 (Latin text of August 1961, with minutes of discussion on each *votum*), and pp. 731–37 (especially pp. 736–37, giving the proposed schema of a decree). On this part of the secretariat's work, see Thomas Stransky, "The Genesis of *Nostra Aetate.* An Insider's Story," in *Nostra Aetate. Origins, Promulgation, Impact on Jewish-Catholic Relations,* ed. Neville Lamdan and Alberto Melloni (Berlin, 2007), pp. 29–53.

[32]The original members were Höfer (*relator*), Hanahoe, Frans Thijssen (Utrecht), Francis Davis (Birmingham, England), and James Cunningham (American Paulist based in Rome). See Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 511–16 (slow beginnings of the work), pp. 521–22 (Willebrands's letter), pp. 523–49 (first texts by Thils, for the August plenary, with minutes of the discussion of his paper, "De oecumenismo catholico. Suggestiones practicae"), and pp. 555–58 (ten *vota* by Davis and Thils, already oriented to a new conciliar schema urging Catholics to enter constructively into ecumenical activities). Thils had recently published a short basic work, *La «théologie oecuménique»: notion—formes—démarches* (Louvain, 1960).

[33]Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 663–75 (November synthesis with minutes of discussion), pp. 826–33 (version for March 1962), pp. 863–69 (discussion of March 8, in which Willebrands noted the complexity arising from ecumenism also being a chapter in the Theological Commission's *De ecclesia* and the topic of a schema coming from the Eastern Churches Commission), and pp. 852–62 (definitive text of May 1962, with ample notes referring to papal encyclicals and the Holy Office Instruction of 1949). Werner Becker studied the May text in "Das erste Schema des Sekretariats für die Einheit der Christen: das Pastoraldekret 'Über den katholischen Oecumenismus' von 1962," in *Sapienter ordinare. Festgabe f. Erich Kleinaidam*, ed. Fritz Hoffmann, Leo Scheffczyk, and Konrad Feiereis (Leipzig, 1969), pp. 371–91.

then, articulated the secretariat's basic position in early 1963, in the work mandated by the Council of composing a single text, along with the Commission on Catholic Oriental Churches and the Doctrinal Commission, on the rationale and forms of the Catholic Church's embrace of ecumenical collaboration and dialogue with other Christians.[34]

Sebastian Tromp's Record of a Year's Work by the Doctrinal Commission, 1962–63

A 2001 guidebook to unpublished Second Vatican Council sources extant in archives around the world refers to the informative mimeographed reports (*relationes*) by Tromp, secretary of both the Preparatory Theological Commission and the conciliar Doctrinal Commission. These texts recorded for the two commissions' members and *periti* the main events, discussion of topics, and decisions made as the commission prepared and revised schemas for the Council.[35] Beyond the *relationes*, the same guidebook lists for Tromp a more detailed handwritten diary preserved at the Gregorian University.[36] That diary, however, covers the work of the Preparatory Commission only from August 1, 1960, to July 16, 1961. But in autumn 2000, Alexandra von Teuffenbach discovered in the Vatican Archive Tromp's complete set of thirteen hardcover notebooks containing his record of the two commissions' work from mid-1960 into 1966. She is now editing the text of this diary, which preserves a much more ample record than do Tromp's circulated *relationes*.

The first volume of Tromp's complete *Diarium Secretarii* was published in 2006, covering the Preparatory Commission's work from mid-1960 to October 11, 1962.[37] The edition gave, in part 1 (576 pp.), Tromp's text in the original Latin with a facing German translation, accompanied by a detailed introduction and further annotations, whereas part 2 of the same volume offered another 400 pages of documentation in the form of minutes of meetings, the circulated *relationes*, letters, draft schemas, and a helpful overview, with outlines, of the genesis of the Preparatory Theological Commission's nine schemas.

After a pause and change of publisher, the second volume of the Tromp diary now covers the dramatic Period I (1962) of the Second Vatican Council, under John XXIII, and then moves through the eventful "intersession" from December 9, 1962, to September 28, 1963, when Period II was about to open

[34]See note 48 for an account of the work of this three-part conciliar commission in preparing the Council's 1963 schema *De oecumenismo*.

[35]*Il concilio inedito. Fonti del Vaticano II*, ed. Massimo Faggioli and Giovanni Turbanti (Bologna, 2001), pp. 23–24.

[36]Faggioli and Turbanti, *Il concilio inedito*, p. 147.

[37]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch,* I, pts. 1 and 2.

under Paul VI.[38] The new volume retains the structure of its two-part predecessor, but surpasses it in size with its 1279 pages.

The conciliar commission on doctrine consisted of twenty-five Council members, with the first being its appointed president, Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani. Fifteen members were elected on October 16, 1962, and nine were appointed shortly after by John XXIII.[39] Significantly, Tromp's first membership list adds asterisks to only seven names to designate those of the twenty-four members, both elected and appointed, who had served on the preparatory commission of 1960–62.[40] Among the new members were Cardinals Franz König and Paul-Émile Léger; Archbishops Gabriel Garrone, John Dearden, and Franjo Seper; Bishops André-Marie Charue and Georges Pelletier; and Marcos McGrath, C.S.C., auxiliary bishop of Panama. Ottaviani, who was continuing from the preparatory commission, designated Cardinal Michael Browne, O.P., an appointed member, as vice-president.[41] The commission did not select a fixed group of consultors or *periti*, as the preparatory commission had done, but left the selection of theological advisers to the

[38]The 1962 period is well known from many accounts of the Council, but for the developments and problems of the first intersession there is only one ample survey—that of Jan Grootaers, "The Drama Continues between the Acts: The 'Second Preparation' and Its Opponents," in *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY, and Leuven, 1997), 2:356–514.

[39]The elections were first scheduled for Saturday, October 13, at the Council's first working session, but were postponed at the request of Cardinal Presidents Achille Liénart and Josef Frings to the next Tuesday so as to allow wide consultation among the members—especially through the national and regional episcopal conferences. See Mathijs Lamberigts and Alois Greiler, "'Concilium episcoporum est'. The Interventions of Liénart and Frings Revisited. October 13, 1962," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 73 (1997), 54–71; and Leo Declerck and Mathijs Lamberigts, "Le rôle de l'épiscopat belge dans l'élection des commissions conciliaires en octobre 1962," in *La raison par quatre chemins: en homage à Claude Troisfontaines*, ed. Jean Leclercq, [Bibliothèque philosophique de Louvain, 73], (Dudley, MA, 2007), pp. 279–305.

[40]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:19, 21–23. Thus, less than one-third of the conciliar commission's members could be counted on to identify loyally with the texts produced by the predecessor commission of 1960–62. A majority of the members might well look upon the prepared theological schemas with detachment or even a critical eye.

[41]Late in Period II five new members joined the commission (four elected, one appointed by Paul VI). At the same time the commission elected Charue as second vice-president and Monsignor Gérard Philips, professor at Louvain, as adjunct secretary to serve along with Tromp. This confirmed the moderately progressive influence of the Belgians on major documents from the Second Vatican Council. Charue's diary, which is especially informative on the Doctrinal Commission, was published as *Carnets conciliaires de l'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue*, ed. Leo Declerck and Claude Soetens, [Cahiers de la Revue théologique de Louvain, 32], (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2000).

members, especially at moments of their forming subcommissions for work on particular schemas or chapters of schemas.[42]

The record preserved in Tromp's *Diarium* is not a personal work recording impressions and judgments like the Second Vatican Council diaries of Yves Congar, O.P., and Henri de Lubac, S.J., as well as the almost daily letters on the Council by Dom Helder Pessoa Camara.[43] Instead, Tromp kept a precise and complete "office diary," with daily entries that chronicled the doctrinal commission's work. This included meetings of the commission's leadership, with the decisions they made, the directives given "from above" for the commission to follow, the drafting work entrusted to subcommissions and individuals, the rhythm of production of texts, the comments and amendments offered orally or in writing by commission members before texts moved toward discussion in the Council *aula*, and the material that Tromp found relevant for the commission in discourses of the Fathers and texts circulating around the Council.

The present volume records, with documentary appendices, moments in the Council's treatment of the schema *De fontibus revelationis* amid the high tension of the *aula* discussion of November 14–21, 1962. Then follows an ample record of the meetings and texts of the Mixed Commission on revelation, in which Ottaviani and Tromp faced the growing influence of Bea and his Secretariat for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians. Despite the Mixed Commission's moments of internal conflict, which were emblematic confrontations of the early phase of the Council, these did not prevent production of a schema *De revelatione divina*, which went out to all the Council Fathers in May 1963, but was in time judged not sufficiently mature for discussion in the Council *aula*.[44]

[42]On March 3, 1963, Tromp recorded his personal judgment that bad fruit was coming from the commission's failure to designate *periti*, since this had allowed Bishop Joseph Schröffer to select Thils as *peritus* for the seven-member subcommission preparing the 1963 revised schema *De ecclesia*. This move upset Tromp, because Thils was a member of the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians and held extreme ecumenical views. See von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, vol. II, pt. 1:263. Philips, coordinator of the *periti* who were then working to revise *De ecclesia*, confirms that in the work of revision Thils argued forcefully for texts expressing "open theses." However, this was welcome, since Philips could then defend moderate formulations acceptable to the majority. See *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips*, ed. Karim Schelkens (Leuven, 2006), pp. 93–94.

[43]On Congar's *Journal* of the Council, see Jared Wicks, "Yves Congar's Doctrinal Service of the People of God," *Gregorianum*, 84 (2003), 499–550. On de Lubac's *Carnets*, see Wicks, "Further Light." On Helder's letters, see Wicks, "More Light," pp. 81–86. An English translation of Congar's diary has been published by Liturgical Press.

[44]Among the many appended documents are the minutes of the Mixed Commission's meetings. The edition gives in two drafts a *prooemium* prepared and presented by Garrone, revising a text of Jean Daniélou, which offered on November 27, 1962, an attractive biblical and kerygmatic account of divine revelation itself. See von

The diary relates a decisive moment of the Council—namely, the selection on February 26, 1963, as replacement of the Preparatory Commission's *De ecclesia*, of a draft written by Gérard Philips at the request of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens.[45] Then one can follow Tromp's record of the initial discussion and production, coordinated by Philips, of the 1963 revised schema *De ecclesia*. For *Lumen gentium* another key moment was the insertion, late in the 1963 process, of chapter 2, *De populo Dei*, before chapter 3 on the hierarchy and episcopate.[46] Also chapter 4, on the universal call to holiness, was added to *De ecclesia* in 1963, appearing before a treatment of the ecclesial role of persons specially dedicated to following the evangelical counsels.[47]

The newly published portion of the diary tells as well of the difficult genesis, in a three-part Mixed Commission (the Doctrinal and Eastern Catholic Churches commissions with the Unity Secretariat), of the first full draft of the

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Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1013–19. Although the text contained several themes eventually found in chapter I of *Dei Verbum* of 1965, Tromp and several others were severe critics of its style and content in 1963; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:139, 259 and II, pt. 2:938–41, 1038–39. Pietro Pizzuto studied the Daniélou-Garrone draft in *La teologia della rivelazione di Jean Daniélou. Influsso su* Dei Verbum *e valore attuale*, [Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia, 96], (Rome, 2002).

[45]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:257. Because Tromp was ill that day and absent from the meeting of the seven-member *De ecclesia* subcommission, he gives only a brief account, but the minutes taken by the recorder, Carlo Molari, are offered in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:888–93. The meeting began with Ottaviani stating that he had commissioned a draft by Archbishop Pietro Parente, but Ottaviani then exited the room, leaving the chair's duties to Browne. Of the seven members, five voted for the Philips schema—namely, König, Charue, Schröffer, Léger, and Garrone, with Parente abstaining and Browne favoring a text prepared by Parente.

[46]Suenens recommended that a new chapter II of *De ecclesia* treat the people of God, at the July 4, 1963, meeting of the Council's Coordinating Commission; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:485, 513. This had been suggested earlier by Thijssen of the Unity Secretariat and taken over by Bea in a letter of January 23, 1963, to Döpfner. But immediately before the July meeting, it was Monsignor Albert Prignon, rector of the Belgian College, who convinced Suenens to put his authority behind this restructuring. Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens at Vatican II," in *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, ed. Doris Donnelly, Joseph Famerée, Mathijs Lamberigts, and Karim Schelkens, [Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CCXVI], (Leuven, 2008), pp. 61–217, here pp. 94, 103 (with note 210).

[47]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:333 (Suenens's proposal, presented on March 28, 1963, to the Coordinating Commission), pp. 373 and 449 (Tromp relates this to the Doctrinal Commission, May 16 and 27, as coming from Döpfner), p. 457 (the *periti* Charles Moeller and Bernard Häring give backing on May 27 for the new chapter), and p. 463 (Charue relates on May 28 that Suenens's proposal has the backing of many Dutch, Belgian, German, and French bishops).

schema *De oecumenismo*.[48] Later, Bea added to the schema a brief chapter, *De Judaeis,* without any consultation of the Doctrinal Commission.[49]

This diary also relates the work of early 1963 to assemble texts on the Church and its outlook on and action in the modern world, in a Mixed Commission from the doctrinal and lay-apostolate commissions.[50] Suenens's programmatic speech, the *aula* on December 4, 1962, had exhorted the Council to direct its concerns *ad extra* to the world to contribute solutions to pressing global problems.[51] In January 1963 the Coordinating Commission mandated the formation of a Mixed Commission from the conciliar Doctrinal and Lay Apostolate commissions to undertake drafting of "Schema XVII" (later "Schema XIII") on the principles and action of the Church to promote the good of society. By mid-February, a general plan of work was in place, and *periti* began to be coopted and assigned to do initial drafting. Tromp's diary for the ensuing weeks refers often to the subcommissions of this developing project, up to his full record of this Mixed Commission's plenary session May 20–25, at which the lengthy schema was reviewed and largely approved.[52]

[48]Grootaers surveys this development concisely in "The Drama Continues," 2:429–35. Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:,235, with note 408, tells of the initial text presented February 22, 1963, by the *periti*, among whom the lead redactors were John Witte and Thils for the chapters, respectively, on the nature and principles of ecumenism in Catholic perspective and on the Church's ecumenical action. In time, chapter III's section on relations with the Orthodox churches digested the 1962 schema from the Eastern Churches Commission, to which the Unity Secretariat added in April 1963 a further section on relations with Protestant bodies; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:367. The Unity Secretariat's chronicle of the genesis of the schema is provided in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch,* II, pt. 2:793–99.

[49]Tromp's laconic note of July 27, 1963, on Bea's chapter on the Jews is provided in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:495. The secretariat had drafted a short text in spring 1962. After political considerations led to it being set aside, the pope approved resuming this work, leading to a statement that the secretariat's members approved in February 1963. See Claude Soetens, "The Ecumenical Commitment of the Catholic Church," in *History of Vatican II*, 3:257–346, here pp. 275–76.

[50]Grootaers relates this concisely in "The Drama Continues," 2:412–22. Giovanni Turbanti treats more fully the late 1962 and early 1963 developments; see *Un concilio per il mondo moderno. La redazione della costituzione pastorale «Gaudium et spes» del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2000), pp. 179–262. Turbanti's comprehensive study is covered in Wicks, "More Light," pp. 94–101.

[51]*Acta Synodalia*, vol. I, pt. 4:222–25, mentioning the inviolability of the human person and the population explosion, social justice and aid to the third world, evangelization of poor people, and international peace. Suenens's earlier "plan" for the Council, given to John XXIII in May 1962, had listed as well the *ad extra* topics of marriage and the family, the condition of culture, and the life of the political community. Lamberigts and Declerck, "The Role of Léon-Joseph Suenens," pp. 67–75, 138–39.

[52]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:191–93 (Suenens's January recommendations of members and experts for chapters on the human person, family and population, the economic and social order, human culture, and the international order),

However, the schema was soon judged by Tromp, Döpfner, and Suenens and to lack essential qualities needed in a document to be formally presented and discussed in the Council *aula*.[53]

Amid the mass of reported information in this volume of Tromp's diary, one unfolding dynamic is the loss of control over "their" documents by the leadership of the Doctrinal Commission. In the preparatory period from mid-1960 to mid-1962, Cardinals Ottaviani and Browne, along with Archbishop Pietro Parente, Tromp, and the leading *periti* of that phase, had acted with considerable autonomy in producing schemas. But the elections of October 1962 gave to critical individuals both voice and vote on the conciliar doctrinal commission, and soon the mandated Mixed Commissions forced the doctrinal leaders to collaborate with task forces from the Unity Secretariat and the Commission on the Lay Apostolate. The able and tenacious presidents of these two entities, Bea and Fernando Centro, along with their commission secretaries Willebrands and Achille Glorieux, began exercising influence on the doctrinal texts on revelation and the Church/world relationship. Most seriously, in early 1963 the Doctrinal Commission came under authoritative direction emanating from the seven cardinals of new Commission for Coordinating the Work of the Council.[54] This Council "directorate," created

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pp. 213–15 (six chapters foreseen; initial drafts presented on the person in society by Pietro Pavan, the economic order by Agostino Ferrari Toniolo, and "the community of peoples" and peace by the Dominican Raymundus Sigmond), pp. 279–81 (two-hour review on March 8 by the Mixed Commission's bishops of the chapters developed by the *periti* such as by Daniélou and Ermenegildo Lio on the human person and by Johannes Hirschmann and Lio on marriage and family), and pp. 385–443 (the plenary of May 20–25, giving Tromp's minutes of the afternoon sessions on each chapter and paragraph, with reports on the morning meetings of the different subcommissions and *periti* working to incorporate desires voiced by the members).

[53]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1142 (Tromp's June 25, 1963, memo after the election of Paul VI on the state of his commission's schemas includes his doubts that the schema on the Church in today's world is ready to go to the Fathers. It contains matters not pertaining to the Council and is questionable in deducing everything from human dignity. It presents a baptized humanism, without theocentric and Christological themes), p. 483 (Döpfner says on July 3 that he and Suenens believe the schema is not yet mature), and p. 487 (Suenens reports to the Coordinating Commission on July 4 that the text lacks unity and synthetic power, is short on revealed doctrine [e.g., the regal dominion of Christ], mixes certain doctrine with secondary assertions, and does not develop sufficiently the topics of marital fruitfulness and the value of human work.).

[54]Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:173, where Tromp listed the newly appointed cardinal-members: Ameleto Cicognani (president of the new Coordinating Commission), Achille Liénart, Francis Spellman, Giovanni Urbani (patriarch of Venice), Carlo Confalonieri (secretary of the Concistorial Congregation), Julius Döpfner, and Léon-Joseph Suenens. Tromp added his foreboding over Liénart's selection for such a role, since in the Central Preparatory Commission and in his *aula* discourse of

by John XXIII at the end of Period I, took charge of coordinating, overseeing, and regularly evaluating—according to criteria from John—the schemas produced by the Second Vatican Council's commissions, including the doctrinal, with Cardinal Achille Liénart having responsibility for *De revelatione* and Suenens becoming especially active as the Coordinating Commission's supervisor of work on *De ecclesia* and the schema on the Church in the modern world.

Much more could be related about the trove of information given in von Teuffenbach's edition of volume II of the office diary of Tromp and many related documents. But it is clear that the new volumes have made widely available the records of a quite important period in the unfolding of the Second Vatican Council.

The Diary of Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., at the Second Vatican Council's Early Sessions (1962–63)

The newly published diary of Schillebeeckx offers an English translation (pp. 1–45) and the original Dutch text (pp. 46–74). This may seem to be a minor record of only a small part of the Council, especially when one compares it with the ample diaries that Congar, de Lubac, and Philips kept for the whole or much longer phases of the Council. But one should not underestimate the record offered in these *Council Notes* of the Flemish Dominican. His engagement with the approaching council began with journal articles in February 1959, just weeks after John XXIII's announcement of his intended convocation of a council. Schillebeeckx then became an opinion-shaper, especially on broad collegial participation at the Second Vatican Council, by his ghostwriting in late 1960 of the Dutch bishops' booklet *The Coming Ecumenical Council*, which circulated rapidly and widely in several languages.[55] During the opening weeks of the Council, our diarist was well positioned for observing directions taken in the initial discussions, since he had examined the nine initially distributed schemas in a detailed manner and prepared, in mimeographed form, two "Commentaries" widely distributed in Rome on these first official draft texts of the Council.[56]

December 1, 1962 (*Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 4:126–27), the cardinal of Lille had advanced the view, contrary to Pius XII in *Humani generis* (and to the Preparatory Commission's schema *De ecclesia*), that the Mystical Body of Christ in fact extends more widely than the boundaries of the Catholic Church. On the institution of the Coordinating Commission and its wide-ranging direction of work during the first intersession, see Grootaers, "The Drama Continues," 2:365–70, 376–83.

[55]In addition to translations into German, French, Spanish, and Polish, English versions appeared in *The Furrow*, 12 (1961), 365–81; and in *Catholic Mind*, 59 (1961), 364–80.

[56]First came Schillebeeckx's 56-page "Commentary on the 'prima series' of the 'Schemata constitutionum et decretorum de quibus disceptabitur in Concilii session-

The present publication gives the author's notes (pp. 44–46 in English and pp. 73–74 in Dutch) on the nearly three-hour meeting on October 19, 1962, of nine French and German bishops and fifteen theologians, who agreed on the need of alternatives to the four initial doctrinal schemas.[57] At the meeting, Archbishop Alfred Bengsch of Berlin spoke out for a *non placet* on the four texts from the Preparatory Theological Commission, whereas Jean Daniélou held that good points could be lifted from them and fused into an acceptable text. But Schillebeeckx joined Karl Rahner in arguing that this was not possible, because the schemas were permeated by intentions discordant from the pastoral goal given to the Council by John XXIII. He held that one needs, instead, a new kind of kerygmatic address to the Church and to the world.[58]

Schillebeeckx's diary offers accounts of developments and the author's reactions in a continuous manner only for Period I, which ran from October 11 to December 8, 1962. This includes accounts of the author's service as theological *peritus* of the Dutch bishops during the opening discussion of

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ibus,'" treating the seven schemas sent to Council members in late summer 1962. The commentary is now published in its English version in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:948–91. When the drafts of dogmatic constitutions on the Church and on the Blessed Virgin Mary were distributed to the Council Fathers in late November 1962, Schillebeeckx hastily prepared an 8-page set of Latin "Animadversiones" on these, which saw rapid distribution in 1500 copies before the ecclesiology debate opened on December 1, 1962 (text in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1066–81, with Tromp's critical remarks in German, dated March 20, 1963, on pp. 1119–30). This activity, which many bishops welcomed, began before the Council opened, when the author addressed a group of Dutch missionary bishops on the schemas they had received. See Jan A. Browers, "Vatican II, derniers préparativs et première session: Activités conciliaires en coulisses," in *Vatican II commence . . .: Approches francophones*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux (Leuven, 1993), pp. 353–68.

[57] In his preface to the Schillebeeckx diary, "The Importance of Diaries for the Study of Vatican II," Mathijs Lamberigts discusses the slight differences in the accounts about those attending the October 19 meeting that appear in Schillebeeckx, de Lubac (*Carnets du concile*, ed. Loïc Figoureux, 2 vols. [Paris, 2007], I:132–33), and Congar (*Mon Journal du Concile*, ed. Éric Mahieu, 2 vols. [Paris, 2002], I:122–24).

[58] Schelkens, ed., *Council Notes*, p. 45. The four dogmatic schemas treated (1) tradition and scripture as sources of revelation; (2) correction of errors on ten doctrines that are undermining the pure communication to Catholics of the deposit of faith; (3) the basic principles of the Christian moral order; and (4) chastity, matrimony, the family, and virginity. Congar wanted to avoid a blanket rejection of the work of the Preparatory Theological Commission, in part because he knew there would be valuable portions in the commission's further schema *De ecclesia*, soon to be distributed. Still, the four published schemas give masses of juxtaposed particulars "ce qui manque . . . c'est la synthèse, la vision; c'est le sens du mystère chrétien" ("what is missing . . . is the synthesis, the vision, the meaning of the Christian mystery"). Congar, *Mon Journal*, I:124.

liturgical renewal. On October 17, 1962, it was known that liturgy would come up first for formal discussion. That evening Schillebeeckx spoke to the Dutch bishops on the schema, which he was on record as having commended as "in its main lines and details, an admirable piece of work."[59] The bishops commissioned him to write a short Latin text on points favorable to the draft that would serve as the basis of an eventual speech in their name in St. Peter's. Once debate opened on October 20, some backers of the liturgical status quo took positions that called for rebuttal, and so Schillebeeckx reworked the text of the speech. On October 25, one of the Dutch bishops learned about arguments against the schema that Cardinal Guiseppe Siri was to make the next day. So, Schillebeeckx did another revision with the result that on October 26 in St. Peter's Siri's main points met with counterpointed responses in the address immediately following by Bishop Willem Bekkers speaking for the Dutch episcopal conference.[60]

A further section (pp. 33–43) of the diary was written during Period II, treating more analytically the theological clash over episcopal collegiality, especially on the "trend votes" of October 30, 1963. On the latter, the diary includes the pertinent remark that the past weeks' discussion in St. Peter's gave the impression that the bishops were split into opposing groups of roughly equal size over basic aspects of the episcopate and its collegial nature. The votes then showed that those who opposed the innovative directions of the schema were in fact a small minority.[61]

In the total reality of the Second Vatican Council, Schillebeeckx had a limited role; although he was a resource for the Dutch bishops, he never became an official Council *peritus*. Nonetheless, he did work in 1964–65 on the subcommission on the family in preparing the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes*.[62] Of greater import were his 1964 lectures in Rome on the Church/world relationship, which drew attention and occasioned sharply critical reactions by de Lubac.[63] But our global view of the Council has to include the contributions of many individuals who acted at key moments, and one of these is revealed in Schillebeeckx's *Council Notes*, which are a small but fine addition to the great mosaic of the record of the Second Vatican Council.

[59]"Commentary on the 'prima series,'" in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2: 986.

[60]See *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 1:440–41 (Siri) and pp. 441–45 (Bekkers).

[61]The Council's opening discussion in 1962 of liturgical renewal had left the same "masking" impression, but the vote of November 14, to accept and develop the schema, showed, as Schillebeeckx noted, "on liturgy *in genere* 95% pro." Schelkens, ed., *Council Notes*, p. 19.

[62]See Turbanti, *Un concilio*, pp. 524–27, 633, 641.

[63]See Wicks, "Further Light," p. 560.

Reading the Second Vatican Council as Modernist Rupture with the Catholic Tradition

Some readers will be aware of a conservative Catholic agitation, centered in Rome, which recently called for a high-level critical review of the Second Vatican Council and its documents, to verify their continuities and more significant discontinuities with the normative Catholic tradition of teaching and practice. Monsignor Brunero Gherardini, emeritus professor of ecclesiology at the Pontifical Lateran University, is the leading theological spokesman for this appeal.[64] Another component originated in a large work of 1985, lamenting the Council's error of principle coming from modernism, by the Italian-Swiss philosopher of esthetics Romano Amerio.[65] In late 2010, the main exponents of this reading of the Council and of the urgently needed remedies for the Council's deviations held a congress in Rome under the sponsorship of the Franciscans of the Immaculate, at which the historian Roberto de Mattei was a principal speaker.[66]

For readers of this journal, de Mattei's published contribution will be of most interest, for he has brought out a one-volume history of the Council composed of 629 pages. The "hermeneutics of rupture" rule de Mattei's reconstruction. Far from promoting the ongoing celebration of the Council, he claims that many Council texts and directives have roots in neo-modernist currents treated too benignly by Pope Pius XII despite the opposition of vigilant critics to their subversions.[67] De Mattei does not cite or reference Pius

[64]Brunero Gherardini, *The Ecumenical Vatican Council II. A Much Needed Discussion* (Frigento, 2009), in which, after nine chapters raising critical questions, the author concludes his epilogue with a four-page "Appeal to the Holy Father," namely that "You offer some clarity by responding in an authoritative manner to the questions about the Council's continuity with the other Councils . . . and about its fidelity to the ever vigorous Tradition of the church" (p. 297). Gherardini's recent works on the Council's interpretation include *Ecumene tradita: il dialogo ecumenico tra equivoci e prassi falsi* (Verona, 2009); *Quale accord tra Cristo e Beliar? Osservazioni teologiche sui i problem, gli equivoci e i compromessi del dialogo interreligioso* (Verona, 2009); *"Quod et traditi vobis". La tradizione vita et giovanezza della chiesa* (*Divinitas*, 53 [2010], 1–399; Frigento, 2010); *Quaecumque dixero vobis: parola di Dio e tradizione a confronto con la storia e la teologia* (Turin, 2011); and *Concilio Vaticano II: il discorso mancato* (Turin, 2011).

[65]Romano Amerio, *Iota unum. A Study of Changes in the Catholic Church in the XXth Century*, translation from the second Italian edition (Kansas City, 1996). The Italian original was republished with a *postfazione* by Enrico Maria Radaelli (Turin and Verona, 2009). See Faggioli's account of Amerio's position in *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning*, pp. 26–29.

[66]The news service *Correspondenza Romana* offers an account of the congress at http://corrispondenzaromana.it/il-concilio-vaticano-ii-e-la-sua-giusta-ermeneutica-alla-luce-della-tradizione-della-chiesa, accessed March 2, 2012.

[67]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 31–77 (in the era of Pius XII, creeping theological novelties, especially in France, were noted but not suppressed in 1950 by

XII's encouragement, in *Humani generis*, that theology always return to the inexhaustible sources of our knowledge of divine revelation: "Hence it is that the theological disciplines, through the study of the sacred sources, remain ever fresh (*semper iuvenescunt*)." Without this *ressourcement*, which was characteristic of the preconciliar renewal currents, Pius XII says that theology turns into sterile speculation.[68]

In its aftermath, de Mattei finds the Council leading to the deleterious consequences of a many-sided Catholic crisis during 1965 to 1978 under Paul VI. This later "epoch of the Council" included developments such as a destructive reform of the Curia, the Dutch Catechism (1966), dissent from Paul VI's *Humanae vitae* on contraception (1968), infiltration of the Church by elements of the social revolutions of 1968, and the spread of the theology of liberation.[69] Because the Council did not condemn communism, the Vatican *Ostpolitik* discomfited loyal, long-time Catholic opponents of Marxist ideology and religious suppression. Paul VI implemented the Council's liturgy constitution with the revolutionary *Novus Ordo Missae*, in which critics found an "immanentist" and secularizing ecclesiological vision.[70]

Chapters II–VI of de Mattei's history set forth the Council preparations of 1959–62 and the events of each of the four working periods, along with information on developments during the three intersessions of 1963, 1964, and 1965. John XXIII had no coherent program, but was given to improvisations arising from his optimistic and benign outlook on life. This crystallized

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Humani generis, the Catholic biblical movement surrendered to reductive historical exegesis, the liturgical movement called for innovations infected by rationalism and archeologism, and the ecumenical pioneers adopted the World Council of Churches ideal of the people of God moving through history toward eschatological unity). Then pages 83–98 introduce far-seeing opponents to these threats such as the Brazilian law professor and Catholic activist Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (1908–95); Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P.; Joseph C. Fenton; José de Aldema, S.J.; and Antonio Messineo, S.J. (of *La Civiltà cattolica*). De Mattei presented the first-named of these Catholic watchmen in *The Crusader of the 20*th *Century: Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira* (Leominster, UK, 1998).

[68]See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 42 (1950), 568–69.

[69]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 527–54, followed by pp. 554–59 on perceptions of the situation by Paul VI ("the smoke of Satan" in God's temple), by Hubert Jedin, and by de Lubac (conference of 1969 at St. Louis University, denouncing abusive interpretations of the Council's documents). Pages 559–61 tell how Siri denounced errors and promoted a salutary emphasis on the Second Vatican Council's continuity with the tradition, especially in editorials from 1966 to 1986 that appeared first in the journal *Renovatio* and later in *Il dovere dell'ortodossia* (Pisa, 1987).

[70]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 563–74. The author catalogs works critical of the Missal of Paul VI (p. 569n180) and recalls the multiauthored *Breve esame critica* presented to the pope in 1969 by Cardinals Alfredo Ottaviani and Antonio Bacci, who lament the new Missal's departures from Trent's teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice (p. 570).

in the theme of *aggiornamento*, which, for de Mattei, rests on a naive belief that one can change inherited forms without losing doctrinal substance. But this was, in embryo, "the spirit of Vatican II."[71] De Mattei's account of Period I ends with his theory about the dynamic at work in the Council's approval of liturgical renewal followed by its critical handling of the doctrinal schemas on the sources of revelation and on the Church's nature, structure, and mission. After relating Siri's late 1962 catalog of disturbing developments, de Mattei takes over the view of Victor-Alain Berto, the *peritus* of Spiritan Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. Accordingly, the Council's members were not divided into a majority and minority, but instead into a tripartite division between the often undecided majority and two minorities seeking to give direction to the Council. One minority held Roman and Thomist principles, but was initially timid, whereas the anti-Roman and anti-Thomist minority showed determination and efficacy from the beginning in gaining broad backing for its critical positions.[72]

De Mattei relates, but does not reflect on, two aspects of the early part of the Council. First, well before the efforts of organized promotion fused together, an orientation vote on the liturgy schema on November 14, 1962, showed a huge majority approving the renewal set forth in what was the model-schema coming out of the Council 's preparation.[73] Second, in an interview given to Roberto Tucci, director of *Civiltà cattolica*, on February 9, 1963, John XXIII very plausibly read developments in Period I as the gradual appropriation by many Council members and by whole episcopates of the reforming hopes he had expressed in the opening discourse of October 11, 1962. In coherent, not improvised, directives given in the last days of Period I, John made the central paragraphs of that discourse normative for the revision of schemas and created the supervisory Coordinating Commission to ensure that revisions cohered with the pope's aims.[74]

[71]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, p. 118.

[72]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 278–83, in which, after texts by Siri, the author cites the sociological analysis of Melissa Wilde, which is presented in Wicks, "Further Light." But he is more convinced by Victor-Alain Berto, cited on p. 281, and by André Joussain's theory of modern revolutions that appears in *La loi des révolutions* (Paris, 1950).

[73]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 254 (the vote: *placet*, 2162; *non placet*, 46; invalid ballots, 7).

[74]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 286–88 (the interview, from Tucci's unpublished diary). The guidelines of December 6, 1962, for revision of schemas are given in *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 1:96–97. They cite John XXIII's opening discourse, including the distinction between the truths of the deposit of faith and the *modus quo enuntiantur*, which should correspond to the magisterium being especially pastoral in character. John's intentions were taken up and deepened in Paul VI's opening discourse of Period II on September 29, 1963, in a profound confession of Christ as light of the world and a succinct presentation of the four areas in which the Second Vatican Council would issue updated teaching and orient the Catholic Church to dialogical interaction with others.

De Mattei's history is especially informative on the members, eventual organization, and interventions during the Council of the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*.[75] As on other topics that it treats, on and from the *Coetus* this history offers numerous and sometimes sizable texts in Italian. A small committee came together during Period I, through efforts of the Brazilian bishops Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, S.V.D., and Antônio de Castro Mayer, who met with Lefebvre and some French priests dedicated to saving the Church from modernist subversion.[76] They sponsored conferences in November 1962 that involved Monsignor Salvatore Garofalo, coordinator of the drafting of *De fontibus revelationis* in the Preparatory Theological Commission, and Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini who insisted, against the "modernists," on tradition for knowing divine revelation. Period II in 1963 saw the *Coetus* formally organized and holding regular strategy sessions, especially against episcopal collegiality, under the leadership of Lefebvre, Proença Sigaud, and Bishop Luigi Carli of Segni. In Period III, the schemas on ecumenism and religious liberty became targets of circulars of the *Coetus* and appeals to Paul VI. They publicized as well their demand that the revised *De revelatione divina* be modified to give tradition its due along with the inerrancy of scripture and the historical character of the Gospels.[77] Before Period IV, the *Coetus* asked for, but was refused, an official role in the *aula* for voicing their critical views on religious liberty, revelation in scripture and tradition, the Church in the modern world, and relations with non-Christian religions. During the fourth period, a resolute Paul VI rebuffed attacks by the *Coetus* and its sympathizers on *De libertate religiosa*. But a long amendment prepared by the *Coetus*

[75]On this group, see Luc Perrin, "Il Coetus internationalis Patrum e la minoranza conciliare," in *L'evento e le decisioni: Studi sulle dinamiche del Concilio Vaticano II,* ed. Alberto Melloni and Maria Teresa Fattori (Bologna, 1997), pp. 173–87; and Philippe J. Roy, "Le Coetus Internationalis Patrum, un groupe d'opposants au sein du concilie Vatican II" (PhD dissertation, University of Laval, 2011).

[76]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 227–35, where one genealogical line goes back to the French Seminary in Rome in the mid-1920s, when Marcel Lefebvre, Victor-Alain Berto, and Raymond Dulac came under the formative influence of the long-time rector, Henri Le Floch, C.S.Sp., whom Pius XI ordered to leave Rome in 1927 following the condemnation of *Action Français*. At the Council, this group, formed into the *Coetus*, had the practical help of a fourteen-person secretariat set up and financed by Corrêa de Oliveira (p. 228).

[77]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 330–35 (Siri reluctant to take part in group action, because of progressive directions taken by Paul VI; on October 22, 1963, the first of the weekly *Coetus* meetings; Berto orients the group to coordinated submission of *modi* in numbers that those making the final revisions will be unable to disregard), pp. 374–78 ("reserved note" of September 1964 to Paul VI against collegiality, from Cardinal Arcadio Larraona and thirty-seven others, to which the pope responded forcefully with an eight-page, handwritten letter), pp. 389–90 (appeal to Paul VI by nine of the *Coetus* disturbed by imminent departures from the ordinary magisterium on ecumenism and religious liberty), and p. 407 (ten-page circular on insertions to demand in *De revelatione*).

gained more than 400 adherents to the demand, which was partially and indirectly granted, of a condemnation of communism in the passage on atheism in *Gaudium et spes.*[78]

De Mattei has given an account of the Second Vatican Council that is noteworthy in its coverage. But it is seriously flawed by neglect and even denigration of the leadership of John XXIII and Paul VI as well as of the leading Council members whose intentions—*aggiornamento*, reform, and pastoral renewal—cohered closely with those of the two presiding popes of the Council.

[78]De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 422–26 (1964 interventions for condemning communism, with ample citation of Carli), pp. 454–56 (request for an *aula* role), pp. 458–70 (dramatic clash with Paul VI over religious liberty), and pp. 492–502 (final offensive and the long *modus* against communism, which suffered an improper delay in transfer to the commission for final revisions, but in the end led to the addition to *Gaudium et spes*, no. 21, of note 16 documenting condemnations of communism by Popes Pius XI, Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI, with whom the Council joins in their *reprobatio* of atheism).

FORUM ESSAY

BY

NELSON H. MINNICH, JOSHUA BENSON, HANS J. HILLERBRAND, SIMON DITCHFIELD, PAUL F. GRENDLER, AND BRAD S. GREGORY

The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society. By Brad S. Gregory. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 574. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04563-7.)

Introduction by Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America)

In an effort to understand how contemporary American society came to be with its hyperpluralism of religious beliefs, emphasis on individual human rights, and dedication to consumerism, Brad S. Gregory looks for answers not to the Enlightenment, but to earlier eras, especially that of the Protestant Reformation. He approaches his topic from six intertwined perspectives: excluding God, relativizing doctrines, controlling the churches, subjectivizing morality, manufacturing the goods life, and secularizing knowledge. His investigation crosses national boundaries; sweeps across the centuries; and engages the disciplines of theology, philosophy, political science, sociology, economics, and even popular culture. An introduction explains his genealogical method and his conception of change over time, a conclusion summarizes his findings, and 145 pages of notes provide references to primary and up-to-date secondary literature in multiple languages. His writing style is lucid and even witty at times: "Whatever!"

In the chapter "Excluding God," Gregory shows how the late-medieval *via moderna* and its precursor John Duns Scotus departed from the traditional view of God as transcendent and incomprehensible, the God who revealed himself as "I am Who am" (Ex. 3:14) and whom St. Thomas Aquinas identified as the act of "to be" (*esse*). Scotus and his followers claimed that God shares being with creation, is conceptually part of the same framework as the created world in a "univocal metaphysics," and in nominalism is construed as the highest being (*ens*). Protestants insisted on the distinction between God and his creation, initially rejecting Aristotelianism and sacramentality as understood in the Roman Church. The Reformed and Radicals insisted that God is not physically present in the material world and that transubstantiation is a false teaching. After the early Church, they argued, God no longer manifested his power in miracles, and claims of apparitions and miracles wrought

through saints were to be rejected as superstitious beliefs. But Protestantism per se did not disenchant the world. Instead, the doctrinal disagreements of the Reformation era sidelined disputed Christian truth claims and opened the door for the intellectual exclusion of God via univocal metaphysics and Occam's razor through modern philosophy and science. In the seventeenth century (natural) philosophers tried to understand the world by using reason alone, identifying efficient causes, using mathematics, and seeing the world as governed by immutable natural laws. Natural theology using reason alone sought to understand the relationship between God and the world based on metaphysical assumptions of the *via moderna* in which God and nature belong to the same conceptual and ontological framework. Occam's razor and an either/or conception of natural and supernatural causality increasingly restricted God's role in the world. Once all events were defined as natural, miracles were explained away and there was no need for a God except as a remote first cause. Some philosophers turned God into Nature and Jesus Christ into an ethical sage. Nineteenth-century thinkers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher saw religion as the subjective realm of intuition and feelings. The intellectual elimination of God came not through the findings of science but through their conflation with assumptions of univocal metaphysics and the application of Occam's razor to the relationship between God's presence and natural regularities.

In the chapter "Relativizing Doctrines," Gregory traces the changes from the late-medieval world of shared beliefs, practices, and institutions to the current, highly personalized hyperpluralism of beliefs, values, and priorities. The Protestant reformers rejected what they considered the false truth claims of the Roman Church in favor of truths found only in scripture. They accepted the principle of noncontradiction and looked for divine inspiration when reading scripture. Despite their frequent claims that scripture interprets itself or needs no interpreter, no consensus could be found on such teachings as the Real Presence, infant baptism, oaths, free will, and predestination. Interpreters could be deceived, and Satan could present himself as an angel of light. Claims of revelations and illuminations by the Holy Spirit only added to the confusion. Human reason, whether tethered to scripture or alone and dispassionate in modern philosophy, was unable to resolve conflicting doctrines. Philosophers since Descartes have added a long chapter to a story they sought to move beyond. The great philosophical thinkers from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries contradicted each other, rejected the assumptions and alleged insights of other philosophers, and failed to agree on what reason discloses and dictates. Modern foundationalist philosophy sought through "reason alone" to transcend the unintended pluralism of "scripture alone," but replicated it in a different way.

In the chapter "Controlling the Churches," Gregory notes that, by the late-medieval period, rulers were controlling the Church but not its doctrines in their lands through the Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire* (1351–93) in

England, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) in France, the Acceptance of Mainz (1439) in the Empire, and a series of concordats. While Martin Luther urged rulers to reform the Church, he saw society as dominated by Satan and the public sphere as the proper domain of non-ecclesiastical rulers. He looked to Christian rulers to approve, support, and protect the Gospel. Magisterial reformers made an alliance with secular rulers against the antichrist of Rome and the Radical Reformers whose involvement in the Peasants' Revolt (1524–26) and New Jerusalem of Münster (1534–35) threatened church and state. In their respective political contexts, Catholic and Protestant churches became "entirely subordinate and dependent institutions" (p. 154). In the wars of religion (1520s–1648) everyone lost, and religion became associated with coercion, oppression, and violence. Novel political thinkers claimed that the job of rulers was not to protect and promote a particular religion, but to dominate it and punish lawbreakers. Holland, where Reformed Protestantism was the "public" but not the state church and where de facto toleration in private spaces of other confessions led to peace and prosperity, pioneered what would eventually become the modern Western model for the separation and coexistence of religion and politics. Religion was a private matter of personal preference as long as the citizen obeyed the state. The United States institutionalized the Dutch model by adopting the principle of religious freedom and privatizing religious belief and practice. Today, American courts decide what constitutes religion and which expressions of religion are permissible. The state achieves unity by exercising power and promoting an ethos of individualist consumerism.

The chapter on "Subjectivizing Morality" describes the gap between ideals and reality in late-medieval society, conceiving it as a moral community of shared rules and virtues. The Church did not seek to eliminate inherited social inequalities coming from the Roman Empire or feudalism in its appeals to charity, or since the twelfth century through its canonists' teachings on natural human rights based on human beings' creation in the image of God. Scholastics and humanists alike admired Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics,* with its teachings about virtues. Niccolò Machiavelli, however, separated the exercise of power from morality. Luther wanted political power exercised according to the Gospel, but he saw human nature as completely corrupt, rejected free will, and viewed Aristotle's teachings in the *Nicomachean Ethics* as opposed to the Gospel's message of God's grace. Ethics was separated from theology. The elect would do what is good out of gratitude for being saved, and the magistracy was to compel the reprobate to conform to law and public morality. The suppression of religious dissenters in confessional regimes prompted radical Protestants to apply rights of religious freedom to individuals rather than churches. The individual, not the established church, was to be the bearer of rights. Although the founding documents of the United States claim that the basis of these rights is self-evident in that they come from the Creator, this is today no longer universally accepted, nor is there anything near a consensus on what constitutes the common good. Each

is free to do what feels right within the limits of the law. No secular ethic has emerged to ground a shared moral community. Science cannot teach ethics nor provide a basis for the dignity of human persons.

In "Manufacturing the Goods Life" Gregory attempts to discover the origins of the capitalist-consumerism mentality of "acquire, discard, repeat" that serves as the cultural glue of contemporary society. Well aware of relevant biblical passages, medieval Christian leaders saw the dangers of acquisitiveness and preached against avarice and greed. They also violated their own admonitions. Up to a point, Christian morality kept in check the excesses of the urban profit economies and the competitiveness of market forces. While holding to traditional Christian morality concerning avarice, the Protestant Reformers separated morality from salvation and saw the world as overrun by greed and ambition. Disagreements about biblical teachings liberated markets and economic practices from Christianity. Across confessional lines, Christians beginning around the mid-seventeenth century increasingly preferred shopping to fighting about religion. The economic success of the Dutch Republic, where religion was privatized and one was free to pursue profit, led people to turn their backs on biblical teachings about material things. Among the Puritans in England and New England there was a gradual shift from the common good to self-interest, the public sphere was secularized, and there was a "migration of the holy" from church to state (according to John Bossy). Men sought to fulfill their duty to provide for their families. Wealth was to be accumulated and displayed; it was seen as a sign of God's favor and approval. The quest for more and more material things encouraged people to discipline themselves in Jan de Vries's industrious revolution and made them more easily governable by the state. Enlightenment thinkers praised the pursuit of happiness through material things, and avarice renamed as self-interest became a virtue. A new ethic emerged—the good life consists of the goods life, translated in the modern day to industrial capitalism and contemporary consumerism that serves to hold together societies of ideologically divided individuals.

In the chapter "Secularizing Knowledge" Gregory shows how the modern research university came to privilege objective, secular, specialized knowledge that is separated from the rest of life and based on the assumptions governing investigation in the natural sciences. The truth-claims of revealed religion are considered subjective and are altogether excluded from knowledge. Beliefs and rituals can be examined as cultural phenomena or relics in a religion, sociology, or history department. In the Middle Ages theology was studied in monastic and cathedral schools, in universities and the *studia* of the mendicants. It embraced the rediscovered Aristotelian philosophy and was in dialogue with other disciplines. New knowledge was derived primarily by deduction from authoritative texts: the Bible and church fathers for theology, the writings of Aristotle for philosophy, those of Galen for medicine, and the *Corpus juris canonici* and code of Justinian for lawyers. The literary works of

ancient Greece and Rome were models of style for Renaissance humanists. Correspondence among humanists created a "Republic of Letters" outside the university setting, in part because some intellectual endeavors were not welcome in a scholastic curriculum. Johann Müller of Königsberg in the 1470s and Mikolaj Kopernik in the 1510s also conducted astronomical observations outside universities. "By rejecting the authority of the Roman Church, the Reformation eliminated any shared framework for the integration of knowledge" (p. 326), while disagreements over doctrine led some to see religion as a matter of subjective opinion. Theology was privileged but thereby became isolated and insulated in early-modern confessional universities protected by rulers. Theologians devoted intellectual energy to confessional controversies, but this meant they usually ignored new scientific and historical knowledge. Those wanting to escape these divisive debates participated in the cross-confessional Republic of Letters to exchange increasingly secular ideas. Academies, private homes, and princely courts became new sites where experiments in the natural sciences were conducted and the findings reported as new, useful, and objective knowledge in scientific journals. Eventually universities in the Dutch Republic and Empire demoted the teaching of theology and initially gave prominence to philosophy and to research in philology, then increasingly to the natural sciences in the nineteenth century. The social sciences developed and tried to imitate the methods of the natural sciences so as to discover the laws that govern human behavior. The secularization of knowledge occurred first in Protestant universities as Catholic institutions retreated into a shell of antimodernist neo-Scholasticism, their secularization coming only in the late-twentieth century. The long-time privileging of theology, unexamined metaphysical assumptions, and ignorance of new knowledge meant most nineteenth-century theologians were ill equipped to deal with the challenges of Darwinism, higher biblical criticism, and historicism. Protestant pluralism could not be reconciled with objective universal science. The German model of a research university was eventually appropriated in America, and higher education was secularized because religious claims to knowledge could not be reconciled with pluralism. Christianity, watered down to nonsectarian principles and values, was treated as a civilizing factor. Eventually secular humanists looked to the great books and works of art to provide this civilizing force. Anyone who took religion seriously was dismissed as sectarian or a fundamentalist. The university's function was now to inculcate skepticism and open-ended toleration, to relativize or eliminate religious belief.

According to Gregory, it was the Reformation's rejection of the authority of the Roman Church, its insistence on *sola scriptura,* and its inability to agree on what the Bible teaches that precipitated the early-modern doctrinal disagreements and religio-political conflicts that unintentionally set this trajectory in motion. "Doctrinal disagreement—along with its multiple social, moral, and political effects—is the most fundamental and consequential fact about Western Christianity since 1520" (p. 45).

Comments of Joshua Benson (The Catholic University of America)

Gregory's first chapter tracks the genesis and consequences of two assumptions of secular reason. These comments will focus only on one: what Gregory calls a "univocal metaphysics" (p. 38). This assumption is important to Gregory's total narrative, and he frequently returns to it. He argues that the Franciscan theologian John Duns Scotus (d. 1308) lies at the source of this univocal metaphysics, which ultimately undercuts God's transcendence by including him within the realm of the created world. Those who adhere to a view known as "Radical Orthodoxy" have raised similar fears about Scotus. Although Gregory seems to distinguish himself from these individuals in his endnotes, his reading of Scotus is substantially the same. Regarding Gregory's text, I would like to point out briefly what a major group of scholars has already demonstrated at length about Radical Orthodoxy's reading of Scotus's doctrine of univocity—it is tragically flawed. As any number of commentators have stressed: "The doctrine of univocity is a semantic doctrine . . . it is highly misleading to talk . . . about a 'univocalist ontology,'"[1] or, metaphysics. In other words, Scotus's univocal concept of being belongs to the field of religious/theological language about God; it is not a claim about any purported relationship between God's being and created being in reality. Scotus does not believe, contrary to Gregory's reading, that his claim in a semantic field necessitates a claim about an ontological similarity between God and creatures in reality, such that "[God] belongs to a more encompassing reality with creatures" (Gregory, p. 37). Scotus himself makes this clear in one of the most critical texts regarding his theory, which Gregory does not cite: ". . . God and creatures are nevertheless totally distinct in reality, because they share in no reality."[2] One hardly needs to know Scotus's corpus well to discover this crucial distinction—there is a large body of scholarly literature, old and new, that maintains it. In fact, one of the sources cited by Gregory also shows that Scotus's theory does not undermine God's transcendence. Scotus indeed praises God's transcendence in his *De primo principio*: "You the first efficient cause, you the ultimate end, you supreme in perfection transcend all things."[3] This is not mere lip-service; Scotus holds that God transcends all things, and his univocity theory of religious language does not undermine it. Further, it is significant that fourteenth-century figures were more concerned to criticize Scotus's formal distinction and its implications for God's simplicity than issues regarding univocity and divine transcendence. Gregory's work

[1]See Thomas Williams, "The Doctrine of Univocity Is True and Salutary," *Modern Theology*, 21 (2005): 575–85, here 575.

[2]"[Deus et creatura] sunt tamen primo diversa in realitate, quia in nulla realitate conveniunt." John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio* 1.8.1.3 (Vatican City, 1956), 4:190n82.

[3]"Tu primum efficiens. Tu finis ultimus. Tu supremus in perfectione, cuncta transcendis." John Duns Scotus, *A Treatise on God as First Principle*, ed. Allan Bernard Wolter (Chicago, 1983), p. 143.

does not stand or fall on his claim about Scotus. Nevertheless, in a work so concerned with genealogies, we might hope for more care in their construction.

Comments of Hans J. Hillerbrand (Duke University)

This is a remarkable book, and given the attention it has already received it might well buttress its author's standing as key scholar of early-modern Europe. Its analytic prowess, bibliographical mastery, and conversancy with a wide range of developments in European intellectual history are all impressive. This is the kind of book reviewers wish to have written themselves.

Having said that, one must add, however, that the book's thesis and conclusions are neither new nor persuasive. That the Protestant Reformation was an intellectual, theological, and societal disaster has been a mainstay of Catholic critics—for them, Martin Luther was not only a poor theologian; he also destroyed a flowering late-medieval culture and worldview. To be sure, Gregory gives the traditional Catholic perspective an intriguingly new twist, but in so doing, he is not always successful.

It is not clear what kind of book this is. It is certainly not a history of the Reformation (although three of the four blurbs on the dust jacket are from early-modern historians.) Gregory has a lot to say about the Reformation, but he also says a lot about the centuries before and after the Reformation. Thus, his focus is considerably broader so as to sustain his argument that, no matter how committed to enhancing the place of religion in society, the Reformation produced the exact opposite—the philosophically confused, morally blemished, theologically irrelevant twenty-first century.

That, of course, is heavy medicine.

Unfortunately, in the six chapters of the book Gregory lets his thesis overwhelm the facts. Although he declares repeatedly that his book is more than an intellectual history of Europe, covering political, social, and economic developments as well, this reviewer, at any rate, is left with the impression that he slides all too smoothly over individuals and ideas that do not fit his scheme of things. There may be other culprits in the story of the "decline of the west," but Gregory leaves little doubt that the real culprit was Luther and his compatriots in reform.

At issue, then, is the question if developments in Europe can be traced so singly to the Reformation (as both title and subtitle of the book assert). I do not think so. Although I am pleased that religion, in varying guises, is given so central a place in Gregory's book, I also suggest that there were revolutionary developments that "secularized society" and had nothing to do with the Reformation. Take the role of the scientific and geographic revolutions where surely the work of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo had less to do with their

religious beliefs than with problems of the Aristotelian/Ptolemaic cosmology. Or take economics. The uniform medieval value system collapsed because the concept of the "just price" no longer worked. Europeans in faraway places traded cheap glass marbles for costly furs. What then was the "just price for furs in Europe?" Late in the sixteenth century, Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana offered the apt conclusion that "the market has its own laws." Add to that the Christian encounters with different religions, Louis Cappel's study of the Hebrew vowel marks, and the ubiquitous rise of natural science, and one must conclude that the new turns in the understanding of the world and its impact on society would have come about even if the likes of Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, or John Calvin had died in their respective cradles.

In short, things were just a bit more diverse than is brilliantly argued here, although one appreciates, perhaps grudgingly, Gregory's commitment to make religion important in European history. That makes (its flaws notwithstanding), *The Unintended Reformation* a book that needed to be written. Not that it makes a cogent case, but it should trigger a conversation.

Comments of Simon Ditchfield (University of York, UK)

This is a very American book and for a very simple reason. Even the least observant Briton visiting the United States today is struck by a paradox—although in the United States church and state are legally separate, the country has become a Walmart of religious faiths all jostling for the spiritual consumer's attention. By contrast, in the United Kingdom, where the monarch is head of the Church of England and the coins that jangle in our pockets all proclaim her as "Defender of the Faith," the public profile of Christian faith in particular and religion in general is, relatively speaking, all but invisible. Thus viewed from the British perspective, Gregory's lament for the parlous state of the present in which a cacophony of religious, philosophical, and moral "hyperpluralism" has superseded what, for all its dissonances, was essentially a harmonious pre-Reformation Age of Faith appears misplaced. So what has got Gregory's goat and impelled him to abandon his original project, which was to write a more conventional narrative history of the Reformation Age, in favor of authoring a passionate polemic of such breathtaking scope and learning? The answer lies in the specifically American context of its composition, where the failure of "the Secularization thesis" was given such dramatically tragic endorsement by 9/11. This has been accompanied by the so-called "religious turn" within the profession of U.S. academic history as reflected by the news that, according to data culled from membership details of the American Historical Association in 2009, "religious history" surpassed all other topic categories. If one adds to this the moral and actual bankruptcy of the financial sector and the unmasking of that demonic enabler of the "goods society"—easy credit—presaged by the collapse of Lehmann Brothers in September 2008, the necessary conditions are in place for Gregory's apologetic. However, the sufficient conditions are still lacking to contextualize

Gregory's argument, and here, to borrow E. H. Carr's sage injunction, one needs to attend to the sound of the buzzing within the historian's bonnet.[4] In Gregory's case, we are dealing with a scholar who is not only a trained historian and member of the academic staff at one of the pre-eminent Catholic universities in North America—Notre Dame—but also a professionally qualified philosopher, with two degrees from the Catholic University of Leuven. This unusual skill set for a twenty-first-century historian helped me understand why so often I found myself thinking that the facts adduced by Gregory for his argument were doing philosophical rather than historical work. To borrow an insight of Jonathan Sheehan in his subtle analysis of a work I consider to be similar in its ambitions to the book under review—Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2007)—*The Unintended Reformation* "is not a history. Rather, it documents a set of contrastive categories."[5] However, in place of Taylor's narrative of the shift from the premodern "porous" social self open to the spiritual world to the modern "buffered" individual for whom religion has been "excarnated" and rendered immaterial and transcendent, Gregory offers an altogether bleaker cautionary tale in which "the blithe and incoherent denial of the category of truth in the domains of human morality, values, and meaning" (p. 18) *has left religion itself secularized* (p. 174, emphasis added). For Gregory, the answer is to be found in a neo-Scholastic marriage of reason and belief, with philosophy as (once more) the handmaid of theology. The implication appears to be that we do not need a (scientific) truth to serve us, but a (religious) truth to serve. This raises a disquieting question. Where does this leave those of us religious historians who do not profess allegiance to any formal denomination and believe that our continued membership of the secular academy does not disqualify us from making valid contributions to the historical understanding of our chosen subject?

Comments of Paul F. Grendler (University of Toronto Emeritus and Chapel Hill, NC)

This comment will focus on the last chapter in which Gregory argues that the Reformation secularized knowledge, especially university knowledge. He argues that just before the Reformation "the monastic, scholastic, scientific, and humanistic strands of late medieval knowledge-making were not sequestered from one another" (p. 324). But then, "By rejecting the authority of the Roman church, the Reformation eliminated any shared framework for the integration of knowledge" (p. 326). Theology and theologians became separated from the scientific knowledge creation of the universities, a situation that exists today.

[4]E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (Harmondsworth, UK, 1962).

[5]Jonathan Sheehan, "When Was Disenchantment? History and the Secular Age" in *Varieties of Secularism in a Secular Age*, ed. Michael Warner, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, and Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 217–42, here p. 225.

There are historical problems with this argument. University scientific knowledge (medical, legal, and physical knowledge) was already separate from theological knowledge before the Reformation. How so? The most important universities for producing all knowledge except theological knowledge in the Renaissance and Reformation era (1400 through the early-seventeenth century) were Italian universities. Why? Because they had many (and famous) professors in these subjects, whereas northern European universities had few (and little known) professors. For example, the universities of Bologna and Padua had thirteen to twenty-eight professors of medicine and twenty to fifty professors of law in any given year in the sixteenth century. The universities of Heidelberg, Leiden, Vienna, and so forth had three or four professors of law and medicine each, but lacked professors of astronomy and mathematics. Professors in Italian universities created an enormous amount of new knowledge—good, bad, and indifferent—and disseminated it through lectures and publications. Professors in northern European universities produced little. Some of this new scientific knowledge had an enormous impact; for example, Italian university professors created the Medical Renaissance of the sixteenth century.

Italian universities had already marginalized theology in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By 1500 most large Italian universities had only one or two professors of theology and one or two professors of metaphysics in a professoriate of fifty to one hundred. Some had fewer theologians. For example, the University of Bologna did not teach theology through much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and theology won a permanent place in its curriculum only in the academic year 1566–67. Just as important, many professors of law, medicine, and natural philosophy had little respect for theology and metaphysics.

Another way of explaining the situation is that northern European and Spanish universities were collegiate universities teaching arts (meaning humanities and philosophy) to what we would now call undergraduates and theology to clergymen. Most of the teachers were regent masters, young men with master's degrees who taught younger students studying for bachelor of arts degrees. They resembled today's graduate teaching assistants. By contrast, Italian universities were graduate and professional universities whose professors held doctorates. They offered advanced training and conferred doctorates in law and medicine on mostly laymen. Hence, numerous northern Europeans acquired bachelor's degrees in arts in their home countries and doctorates in law or medicine in Italy.

In short, Italian universities were already research universities producing secular knowledge and marginalizing theology before the Reformation. In time northern universities became more like Italian universities as they caught up with and sometimes surpassed the scientific innovations of Italian Renaissance universities.

Other questions come to mind. To what extent did Scholastic theologians in late-medieval Europe evaluate the truth claims of scientific knowledge? And perhaps Gregory underestimates the antagonism between humanism and Scholasticism in northern European universities. A key component of humanism was its sharp critical attitude toward all received knowledge. Scholastic theologians and philosophers were a favorite target.

Finally, is it such a bad thing that a great deal of university knowledge was and is secular? Should theologians using the test of Catholic experiential knowledge have examined the truth claims of the new anatomical knowledge that Andreas Vesalius and his followers created? What would they have said?

Although this comment questions some of the arguments of the book, it agrees with much of its description of the development of knowledge and criticisms of contemporary American life, including the universities. Finally, two editorial suggestions are in order. The author might have divided the long chapters into sections, and have reduced the size of many paragraphs and sentences. The publisher should have provided footnotes.

Response of Brad S. Gregory (University of Notre Dame)

I am grateful to my colleagues for their reviews and to *The Catholic Historical Review* for the opportunity to respond briefly to their chief criticisms and questions. I will first address the two reviews that focus on specific points, then turn to the two that consider the book as a whole.

My interpretation of Duns Scotus and his metaphysical univocity is based entirely on secondary sources, beginning with Amos Funkenstein and including the other scholars of medieval philosophy and theology mentioned in the notes. Even if we follow those interpreters who, as Benson indicates, regard Scotus's conception of being as a semantic theory of religious language rather than an ontology, it would at most qualify the character of Scotus's contribution to the genealogical analysis traced in chapter 1. A more adequate account would then inquire about the process whereby Scotus's semantic theory was taken as a metaphysics such that God and creation *were* conceived ontologically as (infinite and finite) differentiations within the more encompassing *reality* of being and how this became the dominant metaphysical framework within which modern philosophical and scientific thought about the relationship between God and nature unfolded. For, whatever the particularities of the history, it seems clear not only that this happened but also that, in combination with Occam's razor applied to an either/or distinction between natural and supernatural causality, it explains why so many scholars and scientists today mistakenly assume that central claims of revealed religion are rendered implausible in proportion as scientific explanation of natural regularities proceeds apace. Any revised account taking its departure from Benson's point about Scotus, it seems to me, would not affect my argument in

chapter 1 about the critical role of Reformation-era doctrinal controversies in sidelining contested issues related to God's alleged revelation.

Grendler seems to have misunderstood what I wrote in chapter 6 about the relationship between theology and the other disciplines in late-medieval universities, whether in Italy (where I rely especially on his scholarship) or in northern Europe. That different sorts of knowledge (monastic, scholastic, scientific, humanistic) were not sequestered from one another on the eve of the Reformation, that they "coexisted and interacted among many of the church's intellectuals" (p. 324), does *not* mean—as I make clear—that they were integrated into a whole or that their interconnections were apparent at the time (pp. 317–26). The point is that the pursuit and transmission of knowledge, regardless of its type and whether it was inside or outside Italian or northern European universities, continued to presuppose an intellectual framework that included Christian truth claims and their theological expression. It was thus not "secular knowledge" in any modern sense. That is why professors in arts, law, or medical faculties in Italian no less than in northern universities, as Grendler knows far better than I, could be and sometimes were suspected of heresy. Theology's marginalization in Italian universities (and its institutionalization in friars' *studia*) did not imply that knowledge pursued in other faculties was opposed to or unrelated in principle to Christian truth claims. Their integration was simply not commonly pursued, still less achieved. In this sense, as I note (p. 318), the specialization of knowledge was indeed already underway in the late Middle Ages. But the Reformation's impact was dramatically different in kind, because Protestant reformers rejected many of the truth claims that constituted the doctrinal framework, rendering theology *incapable* of serving as an integrative discipline *across* what became institutionalized divides in confessionalized universities. Grendler's blandly general remarks about humanism and Scholasticism do not do justice to the pages I devote to their relationship (pp. 323–26), and his question about theology, Catholic experiential knowledge, and Vesalius's anatomical knowledge shows that he misunderstands the chapter's argument about how "the kinds of knowledge in question were undeniably different, and irreducible to one another" (p. 325; *cf.* 308–09).

A more basic incomprehension of the book as such seems apparent in Hillerbrand's remarks. His comments reflect some of the ingrained assumptions about periodization, supersessionist historical change, and textbook narratives of secularization that I challenge—hence his bafflement about "what kind of book this is." So, to be clear: *The Unintended Reformation* is a history book. It takes the present Western world as its point of departure. It seeks to explain how the past gave rise to the present, emphasizing the disruptions of the Reformation era to this end. I proceed in self-consciously unconventional ways for reasons that are clearly articulated in the introduction, which lays out the book's aim, rationale, and method (pp. 1–14, 20–24). Contrary to Hillerbrand's imputations (and Ditchfield's suspicions), the book's approach

presupposes no substantive religious commitments, Catholic or otherwise. An atheist careful not to impose personal views on those studied could have written it. If all religious truth claims turn out to be nonsense, nothing in the book's analysis or conclusions would change. I state repeatedly (and show extensively) that it was not "Luther" or the Reformation per se, but rather the unresolved doctrinal disagreements among Protestants and Catholics, as well as the concrete religio-political conflicts between Catholics and magisterial Protestants, that precipitated the Western world's *unintended* ideological and institutional secularization. One can approve or disapprove of this process and its outcomes, diverse assessments about which contribute to contemporary hyperpluralism; I offer multiple arguments about why our situation today seems troubling, but this judgment is separable from the historical analysis as such. Hillerbrand imagines that early-modern scientific and cosmological discoveries and the development of commercial markets were secularizing factors independent of religion and the Reformation's impact and as such provide evidence that I let my "thesis overwhelm the facts" and "[slide] all too smoothly over individuals and ideas that do not fit [my] scheme of things." Rather, such allegations make plain how little Hillerbrand understood of chapters 1, 5, and 6.

Instead of addressing any of its arguments, Ditchfield speculates about why I wrote an ostensibly "very American book." Yet the conclusions of many of its historical arguments pertaining to "the parlous state of the present"—about, for example, the absence of evidence for human rights given naturalist metaphysical assumptions, consumerism's impact on climate change, or the effects of the fragmentation of knowledge on university education—apply no less to Britain or European countries than to the United States. To be sure, hyperpluralism with respect to questions of meaning, morality, and values is more *publicly visible* and causes more political friction at present in the United States than in the United Kingdom, but a very wide range of incompatible ideological claims, religious as well as secular, is evident in both. I did not pursue in the book their specific, contingent, and complex particularities in different national contexts or the highly variable character of their current public manifestations and political implications. But these national variations are fully compatible with the book's argument.

I have been concerned with the questions that *The Unintended Reformation* seeks to answer since long before 9/11, the scholarly "religious turn," or the economic debacle of 2008. When I was still in Stanford's history department, Ditchfield reviewed my first book, *Salvation at Stake* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), in this journal. In its conclusion I wrote:

> It would be an exaggeration to say that unresolved religious disagreement caused the Enlightenment, the rise of modern science and philosophy, the early modern renaissance of skepticism, and the birth of modern relativism. Yet its important influence on all these major trajectories in modern thought is clear. (p. 348)

The Unintended Reformation extends and expands the exploration of issues raised in *Salvation at Stake*. I reject Ditchfield's apparent dichotomization of philosophy and history. Philosophy belongs to the human past and present, and all scholars make historically rooted philosophical assumptions whether or not they are aware of it. Among other aims, *The Unintended Reformation* seeks to raise philosophical self-awareness among all scholars on the basis of historical analysis, rather than acquiescing in dominant assumptions about disciplinary boundaries. Yet Ditchfield can relax, considering how well he does his scholarly work as a leading historian of early-modern Catholicism. Just as he professes no formal denominational allegiance, so *The Unintended Reformation* does not depend on any of mine, regardless of my institutional affiliations. I have always argued that doing good religious history is not a function of whether one is a religious believer. The book provides no basis for imputing to me the view that the answer to current problems "is to be found in a Neo-Scholastic marriage of reason and belief, with philosophy as (once more) the handmaid of theology." This should be evident from my remark about "comically simplistic papal diagnoses and remedies for the problems of modernity," such as "Scholasticism" (pp. 361–62). The contemporary *intellectual viability* of Roman Catholicism and some other religious worldviews in relationship to natural scientific findings should be acknowledged by anyone who understands the relevant intellectual issues involved, whether or not they accept any religious claims. That is why I say the academy should unsecularize itself based on its own principles of academic freedom and open inquiry. This has nothing to do with reconfessionalizing academic life or imagining that religious beliefs are a prerequisite for doing good scholarship. It bears instead on recognizing the nonneutrality of secular beliefs in a manner that would widen the range of intellectually responsible academic discourse.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Masters of Preaching: The Most Poignant and Powerful Homilists in Church History. By Ray E. Atwood. (Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books. 2012. Pp. xvi, 305. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-761-85780-8.)

A priest of Dubuque has written a most useful guide for anyone who wishes to consider more seriously the fact that preaching is, in the clear teaching of the Council of Trent, the *Primum Officium* of the priesthood. Ray E. Atwood provides the historical schema for the development of various schools and styles of preaching, from the Hebrew prophets to the twentieth century, with typical sermons and homilies in accessible translation.

The patristic tradition expounded sacred texts not only literally, spiritually, and morally but also allegorically and anagogically. Although the typology in the latter idioms when overwrought can wear thin, it obviously had an impact on their original hearers. This only shows that great preaching must not only have a timeless quality but also a certain datedness, if it speaks directly to the vernacular culture.

The author draws heavily on the Reformed theologian Hughes Oliphant Old, who proves to be a good source. For instance, in contrast to the sometimes extravagant rhetorical devices of the Cappodocians, he sees in St. Augustine a sacramental sense of preaching that did not aim at "great oratory" but rather understood preaching as an act of worship. The Second Vatican Council's teaching on the preaching ministry only renewed what had always been in the bosom of the Church and which in earlier times also had to be reinvigorated, as it was through such great lights of the Counter-Reformation as the Jesuit saint and cardinal Robert Bellarmine. He did not disparage oratory as an art and even encouraged its refinement, but not for its own sake. In his "De ratione formandae concionis" Bellarmine expects in a preacher "zeal, wisdom, and eloquence" and finds these symbolized by the tongues of fire at Pentecost whose "heat points to zeal, the splendor to wisdom, and the form of tongues, eloquence" (p. 209). St. Charles Borromeo's insistence on a thorough knowledge of history reminds us that the neglect of such study explains much of the weakness in contemporary preaching.

Since the book includes thirty sermons and introduces voices such as Ezekiel, Jeremiah, St. Basil the Great, St. Ephraim the Deacon, the Venerable Bede, St. Alphonsus Liguori, and St. Jean Marie Vianney, it is almost pedantic to regret the omission of St. Bernardino of Siena. The Dominican Jean-Baptiste

Henri Lacordaire is mentioned only in passing. But it is a major loss to have overlooked Monsignor Ronald A. Knox, the most polished and original preacher of his age. Instead, for the twentieth century, we have Walter Burghardt, whose admirable style could outshine content, and Venerable Fulton J. Sheen, whose influence on many somewhat atones for indulgent dramaturgy. "Cupio dissolvi" was not a motto instinctive to him, and his free use of Knox, G. K. Chesterton, and C. S. Lewis without attribution was so bold as to be almost guileless.

None of the preachers cited followed the author's advice that ten minutes should be the length of a homily. Just as a prelude and a sonata are not a symphony, so should distinctions be made between forms of preaching, and sacred rhetoric is not confined to the liturgy. At least preaching is no longer a "legitimate interruption" of the Mass, as the old Code of Canon Law had it. The reader will learn much from the many details presented here, although, alas, John Keble and Edward Pusey did not "follow [John Henry] Newman back to Rome" (p. 242), and Pope Benedict XVI did not canonize Newman. One hopes that may be a not too hasty prophecy. Atwood has written an edifying study, and both priests and people will benefit if it is widely used.

Church of Our Saviour, New York GEORGE W. RUTLER

The Franciscan Tradition. By Regis J. Armstrong and Ingrid J. Peterson. [Spirituality in History Series.] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2010. Pp. xxviii, 196. $16.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-814-63030-3.)

The present volume is the first in a new series launched by the Liturgical Press exploring five major spiritual traditions within the Catholic Church: the Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Franciscans. The focus of this inaugural volume by two recognized scholars of the tradition is to introduce the reader to Franciscan spirituality—in its various male and female expressions—through a survey of seventeen saintly figures within the tradition. A number of them are canonized saints of the Church (Francis and Clare of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, Colette of Corbie, Catherine of Bologna, Felix of Cantalice, the Martyrs of Nagasaki, Veronica Giuliani, Jean-Marie Vianney, Marianne Cope of Molokai, and Maximilian Kolbe); others are officially recognized as blessed (Junípero Serra and Mother Mary of the Passion); and a few are generally acknowledged as men and women of outstanding holiness (Angela da Foligno, Matt Talbot, and Solanus Casey). To account for the broad diversity of the Franciscan Family in history, the authors have chosen representative figures from all four branches of the Franciscan Family: the First Order of male Franciscans (including examples from all three of its branches: the Observants, Conventuals, and Capuchins); the Second Order of Poor Clares; the Third Order Secular of laymen and laywomen; and the Third Order Regular. The volume is thus carefully thought out with respect to the complexities of

Franciscan history and representative of its medieval, Renaissance, early modern, and modern periods.

The overall structure of this slim but substantive volume follows a simple pattern: a biographical sketch of each saintly figure, followed by selections from the writings of (or about) the individual in order to give a flavor of the spiritual orientation of each Franciscan.

Readers or preachers looking for biographical sketches of the key spiritual figures of this religious tradition have had to rely, for many years, chiefly on the heavily pious and uncritical *Franciscan Book of Saints* by Marion A. Habig (Chicago, 1959; rev. 1979). The biographical overviews in the present volume, although considerably more compact in scope, are a major improvement on the older work, especially in its increased sensitivity to the relationship between hagiography and history. Most of the sketches contain pertinent details on the lives of each of these saintly figures. The most disappointing sketch—perhaps the most difficult to render due to the amount and diversity of the literature—is the one treating Francis of Assisi. Indeed, the socioeconomic and political context of early-thirteenth-century Assisi, so formative of the early minorite spiritual vision, is curiously absent in this treatment, although one finds a passing reference to it in the sketch on Clare. Similarly, there is little mention of the tensions that wracked the male movement in the Middle Ages, whereas Clare's travails with the papacy are pointedly noted.

The selection of texts that illuminate the spiritual vision of each figure is judicious and evocative. Indeed, a number of the texts (e.g., the *Pantheologia* for Bonaventure, the *Testament* of Colette, and especially the letters of Sera) are relatively unfamiliar and instructive.

The one real disappointment of the volume is that there is no synthetic essay attempting to present or grapple with a cohesive vision of Franciscan spirituality. Perhaps this is due to the structure of the book. But this is to be regretted since the reader is left with a somewhat fragmentary and impressionistic rather than analytical presentation of this particular spiritual tradition, which is the aim of the series. The work could have used more rigorous attention to copyediting.

Dominican House of Studies MICHAEL F. CUSATO, O.F.M.
Washington, DC

Sulle trace di una storia omessa: Storiografia moderna e contemporanea dell'Ordine francescano. By Giuseppe Buffon. [Analecta Francescana, Tomus XVIII; Nova Series: Documenta et Studia, 6.] (Grottaferrata: Frati Editori di Quaracchi. 2011. Pp. 271. €35,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-870-13282-3.)

In this book, Guiseppe Buffon confronts the lack of interest in the history of the Franciscan Order from the time of the official division of Observants

and Conventuals in 1517 until the Second Vatican Council (p. 29). The reason, he claims, is to be found in a misinterpretation of the Council's call for religious orders to rediscover the spirit and aims of their founders. For Franciscans, this has resulted in an unbalanced emphasis on the writings and early history of the brotherhood prior to St. Bonaventure, at the expense of the Order's modern institutional history. The reforms and divisions of the latter period have been treated as irrelevant in terms of the order's attempt to uncover its true identity in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council (pp. 39–45). In addition, some scholars have claimed that, because it is so "splintered, wide-spread and wide-ranging in focus: the typical Franciscan history simply does not exist,"[1] Buffon refuses to accept this state of affairs, arguing that the essence of Franciscan identity is to be found in the totality of the Order's history, complex and conflictual as it may be.

Given that St. Francis himself did not intend to found an order, a critical acceptance of pluriformity in interpreting his charism would, according to Buffon, constitute an important starting point in the search for Franciscan identity. Problems occur when any one group within an institute claims to have found the key to the charism, excluding other groups as decadent or deviating from the founder's perceived intention. Buffon cites Heribert Holzapfel's history of the Order (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909) as an example. This work aroused such controversy that it had to be withdrawn from commercial sale (pp. 47–51). A member of the Observant family and promoter of the Leonine Union of 1897, Holzapfel considered the separation of 1517 as an unfortunate necessity, promoting, as it did, official sanction of two diverse interpretations of the Franciscan charism. This paved the way for further divisions, each one convinced of its own legitimacy in terms of faithfulness to St. Francis. They were the work of restless and ambitious men, who professed reform so they could exempt themselves from obedience and detach themselves from their legitimate superiors. With the passage of time, the Observants would have demonstrated their vitality and propensity for reform without the need for these divisions (p. 49).

In contrast to Holzapfel, Buffon suggests that what is required is a new history of the order that takes serious account of particular histories and of other literature produced by the different parties concerned (Observants, Reform, Recollects, Alcantarines, Capuchins, and Conventuals, pp. 249–53). He examines several of these works in detail, placing them in their historical context without neglecting associated controversies and hagiographical debates (pp. 66–228). An extensive bibliography also is included (pp. 7–26). Buffon argues that this material reveals a constant dialectic between the central administration of the Order and autonomous groups, between official his-

[1]Emma Furniss, "The Franciscan Order in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Western Europe: A Historiographical Survey," *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 12 (2006), 10. Buffon, p. 259n5.

tory and history as interpreted by individual groups, and between pluralism/autonomy and unity. All this, he claims, has contributed to Franciscan identity (p. 259).

Although primarily of interest to those concerned with the nature of Franciscanism, Buffon's work may have wider appeal. His approach might well encourage discussion of the nature of reform in religious life and the multiplicity of factors, both within and without an Institute, that contribute to its success or failure in any given period. A historiographical approach, according to Buffon, enables the scholar to take in a wider perspective than one focused exclusively on the founder and his or her immediate surroundings. His is a timely reminder that, in addition to "accepting and retaining the spirit and aims of each founder," the "sound traditions" of an institute should also be retained as constituting "the patrimony of an institute" (*Perfectae Caritatis* §2 (b). Historiography is an important instrument in determining that patrimony.

Stoke Nelson, New Zealand MAURICE CARMODY

Le pergamene dell'Archivio Capitolare Lateranense. By Louis Duval-Arnould. [Tabularium Lateranense 1, a cura del Capitolo di San Giovanni in Laterano.] (Vatican City: Archivio Capitolare Lateranense. 2010. Pp. 427. €40,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-890-50470-1.)

It is hard to believe that until very recently anyone who wished to consult the documentary archives of the chapter of the Lateran Basilica—built by Emperor Constantine and long the seat of the papacy—had to rely exclusively on two handwritten inventories dating to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, preserved today as manuscript A.75 and A.31 (pp. 189–220). Paul F. Kehr, his recent successors, and Philippe Lauer had indeed used the archives for their publications in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but Andreas Rehberg urged as late as 1999 to create at least an inventory for the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century parchments that were kept rolled up in an *armario*.[1] It is very fortunate, therefore, that Louis Duval-Arnould—the former Latin scriptor of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (1969–2003), head of the papal library's division of manuscripts from 1998 to 2003, and since 1995 a canon of San Giovanni in Laterano as well as prefect of the chapter's archive—has taken on the arduous task of publishing an inventory of the fond of parchment documents of the Lateran Chapter.

The introduction (pp. 7–17) very briefly explains the historical vicissitudes of the Lateran over many centuries. They resulted on the one hand in

[1]Andreas Rehberg, *Die Kanoniker von S. Giovanni in Laterano und S. Maria Maggiore im 14. Jahrhundert: Eine Prosopographie* [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 89], (Tübingen, 1999), p. 7n24.

enormous losses, one assumes—the earliest document preserved is a copy of a privilege for the chapter of Pope Leo IX—and on the other hand caused a wide dispersal of documents. To complicate matters further, the Lateran Chapter archive also incorporated over the centuries records pertaining to several monasteries that were annexed by San Giovanni in Laterano (Sant' Andrea in Selci or de Castellis, San Pietro di Ferentillo, Santa Maria della Gloria at Anagni, and Saint-Pierre de Clairac). Also incorporated by the Lateran was a priory of regular canons, San Tommaso in Ascoli. In addition, documents belonging to San Lorenzo ad Sancta Sanctorum in the papal palace were added to the chapter archive (p. 8). It should be noted in the case of Santa Maria della Gloria, absorbed by the Lateran in 1477, that this monastery had earlier annexed in its turn a monastery, Bagnara Calabra. Similarly, Bagnara Calabra had taken over the monastery of Santa Lucia della Montagna in Sicily with its records. Records from all of these monastic institutions are preserved among the documentary materials for San Giovanni in Laterano itself. Yet another illustration of the difficulties that Duval-Arnould encountered is the fact that today one section of the Lateran archive is preserved at the Casa generalizia of the Regular Canons of the Lateran at San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. The other section of the Lateran archive is housed at the Archivio di Stato in Florence. These latter materials had originally been transferred to the monastery of San Bartolomeo dei Rochettini at Fiesole and were moved to Florence after San Bartolomeo was closed.

The inventory is divided into three parts—I: Serie Q, pergamene; II: Le raccolte medievali (Codici A. 75 and A.31); and III: Bollario della Chiesa Lateranense, where all papal privileges and other correspondence are inventoried, beginning with the privilege of Pope Leo IX of 1049 or 1050 (no. 1, p. 223) already mentioned and ending with a breve of Pope Paul VI of 1969 (no. 558, p. 340). The author modestly acknowledged the value of the inventory compiled in 1763 by the Benedictine Pier Luigi Galletti, whose classification he praised and maintained (p. 9). This means that all parchments are described in a single series, labeled as "Q" and divided into subsections by subject matter. The exceptions are papal documents, as previously noted. These are found arranged by date and numbered in part III of the volume called the *Bollario* (pp. 223–340). Parts I and III will probably be most useful for the modern period, but of particular interest are two medieval inventories published by Duval-Arnould in part II of the catalog (pp. 189–205). They constitute the manuscripts A.75 and A.31 in the "Q" series of the Archivio capitolare Lateranense. The oldest one, A.75, was compiled at the time of Pope Boniface VIII by the Canon Niccolò Frangipane, who was by 1297 among the first of the secular members of the chapter of San Giovanni.[2] Boniface eventually replaced all of the regular canons following the Rule of St. Augustine with secular canons in a bull of 1299 (Bullarium no. 217, p. 271), claiming that the regulars had dispersed the properties of the Lateran Basilica, but used the

[2]Rehberg, p. 23.

property in his turn to reward his aristocratic followers (p. 8). The second medieval catalog, Archivio capitolare Lateranense, codex A. 31, dates from the first half of the sixteenth century (pp. 13–14). Scholars will be very grateful to have these old catalogs at their fingertips, allowing comparisons with Galletti's inventory, thus revealing at least fragments of the history of the Lateran archive and therefore of the political and economic influence of the Lateran Basilica. It is sad to note how many manuscripts and documents have been lost since the mid-nineteenth century (pp. 10–11).

The catalog has been edited with great care and is admirable for its clarity. Each item of the inventory, whether original or copy, or original and copy, is dated as precisely as possible and preceded by a brief summary (calendar); the entries are followed by succinct references to external features and bibliographical references when applicable. Detailed indices facilitate the use of the volume. They include an index of incipits for the papal letters, and the extremely important index of names of persons and places (pp. 343–426). One notes with pleasure that three additional volumes are already planned for the *Tabularium Lateranense* series.

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

Ancient

Heretics and Heresies in the Ancient Church and in Eastern Christianity. Studies in Honour of Adelbert Davids. Edited by Joseph Verheyden and Herman Teule. [Eastern Christian Studies, Vol. 10.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. x, 395. €59,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92486-4.)

Recent scholarship has been fertile both in the study of heretics and in studies of heresy. Commonly the former show more evidence of reading than of reflection, whereas in the latter there is more reflection than evidence of reading. The first type, better though not the best conceivable, predominates in this collection in honor of the Dutch scholar Adelbert Davids. Boudewijn Dehandschutter justly observes, in "Heresy and the Early Christian Notion of Tradition," that Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian entertained different notions of the rule of faith, but the bias that he professes to be correcting on page 8 is already obsolete in the English-speaking world. When Anthony Hilhorst ("Christian Martyrs outside the Catholic Church") concludes that "the prestige of the martyr's status may have been fatal to the survival of Gnosticism" (p. 36), he casts some old stones and leaves the rest unturned. In "Heracleon and the Hermeneutics of Prepositions" Annewies Van den Hoek hints at a more skeptical appraisal of conventional taxonomies when she finds that Origen and his interlocutor used "similar linguistic tools" (p. 49) in the service of a shared conception of hermeneutic activity. Fred Ledegang's "The Ophites and the 'Ophite' Diagram in Celsus and Origen" is genuinely critical in its parsing of the impenetrable documents that remain to us. Jan van Amersfoot supplies enough evi-

dence to justify the title of his offering, "The Ebionites as Depicted in the Pseudo-Clementine Novel"; on the other hand, he cites no ancient witness in support of his claim that Valentinus "taught freely in the Church of Alexandria" (p. 86). Kristoffel Demoen, in "Incomprehensibility, Ineffability and Untranslatability," adds little of his own to a catena of excerpts from St. Gregory of Nyssa; in a subtle essay on "Preaching and the Arian Controversy" Johan Leemans shows that Gregory is winnowing orthodoxy from heresy even when dispensing praise and consolation to his own partisans. Joseph Verheyden's "Epiphanius of Salamis on Beasts and Heretics" bring to light an imaginative strain in the herpetology of the fourth century's Grand Inquisitor. Daniela Müller, in "Aspekte der Ketzerverfolgung," corroborates the well-known fact that heresies were defined in Byzantium by imperial law and in the West by bishops under Roman hegemony. Peter van Deun's edition of ten short *Chapters on the Double Will of the Lord* will put scholars in his debt, although Maximus's intimation that theology should deal in facts, not words (p. 212), would make it impossible to formulate either dogma or a history of doctrine. Antoon Bastiaensen on "Les vocables *perfidus* et *perfidia*" shows that these perennial terms of vilification signify the failure of the Jews to keep faith with God. Martin Parmentier offers an edition of a Latin text, whose "Rules of Interpretation" include the incorporeality of the Godhead, the discreteness of the three persons, and their common possession of divine attributes. Gerard Bartelink's "Die Invektiven gegen Nestorius" is an inventory of opprobrious terms in Cassian, also taking note of the tropes that he fails to employ. In a study of the Syriac prelate Gîwargis of Kaphră, Dietmar Winkler decides that the terms *Nestorian* and *Monophysite* are blunt tools for historians of Christology, whereas Hubert Kaufhold, in "Häresie, Schisma und Apostasie," argues that these concepts are not differentiated in Georgian and Armenian histories. Once again, however, it would be anachronistic to assume that they are in common use today. While Herman Teule investigates the sources of a compendium by Bar-Hebraeus, Fedor Poljakov professes to have discovered "Gnostiken Reminiszenzen" in the Russian liturgy, and Bert Groen deprecates passages in the "modern Byzantine liturgy" that appear to countenance "anti-Judaism."

Christ Church, Oxford MARK EDWARDS

One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. 239. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-19416-7.)

Monotheism between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen. [Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 12.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2010. Pp. vi, 225. €48,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92242-6.)

These two collections of essays are the product of a conference entitled "Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire (1–4 *c.* AD)" that was held at Exeter University in July 2006 and represented a highlight of a triennial research pro-

gram on the intellectual background to pagan monotheism. The program was conceived as a response to the volume *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, edited by Michael Frede and the reviewer.

The two books differ in conception and format. *One God* is an elegantly produced hardcover, containing six basically conceptual essays by recognized authorities in the field of religious studies, as well as the contributions of the two editors. *Monotheism*, on the other hand, is a paperback volume, apparently less carefully edited, which takes the form more of a series of case studies, as the editors themselves note (p. 8). While accepting "pagan monotheism" as a heuristic tool, both books give emphasis to the social and political context of religious praxis and the preeminence of cult and ritual over ideology, although the editors point to a chronological division between the two. Regarding the "Constantinian revolution" as a watershed, they assign to *One God* papers dealing with the era before the recognition of Christianity as a *religio licita* and to *Monotheism* those relating to the period 350–450. It may also be noted that *One God* concentrates on the Greek East, whereas *Monotheism* draws to an equal extent on Latin sources.

The papers in *One God* reflect the fundamental distinctions among (a) "soft" (inclusive) pagan and "hard" (exclusive) Judeo-Christian monotheism, (b) numerical and qualitative oneness, and (c) monotheistic thought and polytheistic cult. In a well-structured methodological article, "Pagan Monotheism as a Religious Phenomenon" (pp. 16–33), Peter Van Nuffelen discusses the history and usefulness of such coinages as henotheism, monotheism, and monolatry, together with the neologism megatheism, in the context of the study of Greco-Roman religion. All these terms, he argues, point to the changed way of conceiving and worshiping the godhead in the Roman Empire as from the first century, a change brought about by the interaction between various religious trends under the growing influence of philosophical discourse. Change is equally the central issue in the analysis of Roman religion from the first to the fourth century by John North, "Pagan Ritual and Monotheism" (pp. 34–52), although his emphasis is on social and sociological factors (listed on pp. 42 and 51); not only does North minimize the role of philosophy in the process of mutation, but he dismisses altogether the idea that the tendency toward monotheism is "a necessary condition for the religious transformations we are seeking to analyse" (p. 51). Frede ("The Case for Pagan Monotheism in Greek and Graeco-Roman Antiquity," pp. 53–81) and Stephen Mitchell ("Further Thoughts on the Cult of Theos Hypsistos," pp. 167–208) remain faithful to the positions adopted in their respective essays in *Pagan Monotheism*. Emphasizing continuity and intellectuality, Frede brings in evidence from Antisthenes, Chrysippus, and Galen to prove that philosophy is at the heart of ancient religion, which "is not just a matter of cult and ritual" (p. 81). By adducing new epigraphic evidence, Mitchell restates his thesis that the cult of Theos Hypsistos was "in essence and in spirit, if not in the narrowest definition, a form of monotheistic religion" (p. 198).

With reference to St. Augustine's reception of the Platonic theology, Alfons Fürst ("Monotheism between Cult and Politics: The Themes of the Ancient Debate between Pagan and Christian Monotheism," pp. 82–99) argues that the Christian apologists "found the decisive difference at the level not of the concept, but of the worship of God" (p. 85). Fürst sees this antithesis as already present in Origen's answer to Celsus and, following the influential thesis of Carl Andresen in *Logos und Nomos* (Berlin, 1955), states that the debate focuses on issues of ethical, social, and political order and more specifically on "the complementary headings *logos* and *nomos*" (p. 94), rather than on theoretical principles concerning the nature of the godhead.

The importance of the social context of religious belief and praxis is emphasized by Christoph Markschies ("The Price of Monotheism: Some New Observations on a Current Debate about Late Antiquity," pp. 100–11), Angelos Chaniotis ("Megatheism: The Search for the Almighty God and the Competition of Cults," pp. 112–41), and Nicole Belayche ("*Deus deum… summorum maximus* (Apuleius): Ritual Expressions of Distinction in the Divine World in the Imperial Period," pp. 141–66). Using epigraphic evidence from a wide religious spectrum that includes Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and pagan confessional statements, all three authors argue that pagan monotheism is not a helpful tool in a discussion of religious identity. Instead, they presuppose a polytheistic background against which individuals, groups, cities, and communities advocate the supremacy of their own god in a spirit of basically amicable competitiveness. In particular, Markschies uses evidence from fifth-century Samaria to attack Assmann's theory of primary (polytheistic) and secondary (monotheistic) religions that are responsible for the eristic distinction between the one true god they worship and the many false gods of everybody else. In this he is not alone; Assmann casts a heavy shadow over *One God*, particularly the introduction (e.g., pp. 2, 4, 9–10), and most of the authors prefer to convey a tolerant, multicultural image of the Mediterranean world in Roman imperial times. One may wonder, however, whether this irenic, postmodern vision, bred in the last few decades within an environment of neoliberal competitive ideology and practice, is not something of an oversimplification, reflecting one aspect only of a complex historical reality.

In contrast, *Monotheism* steers clear of such firm preconceptions. Most papers comment on the Christian-pagan discourse and therefore discuss issues of reception and misrepresentation, appropriation and propaganda, and distortion and slander, as well as concentrating on the dialectic between inclusiveness and exclusion in social and intellectual terms. Maria V. Cerruti ("'Pagan Monotheism'? Towards a Historical Typology," pp. 15–32) uses a variety of philosophical texts to illustrate the typological distinction between the hierarchical and the syncretistic forms of pagan monotheism. In a very fine article, Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui ("Orphic God(s): Theogonies and Hymns as Vehicles of Monotheism," pp. 77–100) takes us through a thousand years of Orphic monotheism and its tribulations at the hands of various philosophers

as well as of Jews and Christians. Giulia Sfameni Gasparro ("One God and Divine Unity. Late Antique Theologies between Exclusivism and Inclusiveness," pp. 33–56) contrasts the social all-inclusiveness of Christian communities with the intellectual exclusivity of paganism, whose *Sitz-im-Leben* is the philosophical school. In "*Eadem spectamus astra*. Astral Immortality as Common Ground between Pagan and Christian Monotheism" (pp. 57–76), Bert Selter draws on the corpus of *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* to show how the quintessentially pagan belief in astral immortality is presented by the Christians as their own. With reference to the careers of two famous rhetors ("Pagan Conceptions of Monotheism in the Fourth Century: The Example of Libanius and Themistius," pp. 101–26), Isabella Sandwell illustrates the unsurprising compatibility between monotheistic and polytheistic belief in the fourth century. Reading a variety of ancient philosophical and rhetorical sources in the light of Max Weber's discourse ("From Philosophic Monotheism to Imperial Henotheism: Esoteric and Popular Religion in late antique Platonism," pp. 127–48), Niketas Siniossoglou explores the tension between philosophical monotheism and cultic henotheism, arguing that, despite Emperor Julian's efforts toward combining the two, the inclusive attitude of paganism prevented it from ever becoming an *Alltagreligion*. Finally, three papers, by Crystal Addey, Maijastina Kahlos, and Gillian Clark, concentrate on Augustine's critique of the approval of polytheistic cult by pagan philosophers with a monotheistic outlook—whereas in Christianity belief and cult are addressed by all and sundry to the one true god, the scandal of paganism consists, to Augustine's mind, in the arrogance of its leaders who seem to accept, and even propagate, the distinction between a philosophically minded elite and a superstitious populace.

Behind the nine case studies collected in *Monotheism* there lurks a persistent, if unformulated, question: What was it that ensured the victory of Christianity vis-à-vis a revamped, monotheistic paganism? With varying degrees of emphasis, the answers focus on its synthesis of a theology, which (despite its often impenetrable nature) was professedly accessible to all, with a universally practiced cult—this in contrast to the ambiguous attitude to cult of monotheistic paganism. But other factors also played their part. In several influential studies Ramsay MacMullen has argued that the organization and management of violence by the Christians was decisive; and one might equally suggest that, in such a catalytic development, chance played its role as well. Yet, however one balances out the parameters that led to the social triumph of Christianity, any discussion of the subject should take into consideration the general issues that cut across the spiritual background of late antiquity, rather than concentrating on one particular aspect of it: these include the phenomena of canonicity and exclusion, orthodoxy and heresy, prophecy and tradition, authority and challenge, faith and salvation, holy places and holy men, to mention just a few.

In this context it may be worth raising a query over another presupposition running through the two volumes: that the intolerance present in a strict

monotheistic religion was "unknown in ancient paganism" (*One God,* p. 2) and that the "Constantinian revolution" is thus a watershed between two epochs (*Monotheism,* pp. 1, 5). It can equally be argued that the reign of Decius (249–51) provides evidence of a turning point in the social and intellectual history of late antiquity, for what is normally described as the first systematic persecution of the Christians is no less than the demand made by a theocratic ruler to *all* the inhabitants of his universal empire to comply, under death penalty, with the cultic rules of the state religion. By the time of Decius's edict the "religious intolerance" that was to be later enforced by his Christian counterparts had already begun to take hold. Nor was this simply a pagan reaction to the rise of Christian monotheism: revolutionary monotheism (to use Assmann's vocabulary), with its monopoly of the truth (and its insistence on revelation, canonicity, and orthodoxy), was transversal to the textual communities that emerged in late antiquity and remodeled its intellectual and spiritual landscape (*cf.* the reviewer's *La lutte pour l'orthodoxie* [Paris, 2006]).

The two volumes offer a welcome addition to the discussion on the change of paradigm in the religious sociology of late antiquity and go some way toward filling a gap that was noted and criticized in many of the contributions to *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, arising as it did from their emphasis on continuity in the philosophical discourse. However, one might suggest that future studies, rather than underlining the differences between pagan and Christian, should focus on osmosis, interaction, and acculturation, all of which played a dominant role in influencing the change in priorities among the newly created religious communities spread across the entire breadth of the late-antique *oecumene*.

University of Athens POLYMNIA ATHANASSIADI

Medieval

The Bear: History of a Fallen King. By Michel Pastoureau. Translated by George Holock (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 343. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04782-2.)

Michel Pastoureau's *The Bear: History of a Fallen King* is a fascinating cultural history, but one that seems to come up short. In part I, Pastoureau points to a lost communion between man and bear, such that "ancient peoples in the Paleolithic considered the bear a creature apart" (p. 25) and elevated the bear to become a totemic animal. Later, Greco-Roman, Celtic, and Germanic mythologies evidence a cult of the bear and provide enduring tales of metamorphoses of human into bear; of protective she-bears that nurse human infants; and of monstrous love, sometimes fertile, between a human female and a bear. Although the bear was venerated in early-medieval culture for its strength, its close resemblance to man and its allegedly insatiable sexual

appetite prepared the foundation for a more violent confrontation with ecclesiastical authority. Since the theology of the Church depended on man's uniqueness and superiority to animals, precisely because the bear so nearly resembled man, Pastoureau contends, churchmen sought to suppress rites or festivals that included the bear: Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, condemned "vile games with the bear" (p. 83); and other bishops, too, condemned festivals in which men dressed as bears or danced with them. Until the end of the Middle Ages churchmen repeated that men should not "play the bear" (p. 83), which entailed not only adopting a bear disguise but also manifesting uncontrollable sexual desire. Thus, the Church "went to war" (p. 89) against the bear, organizing hunts to nearly eliminate European bear populations. It attacked the bear's legendary strength by depicting it in hagiographical literature as tamed and domesticated by holy men, and it demonized the bear as the embodiment of numerous vices and as the preferred form in which the devil appears. Finally, it humiliated the bear, allowing it to be captured, muzzled, chained, and led from fair to market as an object of amusement. Once the Church "dethroned" the bear as king of the beasts after 1000 AD, it replaced him with the lion—an exotic, distant animal whose symbology could be easily controlled. By the end of the twelfth century, the lion began to replace the bear on armorial bearings and in royal menageries. The bear's diminished status is best illustrated for Pastoureau in vernacular literature: in the *chansons de geste*, or in French fabliaux like the *Roman de Renart*, in which the bear is reduced to a foolish, stupid, clumsy creature.

Although Pastoureau's study contains abundant fabulous material from medieval bestiaries and vernacular literature to fascinate the historian, this also underscores one of its shortcomings—it ignores challenges from natural philosophy following the introduction of Aristotle's biology. Although many Scholastic texts do repeat the fantastic claim that bears couple like humans, face to face, they challenge other mythic characteristics. For example, the natural philosopher Albert the Great (d. 1280), in his commentary *De animalibus*, remarks that the bear is *not* very lustful (*parum luxurians; DA* 7.3.3.157). To the myth that the she-bear gives birth to an unformed cub and then brings it to life by licking it, Albert replies "none of this is true at all." (*DA* 7.3.3.159) Although Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) does accept this myth, he does not attribute it, as Pastoreaux suggests was common, to the she-bear's unsurpassing lust but rather to the bear's humoral complexion, which causes the *cotillidones* that bind the fetus to the womb to rend, resulting in premature birth. (*De naturis rerum,* 2.131)

Nevertheless, *The Bear* contains much that will inform and entertain.

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga IRVEN M. RESNICK

Sedulius Scottus: De Rectoribus Christianis, *"On Christian Rulers."* Edited and translated by R. W. Dyson. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2010. Pp. 202. $90.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83566-0.)

This book is a bilingual edition, Latin and English on facing pages, of one of the main works of Sedulius Scottus, the ninth-century Irish scholar and poet who was active in Carolingian circles *c.* 850. Dyson is a historian of political theory aiming at an audience with similar interests. A person reading the book to learn firsthand what Sedulius Scottus wrote on the subject of Christian kingship will be fairly well served. However, readers who study Sedulius Scottus or medieval Latin literature and are engaged in literary criticism will need to continue to rely on the previously published Latin text and English translation.

The central error of the volume is Dyson's misapprehension of the character of Sigmund Hellmann's critical edition (*Sedulius Scottus* [Munich, 1906], pp. 1–91). He believes Hellmann did not take into account Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 103 ("Hellmann appears to have taken no notice" [of Migne], p. 20). This mistaken view supplies the rationale for choosing between Hellmann and Migne as it suits him and making a small number of conjectural emendations. In fact, Dyson misidentifies the author and date of the Migne text, ascribing it to the *Spicilegium* of Luc D'Archery (1655–77) rather than Angelo Mai (*Spicilegium Romanum*, 1842), who used the Vatican Palatine manuscript (P). Dyson does not understand that Hellmann's text is based on all extant manuscripts and the editions of Mai and Traube (MGH, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini,* vol. 3, 1896) and that citations in the critical apparatus to "P *corr.* Mai" mean Migne.

Despite charging him with such a remarkable dereliction, Dyson praises Hellmann and claims that his text is based on Hellmann ("the text printed here is in most respects the one established by him" [p. 21]). This statement does not prove to be true. Wording, spelling, and punctuation are closest to Mai, including copying some of Migne's errors (e.g., *creseunt* [poem line 6] on p. 162 and the unmetrical final line of the poem on p. 190).

The preference for Migne sometimes leads Dyson to reject Hellmann's clearly better readings. For example, Dyson prints: "*Ob hoc coelestum transcurrens prata librorum/Florida congessi vobis, rex, inclyta serta*" (p. 44, Preface, lines 11–12): ["To this end, passing across the flowery meadows/Of heavenly books, I have plucked for you, O King,/Splendid wreaths"] instead of Hellmann's "*Ob hoc caelestum transcurrens prata librorum/Florida congessi vobis, rex inclite, serta*" (p. 19) ["For this reason, running through the meadows of heavenly books, I have gathered flowery garlands for you, renowned king"]. Taking *florida* with *prata* instead of *serta* and preferring *inclyta* to *inclite* misses the Latinity of the word order of line 12 and leaves the underwhelming single word vocative "*rex*." (Similarly, compare Hellmann, p. 28, line 23 and Dyson, p. 64; and Hellmann, p. 76, lines 1–4 and Dyson, p. 164.)

Adding to the problem, there are instances where Dyson prints the text of Migne but translates Hellmann: "fickleness" (p. 159) translates Hellmann's *mutabilitate* (p. 73, line 14), not Migne's *mobilitate*; "equipped" (p. 163) translates Hellmann's *ornatus* (p. 75, line 9), not Migne's *ordinatus*.

Regarding the translation, Dyson claims to improve on the translation of E. G. Doyle (*Sedulius Scottus:* On Christian Rulers *and the* Poems [Binghamton, NY, 1983]), which he considers "often unduly free" (p. 21). A literal translation of an obscure passage, however, is no help, as seen in the Preface, lines 4–5, when Sedulius writes, "*Artibus egregiis sapientia Celsitonantis/Praeposuit hominem cunctis animalibus orbis*." The translation "By excellent arts the wisdom of the Heavenly Thunderer/Has set man over all the creatures of the world" (p. 45) misses the point that God has given arts to humans: "The wisdom of the heavenly-thunderer set man by means of excellent arts before all the animals of the world."

The introduction mainly surveys political theory starting in the fourth century. Its assessment of the quality of Sedulius Scottus's thinking is surprisingly dismissive ("Most of the advice given by Sedulius Scottus is entirely predictable" [p. 38]), underestimating Sedulius's nuanced presentation of the relationship between the secular and the sacred, and leaving out the humane, Boethian themes that set *De Rectoribus Christianis* apart from the other Carolingian texts with which it is grouped.

University of Richmond DEAN SIMPSON

Mind Matters: Studies of Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual History in Honour of Marcia Colish. Edited by Cary J. Nederman, Nancy Van Deusen, and E. Ann Matter. [Disputatio, Vol. 21.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2009. Pp. ix, 308. €60,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52756-7.)

Marcia Colish has published widely and influentially on the history of medieval thought. This Festschrift celebrates her valuable achievements with thirteen essays written in her honor, some boasting witty titles, eight of them on twelfth-century topics, five on later ones up to Machiavelli. Great figures are present: St. Anselm of Canterbury, Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Gratian of Bologna, and Nicholas of Cusa, among others. Important themes, too, are here: theories of language, the devil, Christology, the sources of law, wonders, programs of study, music, princely virtues, and saints' cults. And the contributors are well-established scholars. An excellent evaluation of notions of schools of thought—Porretans, nominalists, and so forth—in the study of twelfth-century history is made by William Courtenay ("Schools and Schools of Thought"). Gary Macy ("Fake Fathers") finds that canon law discussions of the role of women in the Church were most often based on spurious authorities. Arjo Vanderjagt ("Constant Exercise") brings to life links between modern devotion and humanism in northwestern Europe in the late-

fifteenth century with a study of a letter of Rudolfus Agricola offering pedagogical advice. Grover Zinn ("Minding Matter") unpicks the discussion by Hugh of St. Victor of a (now lost) symbolical drawing of Noah's ark that denotes the Church as the body of Christ. One of Colish's books was on *The Mirror of Language* (New Haven, 1968), and, appropriately, her interests in language are reflected in an amusing essay by Mary Sirridge on the content and functions of vocative and substantive phrases such as "I am called" and "I am." Priscian's "rambling" and "notoriously cryptic and episodic" discussion of these, she writes (p. 97), "in no way discouraged medieval commentators from trying to extract a consistent theory from his remarks." Willemien Otten ("Broken Mirrors") also writes on theory of language and Abelard's teaching on the Incarnation, but he loses the reader when he writes that Abelard sees "incarnational teaching resulting in an intersubjective human process of universal learning by which Redemption can ultimately be the result of one teacher's unusual talent" (p. 86). M. B. Pranger shows how St. Augustine's exclusion of evil from being shaped the thought of Pope Gregory the Great, Anselm of Canterbury, and Heinrich von Kleist about the devil. In an interesting way Jason Taliadoros challenges Colish's assessment of the controversy in Anglo-Norman circles over Lombard's Christology, but his attempt to bring John of Salisbury into these debates (pp. 139–40) is not successful. Edward M. Peters's essay on Gervase of Tilbury ("The Lady Vanishes") usefully adds to knowledge and understanding of twelfth-century stories about edifying and memorable wonders. Nancy Van Deusen provides a most helpful study of the *Timaeus* in the writings of Nicholas of Cusa. E. Ann Matter shows how Alberto Alfieri in the early-fifteenth century happily turned Macrobius's swirling realm of the heavenly spheres into a Christian vision of the afterlife. Cary Nederman suggests that Poggio Bracciolini and Machiavelli were not so startling in their views on greed since Nicolas Oresme and Christine de Pizan in the fourteenth century were already heading in a similar direction. Joel Seltzer vividly shows how Hussite radicals in fifteenth-century Bohemia dismantled the practices that accompanied the cult of saints, yet by the early-sixteenth century the Utraquists in Prague "celebrated St Jan Hus Day with all the hoopla of a national holiday" (p. 297). Occasional misprints notwithstanding, these "Mind Matters" are well worth reading. They are opened and brought together with an appreciation by the volume's editors of Colish's published work.

University of Sheffield DAVID LUSCOMBE

Witch Beliefs and Witch Trials in the Middle Ages: Documents and Readings. By P. G. Maxwell-Stuart. (New York: Continuum. 2011. Pp. x, 228. $32.95. ISBN 978-1-441-14965-7.)

This book's title derives from that of Joseph Hansen's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1900), and the book itself offers in English

translation a selection of the original sources (most in Latin, but some in French and German) that Hansen edited. Maxwell-Stuart has drawn from parts 1, 2, and 6 of *Quellen*: papal pronouncements, the literature of witchcraft and demonology (that is, extracts from legal documents or theological treatises), and records of witch trials from both ecclesiastical and secular courts. Hansen's collection had eight parts, but aside from part 3 containing long excerpts from the infamous *Malleus maleficarum* (now available in several English translations, including an abridgement by Maxwell-Stuart himself), the omitted parts of *Quellen* are quite small. Even from the sections he does translate, Maxwell-Stuart has had to abridge or excise many of sources to shrink a collection originally near 700 pages down to just over 200.

Aside from cuts and abridgements, this volume follows Hansen's original selection and organization of sources, which is basically chronological within each section (although some of Hansen's datings have been corrected by subsequent scholarship). Although noting that Hansen's overall interpretation of the history of magic and witchcraft, which of course shaped his selection and organization of sources, is now outdated, Maxwell-Stuart declares that the "diversity" of Hansen's materials "presents us with details and voices which generally go unheard or are scarcely noticed in modern collections" (p. 14). Since excerpts from demonological treatises and trial records are the bread and butter of all witchcraft source collections, this probably refers to Hansen's focus on medieval material, whereas most subsequent collections have focused extensively or indeed exclusively on early-modern witchcraft. Among Hansen's source-types, Maxwell-Stuart seems clearly to favor papal pronouncements, which fill fully 20 percent of his abridgement, whereas they compose a mere 7 percent of those sections of Hansen that he abridges.

As for the translations themselves, there are inevitably choices made that readers will either favor or not, depending on their own preferences. Regarding terms such as *malefica* or *venefica*, for example, Maxwell-Stuart adopts the accurate if admittedly "cumbersome" (p. 14) practice of rendering these as "female practitioner of harmful magic" and "female practitioner of poisonous magic" rather than simply as "witch." He also has a proclivity for rendering long strings of Latin clauses as enumerated lists. This allows modern readers to follow along a bit more easily, but is not strictly faithful to the original texts. Although working exclusively from Hansen is certainly the most practical way to translate a significant volume of medieval sources, those editions have in some cases been augmented or corrected by later scholarship. It would have been useful to have a discussion of this somewhere in the volume. Maxwell-Stuart's introduction is very brief and seems intended mainly to draw the reader back into a medieval world in which spirits and demons, miracles and magic are all rationally understood components of divine order. He provides very little overview of the medieval history of magic, and, despite presenting Hansen as a representative of the now largely discredited "rationalist" school of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth cen-

turies (pp. 12–13), he offers no real overview of historiographic trends in witchcraft scholarship.

Iowa State University MICHAEL D. BAILEY

Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life. By Liz Herbert McAvoy. [Gender in the Middle Ages, Vol. 6.] (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. x, 201. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-843-84277-4.)

As Liz Herbert McAvoy points out in the introduction to her new book, "The past two-and-a-half decades have seen a considerable development in scholarly interest in the anchoritic life and its wider effects upon medieval society and its systems of belief" (p. 3). Modestly, she does not add that, for the last dozen of those twenty-five years, she has been at the forefront of stimulating, promoting, and shaping this scholarly interest as conference organizer and editor of conference proceedings and collections of commissioned essays. It is particularly good, therefore, now to have her monograph on the subject.

The centers of interest and angles of approach of *Medieval Anchoritisms* will be familiar to anyone who has followed McAvoy's work over this period. Questions of gender are central—particularly the way that patriarchal culture encloses women (with the anchorhold only the most extreme manifestation of that fact) whilst in the process providing a position from which women can write back. Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, and Hélène Cixous are the acknowledged underpinnings of the approach. As the book's subtitle indicates, gender here is inflected also with work on the social production of space (Gaston Bachelard, Henri Lefebvre, and Michel Foucault); René Girard on scapegoats and Irit Rogoff's more recent *Terra Infirma* are also avowed influences (see pp. 6–7). The theoretical model is worth emphasizing, because it is its constant presence that lends coherence and unity to a book that often jumps around in method and especially in chronology. It should be pointed out that, after its first chapter and despite the inclusive title, *Medieval Anchoritisms* is a study of gender, space, and the solitary life in England.

The first two chapters look at male anchorites and in particular the way in which male anchoritism is "haunted" by the feminine. Sources as diverse as St. John Cassian's *Conferences*, the Rule of St. Benedict, and the *Regula solitariorum* of Grimlaic (chapter 1), as well as the brief rule known as the "Reply of a Fourteenth-Century Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds to a Man's Petition to be a Recluse" and the later *Speculum Inclusorum* (chapter 2), show anxieties over the ways that anchoritic enclosure could be felt to compromise masculine identity. In response the texts emphasize the aggressive masculinity of the *miles Christi* or the virtues of "the sealed, continent and specifically monastic male body" (p. 66). Chapters 3 and 4 turn to female anchorites. Chapter 3 examines the ways in which texts by men (St. Aldhelm on virginity, Goscelin of St. Bertin's *Liber Confortatorius,* and *Ancrene Wisse*) interpellate their

audiences of women anchorites, whereas chapter 4 instead looks at female-authored works: Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*, the *Book* of Margery Kempe (who, although not an anchorite herself, authors a book that is "shot through with anchoritic hermeneutics" [p. 124] and "performs" an anchoritic identity [p. 134]), and the gruesomely explicit *Revelation of Purgatory* by an anonymous Winchester anchorite. The final chapter turns from literary sources to records of the female anchorites of the Welsh marches (and Chester in particular), primarily in the thirteenth century, seeing them as reflective of the fluid, unstable ("feminine") lines of the borderlands, as well as probably productive of *Ancrene Wisse*.

Medieval Anchoritisms is not a *summa*, but it does draw together the recurrent concerns and approaches that have characterized McAvoy's work to date and applies them to a wide range of texts. The book is perhaps most convincing in its readings of the late-medieval canonical literary texts, but it is always stimulating and has a singleness of purpose that is compelling.

University of Exeter E. A. JONES

A Bishopric between Three Kingdoms: Calahorra, 1045–1190. By Carolina Carl. [The Medieval and Early Modern World, Vol. 43.] (Leiden: Brill. 2011. Pp. xii, 292. $166.00. ISBN 978-9-004-18012-3.)

The town of Calahorra, sited on a rock some 1200 feet above the Ebro River about seventy-five miles northwest of Zaragoza, had been important since Roman times. A Christian bishopric from 456 AD, its prelates appeared in eight Iberian councils before disappearing from sight early in the Muslim period. Some dim memory of its former existence as a bishopric was reflected sporadically in later northern Christian sources. In 1045 García Sánchez III of Navarre captured the town in one episode of the contemporary general movement of the mountain peoples of the north of Iberia down into the river valleys. But Calahorra remained an exposed frontier post until Zaragoza itself was conquered by Alfonso I of Aragón in 1118. Thus it became one matrix for the gradual amalgamation of northern Christians, Mozarabe Christian immigrants from the south, Muslim Arabs, and a yet newer stream of south French pilgrims from beyond the Pyrenees into a unique society. This present study therefore has the potential to stimulate the first fundamental reconceptualization of the history of the Christian churches of the early Reconquista period since the Augustinian Enrique Flórez published his *España Sagrada* in the eighteenth century.

The current study extends an earlier one by the author.[1] The titles of the two studies indicate the change of emphasis in the author's approach, as the

[1]Carolina Carl, "The Bishop and the Basques: The Diocese of Calahorra and the Basque Province of Alava under Bishop Rodrigo Cascante, 1147–1190," *Journal of Medieval History,* 34 (2008): 229–44.

Basques as an ethnic entity of the first give way to the emerging political kingdoms of Navarre, Aragón-Barcelona, and Castile-León of the second. Within this latter, wider arena the author moves with a generally sure touch as she mines the source materials edited and the scholarship deployed upon them by three generations of medieval historians of Iberia since the end of World War II.

In addition, Carolina Carl is able to employ a knowledge, unparalleled in its detail, of the machinery of this heretofore largely obscure diocese. She details the interaction there of church governance with the emerging power of urban municipalities and the growth of royal dynasties that furnished the essential dynamic of contemporary Iberian society. Within this context she correctly, one is tempted to say almost uniquely, identifies the new institution of the cathedral chapter as a critical fulcrum of change. More often than the bishopric itself, the cathedral chapter was an essentially urban institution, and Carl is quite right to investigate its familial, social, and financial ties to the urban elite of the similarly emerging municipality in what is surely the single most valuable portion of her study.

She relates this story within the context of the emerging monarchies of Christian north Iberia, of course, but her work here is largely derivative and her conclusions often arguable, as are still those of most other current scholarship of the period. Notwithstanding, it is curious that the other major player in the dynamic—the emerging Roman papacy—is largely neglected. She focuses largely upon this latter's initiative in the substitution of the Roman rite for the Mozarabic but adds little to that subject. On the other hand, she entirely ignores the growing acceptance at Rome of the desirability of formally recognizing the cathedral chapter as the ordinary canonical instrument for the election of bishops. This was to be a crucial step that placed the cathedral chapter at the center of the competing interests of its own canons, the urban patriciate, the local nobility, the crown, and even the distant papacy in Iberia as everywhere in Western Europe.

Given that many of the critical arguments will have to be from the history of architecture, art, and even archaeology, it is to be hoped that the author will continue to press her own researches back into refoundation of the Christian churches of Iberia in the aftermath of the Muslim Conquest of the peninsula.

Villanova University BERNARD F. REILLY

The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland. By Neil Xavier O'Donoghue. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2011. Pp. xv; 352. $48.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03732-1.)

In this study of the Eucharist in pre-Norman Ireland, Neil Xavier O'Donoghue has assembled an array of primary source material that is most impressive in its breadth and quality, and the University of Notre Dame Press

has done this source material ample justice in its attractive presentation. However, on closer inspection, one finds his secondary sources are dated and incomplete, and his engagement with his sources is frequently not sufficiently critical. Throughout his work, there is an undercurrent of inaccuracies, so easily verifiable that it brings his scholarship into serious question. To highlight but a few of these: "When William died, he was succeeded by his son, Henry I" (p. 32). But when William died, in 1087, he was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus, who reigned until his own death in 1100. The Irish Church was a "church without martyrs" (p. 14), but St. Patrick's *Letter to Coroticus* gives the lie to this popular belief. He claims that there is "little in Irish monasticism that could be termed unique" (p. 14) but seems to overlook the Céli Dé penchant for the daily recitation of the "beloved three fifties," the "Breastplate of Devotion," and other practices of piety that are not found elsewhere. O'Donoghue claims that the use of chrismals was "a peculiarity to pre-Norman Ireland" (p. 121) and yet can quote the blessing of a chrismal from the *Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, and further on (pp. 187, 188) refer to chrismals from Mortain in France and from England and Switzerland.

These minor inaccuracies are superficial irritants; however, there are more serious errors. He claims that the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani* is "an important work of Irish hagiography" (p. 116) and to a large extent treats it as such. If he had consulted the critical bibliography of Glyn Burgess and Clara Strijbosch, he would not have made this mistake and so have ignored the pioneering work of such authors as Jonathan Wooding, Thomas O'Loughlin, David Dumville, and many others. He states that the Céli Dé movement was "a reform" (p. 103) and claims that "there is little evidence that they produced any hagiographical material"; this bald statement totally ignores the *Félire Óengusso*, one of the most important hagiographical/liturgical works of the early Irish Church. His misunderstanding of the Céli Dé monks leads him to claim that the "sacramental ministry was the domain of the non-monastic clergy" (p. 14) and "pastoral care . . . was provided by a nonmonastic clergy" (p. 15). Even a superficial reading of the Céli Dé Rules reveals that for these monks their pastoral ministry occupied a very major and significant place in their daily monastic routine.[1] These errors, coupled with careless presentation in his bibliography, spoil what could be a very promising area of research.

In spite of taking refuge in the words of Robert F. Taft, who said that his own conclusions might "seem banal in the extreme,"[2] O'Donoghue's conclusions are a disappointing anticlimax to the preceding 200 pages. He does

[1]See the reviewer's *Sacred Time in Early Christian Ireland* (London, 2007) for a fuller treatment of the Céli Dé movement and the monks' pastoral involvement.

[2]Robert F. Taft, "The Order and Place of Lay Communion in the Late Antique and Byzantine East," in *Studia Liturgica Diversa: Essays in Honor of Paul F. Bradshaw*, [Studies in Church Music and Liturgy], (Portland, 2004), pp. 129–49.

not analyze his source material in sufficient depth to draw any substantially new conclusions from his research. We learn little from his work about the theological understanding of the Eucharist in pre-Norman Ireland. This is a pity because of his obvious enthusiasm for his subject; because, as he points out (p. xi), "relatively little has been published on the Eucharistic liturgy in the pre-Norman church"; and because of the amount of material he has assembled.

Sarum College PATRICIA RUMSEY
Salisbury, UK

Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216. By Susanna A. Throop. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. x, 232. $119.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66582-3.)

In a closely argued, lucid, and thoughtful study of the motif of vengeance in the formative century of crusading practice and discourse, Susanna Throop has made an important contribution to our understanding of the place of the crusade within twelfth-century culture; of crusading's rhetorical dimensions; and of the ways in which it exploited a wide range of social, political, historical, and textual referents to create and sustain its impact on numerous people's imaginations. In the process, Throop mounts a strong challenge to the current scholarly orthodoxy, which maintains that vengeance as an animating idea for crusaders was most pronounced at the time of the First Crusade (1095–1101) and tailed away thereafter as historians, preachers, and apologists of crusading developed discursive strategies that were more congenial to educated clerical sensibilities. This, Throop argues persuasively, inverts the actual chronology of the importance of ideas of crusading as vengeful violence; crusade-as-vengeance in fact becomes more prominent over the course of the twelfth century. Moreover, historians' assumptions about the discrete categories of elite and popular cultural fields, she argues, do not stand up to the evidence for the movement and interplay of ideas and images between different literary genres bearing upon crusading, a discursive flexibility that established a rich linguistic field within which notions of vengeance were able to circulate and influence one another. Many challenges have been made in the past, of course, to the elite-popular binary, but Throop makes her case with care and insight, grounding her arguments in a close and measured reading of her mostly narrative sources.

A number of criticisms may be made of the book. The mobilization of those crusade-related texts that do *not* feature vengeance as a central element of their target language is sometimes a little tentative, and their potential value as contextualizing control material is consequently diluted. The promise of a methodological approach that is "modified structuralist" is perhaps not fully realized. One feels that there is a more extensive lexical and semantic field operating on the margins of, and interpenetrating with, the terms

such as *ultio* and *vindicta* that are especially targeted for analysis—a wider, if less tidy, discursive frame that would have probably permitted further layering of the argument.

Overall, however, this is an extremely valuable book with important things to say about the motive forces behind crusading as a collective and self-avowedly moral endeavor. Many of its particular points—about the importance of the Crucifixion as a potent symbol of vengeful righteousness for crusaders; about the ready conflation of Jews, Muslims, and heretics as the victims of vengeful sentiment; about vengeance as an organon of social memory; and about the language of zeal as an animating force within vengeful crusade rhetoric—are striking and exciting. In general, Throop's book is valuable as a demonstration of what can be gained from a reading of crusade texts that is closely attentive to questions of language and meaning-making. One hopes that more such work will be undertaken, for the study of crusading stands to be substantially enriched by discursively-aware research into its extensive narrative source-base. This substantial book makes an excellent start.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill MARCUS BULL

Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy. By Claire Taylor. [Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, Vol. 2.] (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, in association with Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. xvi, 277. $90.00. ISBN 978-1-903-15338-3.)

This is a tightly focused, and highly detailed, history of heresy, both Waldensianism and Catharism, crusade and inquisition in the southern French region of Quercy from the mid-twelfth through mid-thirteenth centuries. Claire Taylor, despite her focus on Quercy, has important things to say about larger questions. She challenges the tendency, perhaps most visible in Mark Pegg's work, of some recent historians to treat heresy as a "construct," something that existed in the minds of Catholic polemicists and inquisitors rather than in the objective, lived experience of real people. Taylor demonstrates that both Waldensianism and Catharism had an objective existence in Quercy. People clearly distinguished between competing belief systems. Their choice of which faith to follow was based on a careful weighing up of what the heretics and the orthodox church taught. They opted for dissent even though they knew doing so was dangerous. Taylor also argues that the experience of Quercy undermines many of what she terms the standard "structuralist functionalist" explanations for the appeal of heresy. It is often argued that heresy appealed to people who lived where the shortcomings of the local clergy made them incapable of meeting the felt spiritual needs of their flock. This was not the situation in Quercy. There the twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century church was vigorous, the center of the region's cultural and devotional life, with its popular abbeys in particular establishing a dense network of rela-

tionships with the local nobility. Indeed, the nobles of Quercy initially allied with the invaders from the north when the Albigensian Crusade began in 1209.

What made the nobles of Quercy willing to protect heretics in their lands were the social and political changes that came in the wake of the crusade. Key to Taylor's argument are changes in the nature of fief-holding that the war brought. She follows Paul Ourliac and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier in arguing that in Quercy, as in Languedoc, the pre-crusade "fief" was very different from its northern counterpart. It was not a piece of land, but the rights to take certain revenues associated with an office, a manse, settlement, or a church. It was a mechanism by which nobles redistributed revenue to their servants. Fiefs created alliances, not subservience, among those who often simultaneously held them from one another. The fief was not necessarily military, and vassals did not owe military service for them. The crusade and its aftermath produced a revolution in the nature of fief-holding:

> Fiefs were no longer essentially about the distribution of rights to revenues, the social glue . . . that acknowledged status through wealth but preserved horizontal relationships established between social equals. Fief holding now . . . meant that vassals were obliged to provide men-at-arms for the crusaders' campaigns, and that castles would be seized from uncooperative vassals. (p. 211)

This reduction in the political autonomy of the Quercy elite made it willing to tolerate and protect heresy. Ironically, it was only in the course of the crusade and its aftermath that heresy spread widely in Quercy, as its protection became allied with the defense of southern autonomy.

The book does have some flaws. Although Taylor argues that people consciously chose to adhere to heretical beliefs, she also wants to maintain that before *c.* 1180 people in Quercy were not necessarily aware of the contradictions among the various faith communities. Taylor never successfully resolves this tension. The book's organization could also be stronger, and some lengthy passages read rather like undigested research notes. However, the conclusion sums up the book's major points in a crisp, concise, and clear fashion. Anyone interested in heresy and its repression will find this book essential reading.

University of California, Irvine JAMES GIVEN

The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors. By Karen Sullivan. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 296. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-226-78167-9.)

As Karen Sullivan knows, three of the seven titular figures in *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* were not inquisitors. Yet if it is reasonably simple to identify an inquisitor, defining "inner lives" is more problematic. Aware of the difficulties surrounding medieval interiority, Sullivan signifies by

"inner lives" inquisitors' "thoughts and feelings" (p. 3) toward suspected heretics: how they imagined and approached them, the premises of their anti-heretical activity. Yet as the real disposition of "the inquisitor as a historical subject in the world" (p. 3) is inaccessible, these inner lives are "subjective fiction" (p. 4), strictly textual and representational. Textualized inner lives are retrievable; moreover, the "literary inquisitor" offers "a closer view" (p. 4) than possible even if we knew, or were, his historical self.

This allows Sullivan to depart from "virtually all" recent scholarship on medieval heresy inquisitions (p. 24). She sees this as dominated by deterministic structures and discourses, and rejects "the tendency of a certain kind of historical scholarship to emphasize historical circumstances," and change over time, "over individual cases" (p. 113; *cf.* p. 103). Her concern is with agency and decision, moments when persons cross the grain of a contemporary mentality unable solely to explain their conduct or sentiments. "Individual cases" constitute the book's seven chapters, which are further organized by a binary of zeal (represented by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Conrad of Marburg, Bernard Gui, and Nicholas Eymeric) and charity (St. Dominic Guzmán, St. Peter Martyr, Brother Bernard Délicieux) into which Sullivan divides dispositions toward heretics.

Unsurprisingly from a scholar de-emphasizing "historical circumstances," the case studies generally offer very tight foci. Their close readings are thoughtful and attentive. To Sullivan, the inner life prehensible in all texts—by inquisitors and by others writing about them—co-construct a single, consistent whole. Although this is again consonant with her frank departure from context and change, historians may be discomfited by its occluded tensions. For example, Sullivan's analysis of a "loving" Dominic omits or softens zealous choices made by him and by those later memorializing him. In one instance, Sullivan argues that although historian Étienne de Salanhac credited Dominic with Diego of Osma's angry prediction of the Albigensian Crusade ("the staff will prevail where the blessing does not"), a still-charitable Dominic "merely foresees that this suffering will occur and regrets its unfortunate necessity" (p. 73). However, in Étienne's account, Dominic rendered the prophecy as promise, warning his listeners that *concitabimus adversum vos principes et prelatos* bringing death and destruction. Sullivan strangely translates *concitabimus* as "you will arouse," transferring the violence's source from the "we" of Dominic and his companions (p. 73).

This instantiates for the historian the complications of a zeal/charity binary and, relatedly, of merging diverse representations. Committed to each "inner life" as a trans-temporal unity, Sullivan does not dismantle why an author crafted a certain persona. Consequently, she sometimes appears to describe precisely a "real" disposition held by "a historical subject in the world," with authors helpless to do aught but replicate it. Sullivan, ironically, withholds "thoughts and feelings" about heresy from writers who were them-

selves motivated agents able to defy contemporary mentality. Even when produced by another, each textual disposition restrictively redounds only to its "inquisitor" and was not reflective of, or vulnerable to, other dispositions toward heretics.

Structural history might be faulted for diminishing the agency of inquisitors who burned fellow Christians, granting them a passivity that can seem exculpatory. Despite the care and craft of Sullivan's readings, her literary *imaginaires* also cannot explain that horror. Perhaps nothing can.

University of South Carolina CHRISTINE CALDWELL AMES

Heilsbronn von der Gründung 1132 bis 1321: Das Beziehungsgeflecht eines Zisterzienserklosters im Spiegel seiner Quellenüberlieferung. By Miriam Montag-Erlwein. [Studien zum Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 1.] (Boston: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. xiv, 666. $195.00. ISBN 978-3-11-023513-5.)

The Academy of Sciences in Göttingen has assumed oversight of the Germania Sacra (see *ante,* 96 [2010]: 755). In a welcome innovation, it is publishing supplementary historical monographs as well as the series' well-known studies of specific institutions that arrange all the available evidence in accordance with a standard format. This first book of the new type is a slightly revised version of the dissertation of Miriam Montag-Erlwein (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, 2007). She set out to demonstrate that monasteries helped to integrate and shape the identity of the region where they were situated. The Cistercian abbey of Heilsbronn, southwest of Nuremberg, lends itself to such an examination because there are 384 extant charters—regrettably, only twenty-seven date from the twelfth century—for the period between the monastery's foundation and 1321, the death of an influential abbot. A 1483 necrology, surviving tombs and coats of arms in the church, and the extensive abbatial library—which has been in Erlangen since the eighteenth century—supply additional information. Montag-Erlwein studies in almost stupefying detail the abbey's relations with the papacy, the monarchy, the three Franconian bishops, the nobility, and nearby imperial cities, as well as what the provenance of its manuscripts—many originated in Paris—reveals about its intellectual horizons.

Bishop Otto I of Bamberg (1102–39) founded the abbey in 1132 in the Diocese of Eichstätt to strengthen Bamberg's territorial influence in a region that also bordered on the Bishopric of Würzburg. After 1200 Heilsbronn freed itself from its ordinary and Bamberg, but maintained close ties to Würzburg, where it sold its surplus agricultural commodities. Otto appointed the nearby Count Rapoto I of Abenberg, who was the advocate of Bamberg, as the protector (*defensor*) of Heilsbronn; his son, Rapoto II, may have become a monk; and the first abbot, Rapoto, may have been an Abenberg. After the death, around 1200, of the last of the Abenbergs, who used Heilsbronn as their burial

church and who were remembered as the founders, the Staufen assumed the advocacy. Heilsbronn benefited from the frequent stays of the post-Interregnum kings in Nuremberg, where the abbey acquired considerable property and where its dependents settled. The monks turned to Rome for protection when relations with the king deteriorated. The counts of Zollern (the ancestors of the later kings of Prussia), who became the burgraves of Nuremberg around 1192 and who descended from the Abenbergs, made Heilsbronn their necropolis a century later as they consolidated their power. Their noble relatives and ministerials were among the chief benefactors of the abbey. Between 1200 and 1321, at least thirty-six lower noble families made around seventy-four donations to assure their salvation. No other Franconian church enjoyed comparable support.

Although Montag-Erlwein has assembled a prodigious amount of information, her work will be of interest primarily to local specialists because she has not made it accessible to others. There is no introductory general history of the abbey; instead, she plunges into an examination of Heilsbronn's relations with the papacy. She first discusses Bishop Otto on page 150 and the Abenbergs on page 266. There are no maps or genealogies. There is an extensive bibliography, but some more general works that might have been useful are missing. Constance Hoffman Berman's *The Cistercian Evolution* (Philadephia, 2000) might have provided an insight into why it is unclear whether Otto initially intended to found a Cistercian house. The author lists an article by Joseph Morsel, but not his *La noblesse contre le prince: L'espace social des Thüngen à la fin du Moyen Age (Franconie, vers 1250–1525)* (Stuttgart, 2000). The Academy of Sciences should consider how the larger scholarly community might be better served.

Illinois State University JOHN B. FREED

Peter of Damascus: Byzantine Monk and Spiritual Theologian. By Greg Peters. [Studies and Texts, 175.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2011. Pp. xii, 214. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-888-44175-1.)

In this book Greg Peters introduces us to a Byzantine monk and spiritual theologian who, although highly regarded by the tradition—second only to St. Maximos the Confessor in the space allotted him in the *Philokalia*—has been all but ignored in modern scholarship. The two works included in the *Philokalia* Peters calls the "Admonition to His Own Soul" and the "Spiritual Alphabet" in his table of contents; St. Nikodimos, in the *Philokalia*, has simply "book I and "book II," but Peters's titles are apt. Although tradition clearly held Peter in high regard, nothing much seems to have been known about him; Nikodimos in his preface was most likely guessing, and guessing wrongly.

Peters begins his book with some serious detective work and argues convincingly that Peter Damascene belongs the middle/late twelfth century. He argues, too, that we cannot deduce from the epithet *Damascene* that he came

from Damascus and tries to identify our Peter, with no very secure result; we do learn a good deal about attributions of treatises to people who may or may not have been Peter. In the course of these early chapters we learn about the slight scholarship on Peter, which has been mostly dismissive. Peters then presents his own understanding of Peter, by way of a discussion, chapter by chapter, of the two works. He wants us to see Peter as a more original spiritual theologian than most maintain and a clearer thinker. In particular, he rejects the notion that Peter can be assigned to the "Evagrian-Maximian" tradition of Byzantine spirituality and tries to persuade us that his works are more carefully structured than is usually maintained. Whether this is at all successful is an open question. The Evagrian-Maximian tradition is a pretty broad one; it is not clear why Peter should be regarded as belonging elsewhere. Over the question of structure, taking us through these works chapter-by-chapter is not an entirely helpful way of approaching the issue. Peter seems typical of the Byzantine spiritual tradition in presenting his teaching as a series of lists and lists within lists. Like virtually all monastic literature, it is not intended to be read through, but taken piece by piece and pondered. It would have been more enlightening to compare and contrast Peter with other examples of monastic literature and to note similarities and differences. Arguing that Peter stands apart from the Evagrian-Maximian tradition, which is the Byzantine spiritual tradition, is a distraction. One striking, and unusual, feature of Peter's works is his frequent citations of earlier writers. Peters addresses this in his final chapter on intertextuality, but it would have been much more enlightening had it been woven more tightly into his exposition. An appendix gives the verses that precede each chapter in the "Spiritual Alphabet," omitted in the English translation of the *Philokalia* as probably secondary. This is valuable and brings out more clearly the alphabetical structure of the work. However, in his discussion each chapter is called after its letter with ´ added; the diacritical instructs us to read the letter as a number, so "*Logos* O´" should mean "chapter 70." It is, however, chapter 15; the diacritical should have been omitted. Peters also argues that Peter envisages an audience now wholly monastic, but that is true of many Byzantine spiritual writers and is not peculiar to Peter Damascene. Nevertheless, if this book serves to draw attention to Peter Damascene, it will have achieved a worthy end.

University of Durham ANDREW LOUTH

The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite. By John of Forde. Introduction, translation, and notes by Pauline Matarasso. [Cistercian Fathers Series, No. 79.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications. Distrib. Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 262. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-879-07579-8.)

Pauline Matarasso has done great service in translating John of Forde's vivid portrait of the anchorite Wulfric, rendering John's difficult Latin in crisp and often witty English. Her substantial introduction, notes, appendices, bibliography, and index are particularly valuable, given the continuing absence of

a critical edition of the *Life.* Although her translation relies primarily on Maurice Bell's 1933 edition, her "Translator's Note" (pp. 81–84) reports that she also consulted the forthcoming edition from *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Such information distinguishes this translation from the many that fail to identify their source manuscript or edition.

In the 1180s John, a young monk at the Cistercian abbey of Forde, wrote about Wulfric, enclosed from 1124–25 until his death in 1154 in the church of Haselbury, eight miles from Forde. Matarasso suggests that the project may have been a writing apprenticeship (p. 68), preparing John for his later composition of 120 sermons on the Song of Songs. Her introduction surveys topics such as the author and the date of the work as well as the institution of anchoritism and John's skill at negotiating oral accounts about Wulfric in the languages (English, French, and Latin) current in Anglo-Norman England (pp. 32–37).

John is insistently present in this work, articulating the spiritual and moral implications of Wulfric's life. Of Wulfric's desire for solitude, he writes, "May all those who have devoted themselves to the spiritual life . . . not readily entrust for long to human eyes that face which Christ so ardently desires for himself" (p. 107). One short chapter concerns the affection for Cistercians shown by Wulfric, "This champion and herald of our order": "in every form of holiness they pleased him whose approbation they desired" (p. 152).

Wulfric receives a constant stream of visitors, whom Matarasso discusses at length (pp. 18–32) and tabulates in an appendix (p. 245). John's meticulous identification of his sources substantiates Wulfric's claim that Brihtric, the church's vicar, "was the true anchorite of the place, whereas he [Wulfric], constantly exposed to conversation, could more properly be called the parish priest" (p. 117). Wulfric is constantly available, alone for prayer only at night, "for it was at night that he worked out his own salvation, since by day he was working the salvation of others in the midst of the earth" (pp. 134–35).

As the *Life of Wulfric* is set in twelfth-century England, Matarasso's notes thoroughly explain that context. In a narrative of happy symbolism, John depicts Wulfric's conversion as signaled by a new coin of the reign of King Henry I (r. 1100–35; p. 99). Later, Wulfric foretells Henry's death (p. 200) and the reign and capture of his successor, King Stephen (pp. 200–01). Other reminders of Wulfric's historical context involve more humble figures. When Wulfric heals someone mute since birth, the man can speak both English and French. Afterward, Brihtric complains to Wulfric in familiar terms well captured by Matarasso: "Look, I have served you all these years, and today I've proved clearly that it's a waste of time. . . . You have never given me the use of French" (p. 115). The work is a rich source for medieval historians.

It would be a shame, though, if only scholars read this translation of *The Life of Wulfric*. It is a lovely work, overflowing with great stories—perfect for

refectory reading. As John of Forde lovingly preserved the memory of Wulfric as a *vir Dei,* now Matarasso renews that memory, inviting a new generation to Wulfric's cell.

Ohio University MARSHA L. DUTTON

Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200–1548. By Marie-Hélène Rousseau. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xiv, 242. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-409-40581-8.)

The Cathedral of St Paul's, the heart of London's religious life, was one of the most important churches in medieval England. A major landowner, home to the bishops of London, and an important setting for significant civic and national events, the cathedral was also central to urban lay piety, commemoration, and intercession. One of the most recognizable elements of this intercessory practice was the medieval chantry, the theme of which forms the subject of this book.

The medieval chantry was the foundation and endowment of a Mass by one or more benefactors, to be celebrated at an altar, for the souls of the founders or other specified persons. Chantries could range from Masses celebrated at pre-existing altars through to side chapels and the elaborate "cage-chantries" of the later medieval period. The study of medieval chantries has been a popular subject over the last few decades. However, much of this work has largely been within the field of architectural history with a particular focus on a small, perhaps unrepresentative, sample of surviving and architecturally impressive examples. Such work has often gloried in the architectural specifics and *minutae* of such monuments, as well as perhaps a rather unhelpful obsession with their founders. Overall, they have generally informed very little on how these monuments operated in practice or their wider relevance to the religious community as a whole; a *lacuna* somewhat remedied by more recent revisionist historical, and archaeological, work. Marie-Hélène Rousseau's work is thankfully, largely in this category and provides a detailed and meticulously researched piece of historical work that focuses not just on the chantries themselves, but on their management and organizational arrangements. This is a worthy task made much the harder by the fact that both chantries and medieval cathedral have long departed. Here, the value of history in resurrecting the afterlife practices of pre-Reformation London is ably and effectively demonstrated.

The interdisciplinary study of chantries can present many problems to the researcher. Just as the archaeologist is sometimes criticized for failing to use documentary sources adequately, the historian—and certainly the architectural historian—can be equally criticized for failing to reconstruct such physical aspects as setting, location, and visual and spatial relationships. Despite the fact that individuals often founded chantries, it is clear that in practice

they did not operate independently; they formed but one component of a wider ritual church landscape. Thus, one minor criticism of Rousseau's book would be that it would be very interesting to understand further where some of these chantries were located in the cathedral and their relationship with other important areas of the church, wherever possible. We are told that there were more than eighty chantries in the cathedral, and thus they would have had a significant impact on church ritual space and liturgical arrangement, as well as serving as foci for important civil and lay interactions. Such an interpretation, perhaps in the form of a plan—based on Schofield's plan of the cathedral and precinct already included—would have provided a further useful addition to this work.

The book is a bit pricey and therefore may be unfortunately beyond the means of many interested amateurs. Overall, however, it provides a timely, well-written, and well-researched contribution to the study of medieval chantries in one of London's most important churches.

University of Winchester SIMON ROFFEY

Die Register Innocenz´ III. 11 Band. 11. Pontifikatsjahr 1208/1209: Texte und Indices. Edited by Othmar Hageneder and Andrea Sommerlechner, with Christoph Egger, Rainer Murauer, Reinhard Selinger, and Herwig Weigl. [Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, II. Abteilung: Quellen, 1. Reihe.] (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2010. Pp. xcii, 532. $254.00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-700-16544-6.)

It is now some sixty years since Leo Santifaller, at that time both head of the Österreichischen Staatsarchivs and director of the Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, in alliance with Friedrich Kempf and Friedrich Schmidinger, decided upon the great historical enterprise of an Austrian critical edition of the registers of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), which would replace the often seriously flawed texts published in Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (1844–55). The initial progress of the enterprise was slow, given that the principal editor, Othmar Hageneder, and his associates could not dedicate themselves to the task on a full-time basis, but happily in recent years, with Hageneder still at the helm, an exceptional team of editors and researchers is now moving the project forward at a considerable pace. Nine years of registers have now been published, and in the latest volume, the letters of Register Vat. 7A, 49–101 have been transcribed. They concern the eleventh year of Innocent's pontificate and contain 271 letters from February 1208 to February 1209.

With the exception of the register of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), which contains some 390 items, the registers of Innocent III's predecessors in the high Middle Ages do not survive, although some of them at least were certainly conserved and consulted both by curial officials and visitors to Rome

into the middle of the thirteenth century. This makes the almost complete survival of Innocent's registers all the more valuable, even though it has resulted in a tendency on the part of historians to ascribe to Innocent III any number of innovations that were often no more than a continuance of papal thought over a longer period, as we can often know from letters of previous popes that survive in local archives or through decretal collections. The major limitation of Innocent's registers is that they do not cover all the business conducted by the Roman Curia. It is important to emphasize that only a small number of letters were enregistered, and how one letter found its way into the register and why another is left out is often far from clear. Most privileges to monastic houses, for instance, do not find their way into the registers, possibly because the cost of enregistering a letter proved prohibitive and not central to the monastery's purpose in obtaining the privilege. But even matters of high politics were sometimes left out. It is therefore always necessary to be aware of the very many letters surviving in local archives that supplement those conserved in the registers. The use of both in combination gives us the best understanding of papal government.

Nevertheless, the registers still tell us a great deal and give us a very useful overview of the papacy's concerns. However, papal letters should not all be taken to be an expression of the thought of the pope directly. Although we know Innocent III greatly involved himself in the business of government and heard many cases personally, we cannot really know in most cases whether the pope personally dictated a letter. One suspects he did in important matters of politics, and the eleventh year of his pontificate was hardly short on political drama. The papacy still had to expend much energy dealing with the aftermath of the Latin conquest of Constantinople and the subsequent problems of the relationship between the Greek and Latin clergy. An even older problem—the unhappy marriage of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg, who had spent one night together back in 1193—also continued to trouble the pontiff, as did the arrangement of the marriage of his ward, Frederick II, who, Innocent insisted, was of an exceptionally distinguished family and one very worthy of the king of Aragon's sister. New troubles dawned as well. King John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury would lead to Innocent's interdict in England in March 1208, whereas the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, papal legate in Languedoc, caused the pope to launch the Albigensian crusade, directed against Raymond VI of Toulouse, whom he considered chiefly responsible for the crime. The *negotium pacis et fidei* would be center stage for much of the year, although the papacy still carefully sought the reconciliation of sometime heretics, as can be seen in its treatment of Durán of Huesca and his Catholic Poor. Various ecclesiastical disputes across Christendom remind us of the great range and powerful influence of the papacy, but also that in resolving problems it was often as powerless to act as the unsuspecting deacon of León, G., invited to dinner by the *miles*, M., who then castrated him, believing G. to be having an affair with his concubine. This case, like so many others, required delicate handling. M. and

his concubine had subsequently been burnt for the crime by the local prince (presumably Alfonso IX). Only if Innocent's judges delegate decided that G. had been guiltless of fornication and of the vengeance exacted by the ruler could G. properly be ordained as a priest.

As always, the Austrian edition comes with an excellent introduction to the manuscript and the edition, an extensive bibliography, superb notes, and very thorough indices. Innocent III, who paid such close attention to the practices and production of his chancery, would undoubtedly approve wholeheartedly of this admirable new edition.

Saint Louis University DAMIAN J. SMITH

Cathédrale et pèlerinage aux époques médiévale et moderne: Reliques, processions et devotions à l'église-mère du diocese. Edited by Catherine Vincent and Jacques Pycke. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicule 92.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. 2010. Pp. 330. €45,00 paperback.)

Religious typology has conventionally separated the cathedral's socio-religious experiences from those of the pilgrimage. The seventeen essays in this volume (plus an introductory essay by Catherine Vincent and a conclusion by André Vauchez) test the proposition that cathedrals as the bishop's seat of power and communal liturgies are essentially different from pilgrimages, which are individual expressions of devotion outside of institutional structures. The volume's conclusions challenge the traditional view by showing the often-successful efforts of cathedral authorities over many centuries to provide the sacred relics that would attract pilgrims to their shrines. Sites explored in the essays include many individual places—Paris, Tournai, Toul, Le Puy, Autun, Reims, Langres, Rouen, Sens, Cambrai, Vienne, and Embrun—as well as more broadly focused discussions of cathedral crypts, postmedieval developments, founding saints of Lorraine, and mendicant processions.

The majority of the essays focus on the later Middle Ages, especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, the vitality of cathedrals as pilgrimage sites did not end with the Middle Ages, as several of the essays demonstrate. For example, Le Puy-en-Velay with its famous Black Virgin was an ancient Marian pilgrimage site that, according to Bruno Maes, became an even more important Catholic destination in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when it was surrounded by Calvinist Huguenot communities. After the Council of Trent, too, there was a general move to open up cathedral choirs, to rid them of the assemblage of altars typical of the Middle Ages—a move that reached its apex in the eighteenth century, as Mathieu Lours shows. The reinvigoration of shrines in the postmedieval period also resulted from acquisition of a new relic such as the "suaire" (shroud) that moved to Besançon's Cathedral of St. Jean from the collegiale church of St. Etienne when it was demolished by Vauban.

The dividing line between a pilgrimage and a procession can be blurred, as Philippe Martin points out for Toul in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even during the Middle Ages, an important cathedral—like the "mother church" at Tournai—could attract regional clergy on a pilgrimage, as Jacques Pycke shows. The Tournai ecclesiastics encouraged pilgrimage at key liturgical points in the calendar, including Pentecost, the Exaltation of the Cross, and Marian feasts. The authorization of commercial festivals at times of religious importance also buoyed the Tournai cathedral's privileged position in a large area of northern Europe.

The distinction between procession and pilgrimage to Notre Dame of Paris is likewise difficult to perceive, as Mireille Vincent-Cassy argues. This cathedral had been a pilgrimage site since 945, but it was in the twelfth century that an influx of new relics often on display promoted the cathedral's status. The multiple visits of King Charles V during the fourteenth century to pray for a son and then to commemorate the success of his prayer qualified as "pilgrimages," since they had the elements of the vow, the journey, and the oblation. Processions were characterized by accompanying clergy carrying a cross before the marchers and ended with a sermon. Some processions became pilgrimages, Vincent-Cassy argues, for example the "deambulation" of 1449 in Paris, which had 12,500 children dressed in white, walking barefoot with candles from the church of the Holy Innocents to the cathedral, where they heard a Mass sung before the image of Notre Dame.

These specific examples are selected from the many richly detailed discussions of cathedral activity that could not be summarized here for lack of space. Suffice it to say that a careful reader of the essays in this volume will certainly come away convinced that the conventional division between cathedral worship and the pilgrimage must be challenged as simplistic. The historical reality is far more complex—and far more interesting.

University of Southern Maine KATHLEEN ASHLEY

The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles, Vol. 1: *The Latin Edition*; Vol. 2: *The Translation.* Edited and translated by Helen J. Nicholson. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Vol. 1: Pp. xl, 432; $134.95; ISBN 978-1-409-43650-8. Vol. 2: Pp. lx, 653; $154.95; ISBN 978-1-409-43652-2.)

Controversy has followed the Order of the Knights Templar from the time of the arrest of the French Templars on October 13, 1307, until today. Their name has become mired in myth, legend, and fantasy, and their original function—to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land—has been largely forgotten, as has their role in medieval society as military monks who took monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

Representatives of the Order arrived in Britain in 1128, and the king and his nobles vied with each other to give them land. As the Templars were latecomers to the British land-market this was often land that had to be reclaimed from the waste, marsh, or fen. Over the years they did this and became efficient farmers, sending the profits from their estates to their brothers in the East. Apart from the occasional squabble with neighbors (revealed in local court records), they were unobtrusive landlords in the countryside. In London, however, high-ranking members of the Order became advisers, accountants, and bankers to the monarch. When the French king Philippe IV arrested the French Templars, King Edward II of England procrastinated on the grounds that the Templars had always been good friends to his family. After pressure from Pope Clement V, he eventually arrested the English Templars in January 1308 and held them on loose house arrest until the arrival in 1309 of the papal inquisition. The text of these volumes that are transcribed and translated in a work of great scholarship by Helen Nicholson is the evidence from the trials of the Templars in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Five versions of the proceedings exist. The most complete of these is Ms Bodley 454 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. There are three versions in the British Library, which are either incomplete or damaged by fire, and there is a version in the Vatican Library (Armarium XXXV.147), which is a summary of the proceedings in Britain sent to Clement V for use at the Council of Vienne in 1312, when he disbanded the Order. All five versions are used in this edition. In the introduction to volume 1 Nicholson gives the provenance and history of the manuscripts and describes these in detail. She also discusses versions already in print, including the flawed version by David Wilkins. The editorial conventions are carefully explained, and the text adheres as closely as possible to the original manuscript, including marginalia, insertions, additions, and line breaks. The footnotes to the Latin versions show where the text differs from Wilkins's version, and there are extensive notes showing how the contractions and abbreviations of the Latin words have been interpreted. This is of inestimable value to scholars working on medieval Latin texts.

Volume 2 is a word-for-word translation of the Latin versions. Therefore, those unversed in Latin can compare these and establish where contradiction lies, whereas Latin readers can compare the editor's interpretations of difficult passages with their own.

The British Templars were tried on eighty-eight charges obtained from the interrogation of the French Templars, which were acquired by mental and physical torture. In the introduction Nicholson includes a useful and very relevant discussion on the use of evidence obtained by torture. She concludes that as historical evidence the proceedings of the trials of the British Templars need to be used with care and should not be accepted as sound historical evidence. She suggests that an important aspect of the trial evidence is that it shows how the papal inquisition proceeded and overcame its difficulties in

England, where torture was not permitted. She also shows that the Order was one of centralization with a tight structure.

Only three of the British Templars confessed, and some sort of intimidation may have been used on them. As shown in the text of the Bodleian manuscript, the others replied that they did not know or that they had never heard of any such thing regarding the charges of heresy, blasphemy, idolatry, and sexual misconduct. The evidence given by hostile witnesses, also included in the proceedings, was either hearsay or complete fabrication. The proceedings in these volumes show that the British Templars were not guilty of the charges against them. So why were these brought in the first place? The proceedings against the French Templars do not show either Philippe IV or Clement V in a good light, but the Grand Master Jacques de Molay was not without his faults. The British Templars were caught up in a power struggle that was not of their making. Nicholson does not get involved in any debates on why the Templars were arrested and whether they were guilty. She presents the texts as they stand and illustrates these with intelligent introductions that help readers to better understand them. Both editor and publisher are to be congratulated on publishing these volumes, which are works of significant scholarship and an addition to the printed corpus of medieval texts.

Wolfson College, Cambridge EVELYN LORD

The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317–1340, Vol. VI. Edited by David Robinson. [The Canterbury and York Society, Vol. CI.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2011. Pp. x, 281. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-907-23973-4.)

In volume VI of the Register of Archbishop William Melton, David Robinson, who also edited the second volume in this series in 1978, calendars, primarily in English, the 741 documents dealing with the archdeaconry of the East Riding. In addition to these brief summaries, Robinson furnishes fuller or even complete renderings of many documents, sometimes in English, sometimes in Latin. Robinson has carefully edited this work, occasionally suggesting corrections to the Latin text and referring where appropriate to printed collections of sources such as the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

This volume records the routine business of an archdiocese: licenses for ordination, licenses for private confessors and chaplains, appointments to churches, excommunications (in one case, for stealing the archbishop's swans), visitations of parishes and monasteries, penances imposed on nuns and canons for various sins, marriage cases, purgations from alleged crimes, disputes over benefices, establishment of chantries and one monastery, dispensations for illegitimate birth, and permissions for or punishment for clerical nonresidence. Occasionally a document refers to something of more than local significance, like destruction of property by Scots. There also are the

occasional human-interest references like the license given to the prioress of Nunkeeling to visit the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury "provided that she returns as soon as possible to her house" (p. 31). This was, after all, Chaucer's century, and perhaps here was another Madame Eglentyne. Chaucer's clerk might also have found a kindred spirit in Thomas de Eston—acolyte and rector of Heslerton, to whom in 1322 the archbishop grants permission to be absent from his church for seven years so he may study at a studium generale. Ten years later, the archbishop grants Thomas, now a priest, permission to study at a studium generale for another three years. Three years later, Thomas gains an extension of two more years. In another interesting case, the archbishop orders the nun Joan de Ledes, who feigned her own death and burial, to return to her priory.

In short, this volume from Melton's register, especially when complemented by the others in the series, provides the kind of information utilized by Craig Harline and Eddy Put in *A Bishop's Tale* (New Haven, 2000). The forty-nine pages of indices, as a further example of the potential of this source, provide an extremely useful synopsis of the contents of the register. Almost three pages of those indices concern abbeys and priories of men and women. In addition to general issues like appointments of officials appear a purgation of a prior on a charge of adultery, a restriction on expenses for dogs and horses, and multiple references to corrodies. The archbishop warns the canons of the Augustinian Priory of Bridlington, in the interest of a free election, not to discuss the election of their next prior with the local notables. Apostate religious may return to their abandoned monasteries a third time but no more. After visitations of the priories of Nunkeeling and Swine, the archbishop directs that secular women are not to reside in those institutions without his permission. The archbishop also forbids secular priests and friars access to certain areas in those priories. In several documents the archbishop warns both canons and nuns about novelties in dress. Hens and chickens may not be present in the choir, church, or chapter of Swine priory.

Students of the fourteenth-century English church owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Robinson and the Canterbury and York Society for this book.

Stephen F. Austin State University JOHN W. DAHMUS

Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry. By Guido of Monte Rochen. Translated by Anne T. Thayer. Introduction by Anne T. Thayer and Katharine J. Lualdi. [Medieval Texts in Translation.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xliv, 350. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21869-4.)

The fields of pastoral care and more generally the religious life and piety of the late Middle Ages have experienced significant attention over the

course of the last several decades. With this first English translation of Guido of Monte Rochen's *Manipulus curatorum*, scholars and students now have a more accessible text of what was certainly one of the most widely disseminated handbooks for "neophyte priests," particularly so after the introduction of printing in the fifteenth century.

The introduction offers a helpful overview of the *Handbook* by Guido, a fourteenth-century "magister" from Teruel, Spain, and the issues surrounding it. Written in the early 1330s, the *Handbook* survives in some 250 manuscripts and more than 1400 early printed copies. The work is saturated with references and imagery from the Bible, and Guido incorporated authorities from the patristic era to more contemporary sources in theology and canon law. Of particular interest in the introduction is the discussion of marginalia and annotations contained in the manuscripts and printed copies. Although it is difficult to speak with much precision about Guido's medieval and early-modern readers, given the large number of annotations, clearly this was not a text that sat idly on the shelf.

Guido divided his work into three parts. Part 1 looks at the sacraments in general and then separately at baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist (the largest section in this part), holy orders, extreme unction, and marriage. Part 2 is an extended discussion of the sacrament of penance and all of the theological and practical complexities associated with the administration of this sacrament. The third part is a basic catechesis and walks the reader through the articles of faith contained in the Apostles', Nicene, Athanasian, and Lateran Creeds along with the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a short section on the "gifts of the blessed."

Modern readers will find in this text a measure of pastoral/theological flexibility—the way in which Guido offers competing theories from different authorities and in some cases hesitates to provide the answer or even allows the reader to decide the best course of action. This flexibility was not uncommon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But in the sixteenth century, theological tensions and a sharpened doctrinal focus on the sacraments may explain why Guido's *Handbook* was listed on the Spanish Inquisition's Index of prohibited books. Modern readers also will find informative and often amusing examples about how parish priests should handle both real and hypothetical cases. For example, in his discussion of baptism, should a sleeping person be baptized, and what should be done for conjoined twins (one baptism or two)? In his discussion of the "defects" that can occur in the Mass, Guido has a lengthy discussion about what to do if a spider or fly gets into the consecrated chalice. One solution is that the insect should be "burned and its ashes kept in a shrine" (p. 104).

In all, this is a well-written and readable translation that will benefit scholars working in the fields of religious history and/or theology in the

late Middle Ages. It will also be a useful source text for university or seminary students.

Roberts Wesleyan College RONALD J. STANSBURY

Statuti e costituzioni medievali del Capitolo Lateranense. By Louis Duval-Arnould and Jochen Johrendt with the collaboration of Anna Maria Voci. [Tabularium Lateranense 2.] (Vatican City: Archivio Capitolare Lateranense. 2011. Pp. 195. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-890-50470-2.)

Two articles on the medieval Lateran chapter that appeared in 2006 in French and German respectively are here united in an Italian translation by Anna Maria Voci. Louis Duval-Arnould edited the statutes for San Giovanni in Laterano issued by Pope Gregory XI (1369–73), and Jochen Johrendt, inspired by Duval-Arnould to fill the remaining thirteenth-century gap, published critical editions of the papal statutes for the chapter by Pope Gregory IX (1228) and Pope Nicholas IV (1290).[1] Although much of the general history of the Lateran chapter is unfortunately still unknown, the texts here combined in an Italian translation form important stepping stones to a better understanding of the role of San Giovanni in Laterano during the Middle Ages. The most influential change in the composition of the chapter occurred in 1298/99 under Pope Boniface VIII, who replaced the regular Lateran canons following the Rule of St. Augustine with secular canons. Boniface VIII, however, never issued statutes strictly speaking, but instead regulated the life of the newly constituted chapter in a series of important letters and extremely generous privileges. It is a major plus for the book that Duval-Arnould also edited twenty-three of these together with a complementary letter of Pope Benedict XI of April 1304 (pp. 63–110). Without texts illuminating the change-over from regular to secular canons *c.* 1300, the relationship between the critically edited constitutions and statutes of the thirteenth- and fourteenth centuries would have been difficult to understand and to appreciate. Still an open question, however, is the institutional history of the chapter in the later eleventh- and early-twelfth centuries. It seems unlikely that the privilege issued for the chapter by Pope Alexander II in 1061, a *deperditum*, already stipulated the later Rule of St. Augustine as regulation for the life of the reformed canons as Johrendt accepts on the basis of later privileges (p. 23). It would probably be better—sources on this question are very scarce—to look to the Aachen Rule as altered by Pope Gregory VII as inspiration for the canons of San Frediano of Lucca who were charged by Alexander II with the reform of the Lateran chapter.[2]

[1]Jochen Johrendt, "Die Statuten des Regulierten Laterankapitels im 13. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 86 (2006) 95–143; Louis Duval-Arnould, "Les constitutions de Grégoire XI pour le chapitre du Latran (1369–1373)," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* 60 (2006) 405–50.

[2]*Cf.* Tilmann Schmidt, "Die Kanonikerreform in Rom und Papst Alexander II. (1061–1073)," *Studi Gregoriani,* 9 (1972): 199–221.

Johrendt's discussion focuses with precision on the thirteenth century. He provides critical editions of the documents of Pope Gregory IX (February 3, 1228) and Pope Nicholas IV (May 7, 1290) in favor of the chapter and illuminates with great care the changes that they illustrate. The privilege of Gregory IX is a "statute" in line with the confirmations of rights and properties granted by the papacy since its earliest days, but especially since the eleventh century. In contrast to the mixture of regulations for the internal life of the chapter and confirmation of property rights found here, the bull of 1290 granted by Nicholas IV is a document that exclusively deals with the internal life of the regular canons. Both illustrate very well the evolution of "statutes" as a category of primary sources (p. 25). The same could be said of the youngest document in the volume—the constitutions of Pope Gregory XI. This pontiff, the former Cardinal Roger de Beaufort, was a great benefactor of the Lateran basilica as well as its chapter, confirming, for example, in a constitution of 1372 the primacy of the basilica over all the churches of the world, not excluding St. Peter's (p. 113n). His bull, the *Lateranensis capituli constitutiones a Gregorio PP. XI edictae,* issued May 1, 1373, at Avignon (pp. 149–72), replaced the statutes of Pope Nicholas IV. These naturally no longer suited a chapter that now was formed exclusively by secular canons, who had relied so far on unwritten *consuetudines* (p. 114).

The reader will be grateful for the edition, not least for the complete description and the detailed commentary on the content of the regulations governing the chapter of San Giovanni in Laterano in the late-fourteenth century. The book concludes with a very useful index of persons and places for the entire volume.

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

The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora *of Thomas Walsingham,* Vol. II: *1394–1422.* Edited and translated by John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. c, 888. $250.00. ISBN 978-0-199-25346-3.)

Chronicle-writing in later medieval England was dominated by the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans. Initiated by Roger of Wendover and then continued by Matthew Paris, this rich tradition was revitalized in the later years of the fourteenth century by Thomas Walsingham (*c.* 1340–*c.* 1420). Throughout his long affiliation with St. Albans, Walsingham produced a large contemporary history, the *Chronica maiora*, covering events from 1376 to 1422. At the same time the St. Albans scriptorium also produced an abridged version of this text, the so-called Short Chronicle. These histories were written contemporaneously with the events they describe, and circulated in numerous overlapping and often repetitive drafts. Owing to this complex manuscript tradition, versions of both the longer and shorter histories appeared in several clumsily edited Rolls Series editions published in the

1860s and 1870s. The first sustained effort to correct the errors in the Rolls Series editions was made by Vivian H. Galbraith, with his edition of *The St Albans Chronicle 1406–1420* (Oxford, 1937). Galbraith's groundbreaking work was continued by his student, the late John Taylor, whose comprehensive understanding of fourteenth-century chronicles was unparalled. Together with Wendy Childs and Leslie Watkiss, Taylor has edited the portion of the *Chronica maiora* extending from 1376 to 1394 in volume I (2002). Now, with the appearance of volume II (1394–1422), the editors have at long last provided scholars with a single, unified text of this important chronicle.

In their lengthy introduction the editors address several interrelated problems associated with the *Chronica maiora*. After deftly disentangling the complex manuscript tradition conveying versions of both the *Chronica maiora* and the Short Chronicle, the editors explain their rationale for basing this edition primarily on Bodley MS 462, collated with two related manuscripts, Faustina B. IX, and CCCC 7 (2). The editors next explore the knotty problem of authorship. Although in their estimation Walsingham was the sole author of the narrative extending from 1376 to 1393 (found in BL, Royal MS 13. E. IX), alterations in both the manuscript tradition and the narrative style in the later segment from 1394 to 1422 raise the possibility of multiple authorship. After noting that "evidence of his participation in the writing of this part of chronicle is hard to come by" (p. xlii), the editors then note that Walsingham "remains . . . in all probability, the sole author of the *Chronica maiora*" (p. xlvi). The editors then turn their attention to the character of the narrative and its historical value. The narrative focuses on the last years of King Richard II's reign, whose "actions are portrayed in a uniformly unfavourable light" (p. liv). This is especially evident in the extended narrative concerning Richard's deposition and the accession of King Henry IV, where extensive reliance on the *Record and Process* betrays a clear Lancastrian bias. For its account of the Lancastrian regime the *Chronica maiora* provides important and in many places unique versions of principal events, especially concerning King Henry V's campaigns in France and the Lollard movement.

Thanks to the editors' expertise, scholars are now availed of the full narrative, with English translation, of the St. Albans chronicle extending from 1376 to 1422. All the same, because many of the editors' interpretations advert to the views expressed by Galbraith in the 1930s, a few of which have been challenged—if not overturned—by subsequent scholarship, some of their conclusions do not necessarily represent the final word. Thus, the editors' observations regarding the dating, sequencing, and relationships among the several manuscripts conveying both the *Chronica maiora* and the Short Chronicle are not altogether convincing. It is not altogether clear, for instance, whether Walsingham (assuming he was the sole author) first compiled the *Chronica maiora*, and then subsequently drafted an abridged version—or vice versa. Nor is the question of Walsingham's sole authorship of the entire narrative made abundantly clear; even the editors are vague on this point.

Quite apart, then, from the overall importance of this most welcome edition of the St. Albans chronicle, some of its conclusions invite further discussion and reconsideration.

La Salle University GEORGE STOW

Kampf um Florenz–Die Medici im Exil (1494–1512). By Götz-Rüdiger Tewes. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2011. Pp. xiv, 1190. €128,00. ISBN 978-3-412-20643-7.)

Many years ago, there was a delightful friend, all energy and projects, who would visit my roommates and me in our college dormitory. She carried a very heavy bookbag, which, after climbing four flights of stairs, she would drop on the floor with a thud. In the bag there figured most prominently a thick biology text that she was always promising to read. One day, we played a prank on her and placed a brick at the bottom of her bookbag. Imagine her surprise one week later when we emptied the bag and revealed the brick. When Götz-Rüdiger Tewes's new book—nearly 1200 pages in German—arrived, this reviewer's first thought was that a similar if not identical trick was being played on him by the editors of *The Catholic Historical Review*. All's well that ends well. The friend did read her biology book, and this admirable book by Tewes was a pleasure to read.

Florence in the period from 1494 to 1512, when the Medici family was in exile and a republican regime known as the *governo popolare* was in control, has long been the subject of intense scrutiny, especially by scholars interested in Savonarola and Machiavelli. Tewes tells the story of this period again, but this time from the point of view of the exiled Medici and their partisans in Florence, whose story is reconstructed in exacting detail on the basis of a great deal of new evidence that Tewes has assembled and analyzed with great care. He situates his work within the field of historical network study, but his is an unusual case. Other Florentine historians have looked at the network as a tool of social advancement, as a means of preserving class dominance, as a way of controlling territory, as an instrument for seizing political power, or as a way extending influence abroad. The emphasis has been on how growing networks advanced the interests of those who belonged to them. Tewes instead studies a network that shrunk and adapted defensively during a prolonged crisis. This is not an expansive Facebook-style story, but it is no less interesting.

The broad network that was established by Cosimo de' Medici in the 1420s and 1430s did not disappear after the political disaster of 1494, but in great part it became dormant. Most former partisans participated in the restored republic, whereas only a few key Florentine players remained secretly active in the Medici network, whose principals (Piero, Cardinal Giovanni, and Giuliano) continued to move freely about the Italian pensin-

sula. Crucial to the survival of the principals as political actors was the preservation of their wealth. Notwithstanding repeated "clawback" efforts by the Florentine government, the Medici continued to command resources that were substantial enough to influence the policy of successive popes and the king of France.

To the final chapters of Raymond de Roover's classic study, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), Tewes offers a powerful corrective. De Roover described Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was in charge from 1469 to 1492, as financially inept, bringing about the collapse of the Medici bank. On the contrary, Tewes shows how during the War of the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478–80, when there was good likelihood that Florence would lose the war and the Medici would be forced out of Florence, a financially astute Lorenzo transferred most of the holdings of the Medici bank to another entity, the Bartolini family bank. Lorenzo used the Bartolini bank as a front for Medici business and a vehicle for preserving his wealth in the event of political catastrophe. He also enriched it by using it as a conduit for state funds. The result was a durable and flourishing enterprise in service to the Medici but directed by the Bartolini, one of whom happened to be director of the Florentine Mint.

The extent of Medici participation in the Bartolini bank was not public knowledge. When catastrophe did befall them and the Medici were exiled in 1494, their wealth was protected by the Bartolini, most of whose business was done in faraway Lyons, giving the Medici powerful leverage in France. Meanwhile, the Bartolini director of the Mint remained in office in Florence long after the Medici were exiled. Others of the Bartolini held significant positions of authority in the *governo popolare*, and—along with members of the Tornabuoni, Lanfredini, Pucci, Alamanni, and Salviati families—they worked secretively to further the financial and political interests of the Medici in exile.

Alongside the Bartolini bank, another, indispensable resource was the network of lucrative church benefices held by Giovanni de' Medici, the future Pope Leo X. When the republic subjected his Florentine benefices to punitive taxes, Giovanni used Roman channels to transfer them to friends in exchange for pensions from their revenues.

To reconstruct the Medicean network, Tewes has done exemplary work in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the Archivio Salviati in Pisa, and the Archivio di Stato of Florence. Much of his crucial evidence is from the wonderful but rarely consulted collection of account books and parchment diplomas of the Bartolini Salimbeni family, whose archive is kept in their summer residence in Vicchio, a fifty-minute drive from Florence. The precision with which he has documented a complicated but extremely important dimension of this decisive period in Florentine history is to be commended.

Seton Hall University WILLIAM J. CONNELL

Early Modern European

Religious Conflict and Accommodation in the Early Modern World. Edited by Marguerite Ragnow and William D. Phillips Jr. [Minnesota Studies in Early Modern History, No. 3.] (Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History, University of Minnesota. 2011. Pp. xii, 257. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-979-75592-7.)

The new history of the ideas and practices of religious toleration is now global, and this volume fits very well in that trajectory. It covers both interreligious (Christians versus Muslims versus Hindus versus Chinese and more) and intra-religious (Shiite versus Sunni, Protestant versus Catholic and more) conflict and accommodation in many a variation on the theme.

The opening chapter by James D. Tracy makes the valuable point that all of the conflicts among Catholics and Protestants and dissenters in Europe took place against the background of the looming threat of Islam, and yet the Turks were often more worried about their conflicts with Persia than with the Europeans. War and peace between the two religious blocs were only the tip of the iceberg of raids, piracies, and incursions on the one hand and trade, cooperation, and peaceful interaction at the local level on the other. Different levels of conflict could become salient or recede in importance at different points in time.

Ideas counted and were manifold. Anne Marie Wolf analyzes a letter from Juan de Segovia of 1455 in which a strong case for toleration of Muslims is made almost exclusively from texts of the Bible, not from pragmatism, natural law, rationalism, or human rights. Wolf thinks the author's concern for conversion may "not fit most conceptions of religious tolerance" (p. 61), but surely the term can be ample enough to include peaceful conversionists.

The Mughal emperor Akbar's House of Religious Assembly, analyzed by Stephen Blake, brought together a breathtaking array of figures for discussion: Sufi, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunni, Shia, Brahman, Jain, Nazarene, Jew, Zoroastrian, and others. The goal was "lasting reconciliation" as a political strategy for governing a very diverse empire, and it seems to have worked up to a point.

Denis Crouzet finds a transition in sixteenth-century France from understanding the king as a figure of violence—defender of the faith, punisher of evil—to representing him as a peacemaker. The king against his (and God's) enemies morphed into the king as guarantor of civil peace. Accommodation of religious diversity was a duty of peace. A century later, that had changed again.

Transylvania was probably the most officially tolerant place in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with repeated decrees permitting Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Arian (a heresy everywhere else), and even

sometimes Orthodox services. Graeme Murdock explains that this can probably be attributed to the precariousness of frontier living, and the danger of provoking internal violence in the face of an external threat.

Timothy Brook tells the fascinating story of a Spanish-Chinese massacre in Luzon in 1639–40. In China, the state was strong enough to enforce accommodation from European merchants and missionaries. Not so in the Philippines. Economic distress led to a battle of the gods, and the Chinese merchants and farmers there lost, perhaps in part because their state would not back them overseas. The idea of henotheism caused the Spaniards to fight for the superiority of their deity, whereas the Chinese were accustomed to appealing to different gods at different times. And the Chinese center saw the Chinese who had strayed so far away as unfilial, in contrast to the Spanish view of their adventurers as righteous conquerors.

A chapter from Luca Codignola on conservatism as a survival strategy for the Catholic Church in North America, 1760–1829, is reprinted from the *William and Mary Quarterly* (2007). And Frederick Asher explores the reconstructions of Hindu history today that are used to justify encroachment on Muslim mosques. Nationalists seek conflict; local merchants seek accommodation so they can live on tourism.

In books like this one, the history of the world is being rewritten as the history of variations on the theme of conflict and accommodation. The present may later be understood as part of the same dynamic.

University of California, Riverside JOHN CHRISTIAN LAURSEN

The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome. By David Karmon. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 320. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-199-76689-5.)

This book challenges the evidence of our eyes and of scholarly tradition. Most of Rome's ancient buildings are gone; many have supplied columns, capitals, and pavements to later structures; and considerable contemporary documentation attests to the recycling of antique stone as lime and construction material. The historiography has almost universally decried the destruction of the city's ancient remains by Romans down through the ages, but especially by Renaissance and Counter-Reformation popes. David Karmon argues, on the contrary, that Rome had a long tradition of preservation legislation and that the Renaissance popes—rather than being arch villains—were in fact saviors of antiquities. (His study ends with Pope Paul III, perhaps wisely, as Pope Sixtus V might have been harder to incorporate into his thesis.) When Karmon can make such claims without irony, we must believe that he does not subscribe to the conventional definition of preservation; and indeed that is the case he makes in this book. He asks us to rethink what preservation means, to look

afresh at the legislative evidence of concern for protecting ancient buildings, and to read "destruction" with more nuance. In other words, Karmon does the unthinkable; he takes a historicist approach to preservation policy, suggesting that we look at what it meant to the actors of the time rather than imposing modern, not very well conceived, standards on the past.

This argument is set forth in part I of the book and in its conclusion. Part II is felicitously named "object biographies," and here we find chapters devoted to the specific history of preservation (and destruction) at three important ancient structures: the Colosseum, the Pantheon, and what is now known as the "broken bridge"—Ponte Santa Maria. If there is a slightly broad-brush approach taken in part I, the three subjects of part II receive very satisfying treatment—detailed, readable, and illuminating. By focusing on the theme of what was preserved and what was not at each of these sites, Karmon throws fresh light on the history of these buildings and of the political forces that played over them. He brings out the role of the civic government, which had early claimed to be the protector of Rome's antiquities, so that for the first time we can trace its policies and interventions comprehensively over time. (These included the power to grant quarrying rights.) Karmon also argues vigorously that the papacy showed its commitment to preservation by the appointment of the first papal commissioner of antiquities, a post that lasted until 1870, under Paul III. If he does not go into detail on sixteenth-century papal "excavation campaigns" (that is, quarrying), his book nonetheless points up the need for a parallel study of the economic history of the Roman construction industry, complete with prices of different kinds of stone and what "ruins" supplied them.

This is a book with a bold, overarching thesis and richly textured component parts. It does assume that the only antiquities under the lens are classical. Hopefully it will inspire others to look anew at Rome's ancient churches and their even more tortured history of preservation and destruction.

Wesleyan University LAURIE NUSSDORFER

Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523. By Ronald C. Finucane†. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 276. ISBN 978-0-813-21875-5.)

Contested Canonizations is an engaging, "unashamedly narrative" (p. 3) study that offers the first collective overview of how five prospective saints advanced to the altars between 1482 and 1523. In none of these cases was success assured. The group's average time to canonization may have been a respectably cautious 210 years, but individual waits ranged from 12 to 417 years, and that vertiginous spread is, in a sense, Ronald C. Finucane's subject. What telling difficulties did each man face? And why did these cases succeed rather than others?

An initial chapter describes the nature of "Saint-Making at the End of the Middle Ages." Finucane skillfully reduces this complex subject to two topics of universal interest: evidence of changing attitudes toward miracle (is it science yet?), and the nature of the procedure (how corrupt was it?). Then he gently deflates these enthusiastic questions. None of his documents from the curial elite of *c*. 1500 reports arguments about miracles per se; rather, they evince a legalistic concern with the factual details of miraculous events (in some cases, it seems, with sheer obstructive intent). Thus, despite the usefulness of late-medieval miracle collections for understanding local perceptions, and of papal ceremonials and legal *relationes* for sussing out attitudes among the curial elite, the late Middle Ages did not achieve the sorts of revelatory discussion of miracle that would occur well after Trent. As for the second, procedural question, Finucane reviews the conservative format of the late-medieval canonization process, which essentially continued the twelve stages articulated in the thirteenth century by canonist Hostiensis. On that account, Finucane is justified in identifying his holy quintet as the last medieval saints, although they would normally be ascribed to the Renaissance or early modernity. Behind them lay the steadily diminishing rhythm of canonizations over the preceding two centuries; before them loomed the great saint drought of 1523–88.

Five core chapters follow, one per saint: theologian and Franciscan Master-General Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio (d. 1274, canonized 1482); lay ruler Duke Leopold of Austria (d. 1136, canonized 1485); the Minims' founder, Francis of Paola (d. 1507, canonized 1519); Archbishop and Dominican theologian Antonino Pierozzi of Florence (d. 1459, canonized 1523); and Bishop Benno of Meissen (d. 1106, canonized 1523). Each chapter repeats a simple, satisfying structure—overview of the life, discussion of the process, reflection on success. Despite the desperate complexity of the material, Finucane tells the men's stories extremely well.

Beset by "internal problems" particular to the renaissance Curia and by "external influences" associated with the tumultuous politics of early-modern Europe, these canonizations yield no simple recipe for success. Still, it is clear that a dogged supporter, political opportunism, and ready cash could tip the balance. Bonaventure would not have made it through the gauntlet of Franciscan factionalism, especially in the absence of miracles, without the support of Pope Sixtus IV. Leopold of Austria had plenty of posthumous miracles at his shrine in Klosterneuburg, but success required papal-imperial politicking and the labors of a tireless procurator on Klosterneuburg's behalf. As for Francis of Paola, he enjoyed the speediest ascent to the altars, thanks to the deep purses of French royalty, notably Louise of Savoy. Antoninus of Florence had a similarly politicized elevation—his cause served the Medici to counter the lingering influence of Savonarolan radicalism in factionalized Florence. Finally, canonization of the obscure Benno of Meissen burnished the dynasty and declared the reforming interests of Duke George of Saxony while underlining Charles V's opposition to Luther.

Finucane concludes that these individuals succeeded because each benefited a powerful interested party at a particular moment (p. 241). All scholars of canonization records know that asking "Cui bono?" will pretty reliably uncover the most vulgar trafficking in influence. God works in mysterious ways, respond the faithful; cynics experience a familiar tickle of amusement. Finucane, a consummate scholar, remained above that fray, content to be curious about the nuts and bolts of the processes during a liminal period. A wide audience will enjoy the author's storytelling skills and even discover a salutary provocation in his silences. Good teachers know when to let the conversation continue in the reader's mind.

University of Texas at Austin ALISON K. FRAZIER

Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas. By Amy Nelson Burnett. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxviii, 234. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-75399-4.)

Within the annals of historical theology, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt often gets a bad rap. Maligned by Martin Luther and rejected by Ulrich Zwingli, his role within the development of the Eucharistic debates among the emerging evangelical movements of the early-sixteenth century has been largely overlooked beneath a cloud of rhetoric and caricatures. In this book, however, Amy Nelson Burnett digs beyond the rhetoric to crack open a fresh look at both Karlstadt and his views on the sacrament within the broader context of the sixteenth-century evangelical movement. Those looking for a systematic theology of Karlstadt's views, however, will not find it here. Instead, Burnett plies her skills as an historian to trace the interaction of key themes within Karlstadt's Eucharistic theology with the theologies of both major and minor Reformers of the 1510s to the 1520s through the various tracts and essays that were published on this theme. In so doing, she sketches a new picture of Karlstadt's role as a catalyst of debate within the Eucharistic controversy that ended up fracturing the nascent evangelical movement into competing factions.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Burnett's book is that she approaches her topic as a study in the "circulation of ideas." This allows her to move beyond the polemics that characterized the debate and to focus instead on the way in which Karlstadt's ideas circulated throughout German-speaking territories to seed dissent reaction to these emerging discussions concerning the nature of the presence of Christ's body and blood within the elements of the sacrament. After providing a brief outline of key themes within his Eucharistic thought, she traces the movement of these ideas not only in relationship to Luther but also to Zwingli and a host of lesser Reformation figures—a connection that has not yet been adequately explored—to illustrate the way in which his views acted like shepherding moons so as to shape and define the

diverging views on the sacrament that eventually fractured the evangelical movement into different confessional camps. Burnett's genius shines in the way that she traces the circulation of these ideas from the ground up through an examination of the publication history of the various writings that constituted the substance of this debate.

One could only wish that she had included more direct quotations from her primary texts within the body of her work to allow students and readers to see for themselves the way in which Karlstadt and the various Reformers stated their positions. She also does not connect the Eucharistic controversy with the earlier medieval debates concerning the nature of the sacrament, leaving the impression that the differences that surfaced during this time period were something new rather than a progression of intellectual currents with deeper historical roots. Burnett does periodically *hint* at what she calls "practical consequences" (p. 10) that divided the evangelical Reformers from one another; but by opting instead to follow the debate in terms of more abstract intellectual differences, her work misses the more profound connection to questions of faith formation and the relationship between objective means and subjective faith that emerged across Europe during this period. As a result, she falls short of grasping the shifting patterns of spiritual formation which went hand-in-glove with the more abstract theological debates—or at the very least, the reason behind the polemical rhetoric that divided Luther and Karlstadt from one another. In the end, her work remains (as her title suggests), not a study of shifting patterns of early-modern spirituality, but a study in the circulation of ideas.

Burnett's book breaks important ground for the historian and theologian alike. Like a good work of scholarship, it also hints at new areas of creative inquiry. As a landmark study, it will be of use for students of religious history and theology for many years to come.

Concordia Lutheran Seminary RICHARD A. BEINERT
Edmonton, Canada

The Senses and the English Reformation. By Matthew Milner. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xiv, 407. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66642-4.)

The common understanding of late-medieval Christianity in relation to its reformed counterpart is that the former was highly sensual, grounded in a rich visual culture of images, vestments, processions, and sacramentals and depending on practices such as *seeing* the elevation of the host and the visual veneration of relics. Its Reformation successor would be dominantly aural, based on the *hearing* of vernacular scripture and preaching; its banishment of the visual made it an internalized and intellectual experience. Such an understanding is, of course, far too simple and moreover accepts uncritically

the Reformation self-understanding and its critique of late-medieval religion. *The Senses and the English Reformation* undertakes to examine attitudes toward the senses, not simply visuality and aurality but smell, taste, and touch as well, from the fifteenth through the end of the sixteenth centuries to determine whether changes in understanding underlay the moving of those tectonic plates that convulsed European religion.

With extraordinary learning, Matthew Milner examines philosophical views of the senses from the high Middle Ages through the sixteenth century. Following from the Aristotelianism of Aquinas, sight was indeed accorded the primacy among the senses. But aurality came a close second, mainly for its ability to perceive interiors. Perhaps surprisingly, smell came next in the hierarchy of the senses, followed by taste, and—considered the basest—touch. The real issue emerged in the role the senses played in human cognition, whether they could be trusted, and if so, to what degree. How did religious objects and actions affect the devout and to what degree were religious elements what they appeared to be? Although it counseled caution in regard to the senses, pre-Reformation piety fully exploited an affective sensation in its liturgical practice.

The underlying question is the degree to which attitudes toward the senses changed between pre-Reformation and post-Reformation English experience and how such change might explain the upheaval in religious expression and understanding. This is what Milner sets out to examine in his study. What he finds, however, is a general consistency in the attitudes toward the senses over this 200-year period, the reformers still governed by traditional assumptions about sensory propriety and theory. The fundamentals of medieval sensory culture appear not to have changed appreciably over the course of the sixteenth century. Fear of idolatry, he notes, is dependent on the same understanding of the senses on which medieval sacramentality was based. In fact, the most ardent nonconformists with Elizabethan religion "appear as the truest inheritors of medieval religious sensing" (p. 290) because of their retention of an intrinsic intentionality in their understanding of religious objects.

What, then, did change in the ways the senses were deployed between the late-medieval and early-modern periods? Here, the explanatory character of the book may disappoint. The major differences must lie with printing; it would be hard to overestimate the impact of the printing press on European eyes and ears in the period. Although Milner acknowledges the position of scripture as the focus of the senses, he has little to say about the ways its authority was enhanced immeasurably by the printing press. Readers will look in vain for reference to the major scholarship on printing—that of Elizabeth Eisenstein, for example.

But the true value of *The Senses and the English Reformation* lies in its account of English worship and liturgy over the two centuries it treats. Milner

richly demonstrates the position played by the senses in English worship from the late-medieval world through the various stages of the Reformation. "Sensation may be the root of all sin," he notes, "but it was also the cornerstone of redemption" (p. 59) in its sacramental role. Although the overall story will be familiar to historians of the period, the wealth of detail and the attention to the ways in which the various senses informed the liturgical life will amply repay the reading. We learn, for example, about acoustic jars that enhanced the resonance of music and preaching (pp. 107–08), whereas in the Reformation the greater emphasis on aurality required pulpits to be moved into the naves and the distance between preacher and congregation to be minimized (p. 292). The "dogwhipper" became a necessary function to keep animals from fighting or leaping onto the Communion table (p. 300). Lovers of words will prize "utraquism" (from *utraque*, both) that describes the direction in the 1548 *Order of Communion* for the reception of Communion in both species (p. 316). And perhaps surprisingly, we learn touch would prove just as essential in Protestant sacraments and sacramentals.

Those concerned with the texture of religious practice in the crucial centuries of pre- and post-Reformation England will prize the learning and scope of this book.

University of California, Santa Barbara MICHAEL O'CONNELL

Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635. By Judith Pollmann. [The *Past & Present* Book Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 239. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-199-60991-8.).

Historical scholarship on Catholics and Catholicism in the past ten years has undergone a remarkable evolution, moving away from a focus on institutions and clerical offices that grimly drilled obedience into indifferent laymen and laywomen. Instead, studies on various territories across Europe have given attention to the eager involvement of the laity in religious revival, the ongoing vitality of traditional observances in programs of reform, and the power of devotion in inculcating a confessional self-consciousness among Catholics. Judith Pollmann's exemplary treatment of Catholic identity in the Southern Netherlands represents the full flowering of these salutary revisionist trends. As important as institutions were, historians can no longer cast the Catholic Reformation, at least in northern Europe, as primarily a set of organizational responses to Protestantism. Pollmann also clears up misreadings about the state of lay piety in the Netherlands and sends scholarship on the Reformation in new directions.

The focus of her study is perceptions by laity and clergy from the middle strata of society about the religious and political movements that moved through the Southern Low Countries. In a remarkably succinct book, Pollmann accomplishes this task with great success in part because she

uncovered an amazing array of unpublished sources from clerics and from laymen and laywomen who experienced the upheaval of rebellion, war, and religious conflict. Largely overlooked by historians, these diaries, spiritual journals, poems, chronicles, and even a songbook, along with an extensive body of published narratives, form the bulk of her source material. She handles these sources with dexterity, extracting a great deal out of them yet without universalizing her evidence. Interspersing firsthand accounts throughout the various phases of the political and religious narrative enables Pollmann to contextualize the sources appropriately and to illuminate the critical moments of action from local perspectives. For example, she marshals Marcus van Vaernewijck and Nicholas Soldoyer to describe the execution of heretics and Willem Janszoon Verwer to elucidate the Spanish siege of Haarlem. As a result, compelling local insights and observations substantially enrich Pollmann's inquiry into the advent of heresy, the call for reform, and the tumult of iconoclasm in chapters 1 and 2, the Hapsburg suppression of rebellion and Protestantism in chapter 3, the temporary Calvinist ascendancy in chapter 4, and the triumph of the Hapsburgs and the Counter-Reformation in chapters 5 and 6.

The book's central argument is that Catholicism eventually triumphed in the Southern Netherlands and perhaps in other places as well, because clergy actually engaged laypeople, giving them reasons to reject heresy, providing them the means to develop their spiritual lives, and restoring to them a sense of sacred community. Thus, clerical collaboration with laity could bring about religious change for early-modern Catholics as much as it did for Protestants. She traces the developments that led regular and secular priests to the realization that they had to reach out to the laity. From the 1520s through the 1560s, clerics failed to equip the laity to answer Protestants, treating the Reformation as an internal church problem. After iconoclastic upheaval in 1566, the Hapsburgs responded by conflating religious orthodoxy with political obedience, spawning new resistance. Finally, after the defeat of Protestant forces in the south in the 1580s, political and ecclesiastical authorities promoted sodalities, the veneration of saints, and Eucharistic devotion, which found a ready constituency among lay Catholics. Thoroughly researched, elegantly written, and splendidly conceived, this book deserves careful attention from all students of the Catholic Reformation.

Saint Louis University CHARLES H. PARKER

From Inspiration to Invention: Rhetoric in the Constitutions *of the Society of Jesus*. By J. Carlos Coupeau, S.J. [No. 22 in Series 3: Scholarly Studies Originally Composed in English.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2010. Pp. xii, 292. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-880-81074-3.)

Over the past twenty years, historians, prompted in part by John W. O'Malley's *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), have explored the strug-

gles of the first generation of Jesuits as they defined themselves and their role in early-modern Catholicism. Oddly, few historians have shown a comparable interest in the ordinances, rules, and decrees formulated by the same Jesuits in their juridical, canonical conceptualization of this self-understanding. Within a hundred years the succinct Formula of the Institute evolved into a multivolume collection of letters, briefs, bulls, ordinances, rules, and decrees. Such negligence becomes even more astonishing because the Institute of Jesuit Sources has made the *Constitutions*, *Ratio studiorum*, and the decrees of the general congregations more accessible in English translations. [May one hope that the different *formulae* and *regulae* will be translated before the classically educated generation passes away?] The same institute has published the only commentaries (in English translation) on the *Constitutions*, specifically the multivolume study by Antonio M. de Aldama, S.J. (1989–99), and *Together for Mission: A Spiritual Commentary on the Constitutions of the Society* (2001) by André de Jaer, S.J. Both authors, not surprisingly, were more interested in Jesuit understanding and appreciation of the *Constitutions* than with a historico-critical analysis. De Jaer, following in the venerable footsteps of Joseph de Guibert, S.J., claims a spiritual value for the *Constitutions* equal to that of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Indeed, de Jaer suggests the former may be more important for Jesuits because they are proper to the Society whereas the wider Ignatian family share in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the monograph under review, the author proposes the perspective of the "academic discipline of spirituality" (p. 2) through the study of argumentation with a specific rhetorical objective.

J. Carolos Coupeau, S.J., wrote his doctoral thesis under the direction of O'Malley at the Weston School of Theology. Currently Coupeau lectures at the Institute of Spirituality of the Pontifical Gregorian University and edits the online journal *Ignaziana*. He employs disciplines such as spirituality, history, rhetoric (old and new), hermeneutics, and literary criticism, as he charts the movement from the inspiration behind the *Constitutions* to rhetorical invention of its audience. Certain themes will interest historians more than others—for example, the delineation of the role of St. Ignatius of Loyola's secretary Juan de Polanco in the composition of the *Constitutions*; and the influence of four classic rules, St. Basil's *Asketikon*, St. Augustine's *Praeceptum*, St. Benedict's *Regula*, and St. Francis of Assisi's *Regula et vita*, on the Jesuit *Constitutions*. In a fascinating and important section on the history of the interpretation of the *Constitutions*, Coupeau posits three distinct phases: postfoundational (1558–1895) with apologetical, critical, and ascetical works; historical interpretation (1900–64); and spiritual interpretation (1964–present). The author's linguistic abilities allow him to peruse classical Latin commentaries and twentieth-century vernacular tomes. We progress from "a sort of holy founder's last will, the norm of ascetical life, a set of canons and regulations, and, only recently, as a concrete model for discernment in one's life" (p. 62) as we move through the three periods.

Coupeau revised and distilled his thesis for this monograph. The finished product is not an easy read, with a density and preference for technical language often to the point of obfuscation. Nonetheless, the book merits attention, but readers should familiarize themselves with the vocabulary in the glossary. Without it, they could get lost amidst charts and diagrams.

Fordham University THOMAS M. MCCOOG, S.J.

Between Opposition and Collaboration: Nobles, Bishops, and the German Reformations in the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, 1555–1619. By Richard J. Ninness. [Studies in Central European Histories, Vol. LIII.] (Leiden: Brill. 2011. Pp. xiv, 224. $136.00. ISBN 978-9-004-20154-5.)

In his great history of the popes, Leopold von Ranke noted that the prince-bishops of Franconia proved powerless to hold back the spread of the Reformation. Not only were their parishes full of Lutheran preachers, but the nobility, the magistrates, the burgers, the mass of the subject population—even the episcopal authorities—gave over to the faith. Only those with "old German and Franconian fidelity," Ranke suggested, had any remaining reverence for the bishops in their vestments and mitres. In *Between Opposition and Collaboration*, Richard J. Ninness revisits this issue, and in particular the observation that even the episcopal authorities should be counted among the supporters of the Lutheran religion. By way of a meticulous, archive-based study of the cathedral chapter of Bamberg and some of the higher offices of the diocese, Ninness reveals the inner workings of the prince-bishopric during the age of confessionalization. Indeed, the concept of confessionalization has an important ordering function in this study, for one of the main aims of the work is to add complexity and nuance to the rather one-dimensional image of the confessionalization process, particularly in the Catholic prince-bishoprics. Most studies tend to emphasize the conflictual character of the process and the sharp divisions that occurred as a result of religious change. In contrast, the perspective adopted by Ninness sets out to ". . . challenge at least the blanket validity of this position and argue for a more nuanced approach toward and a sensitivity to the variability of relations among the religious confessions" (p. 12). What is particularly fascinating about *Between Opposition and Collaboration* is that the confessional groupings under investigation are sharing the same offices of rule in the prince-bishopric of Bamberg.

The study begins with a historical backgrounding of the cathedral chapter itself, where it quickly becomes clear that it was essentially an aristocratic republic monopolized by the imperial knights and held together by "nepotism, cronyism, and exclusive cliquishness" (p. 41). With this as a foundation, the analysis then moves through the various stages of confessional change from the Reformation and the different phases of the Counter-Reformation. Ninness often draws back from a close study of Bamberg to take in the

broader context of developments, as with his look at the fate of the imperial knights within the Empire or the broader confessional framework; but the bulk of the analysis is focused on the workings of the prince-bishopric and what this reveals about religious relations. The main point to take away is that adherence to Lutheranism did not preclude a career in the chapter. At the outset of the study Ninness remarks that "the raison d'être of the cathedral chapter was family, not religion" (p. 26), and this observation is later confirmed at the end with the observation that ". . . confession was intertwined with family ties, traditional privilege, and political status in motivating the actions of the imperial knights in Bamberg" (p. 194). This would not surprise too many historians familiar with the period or the place, but what is particularly interesting about the study is how Ninness, largely on the basis of his archival work, is able to demonstrate how the knights were able to negotiate their shifting interests over the course of the confessional period—even in the face of intense Counter-Reformation reform, which momentarily knocked things out of balance—without renouncing their Lutheran beliefs or declining into perpetual religious conflict with the bishop or his Catholic officials. Indeed, mindful of the importance of the chapter as a matrix of patronage and power, it was not unusual for the Lutheran officials to see through the implementation of the Counter-Reformation. According to Ninness, at least in the early phase, ". . . Protestant officials were a more consistent influence in bringing Catholicism to the region than were the priests sent by Bamberg" (p. 122). Given the dominance of the confessionalization paradigm and the historical habit of thinking of religious relations in this period in strict either/or terms, this is a difficult model to reconcile with our notions of the Counter-Reformation. But these are the historical realities revealed by Ninness's careful study of the prince-bishopric of Bamberg. Hopefully it will inspire historians to take up a similar approach for other areas of the Empire.

Queen's University, Belfast C. Scott Dixon

La prassi della censura nell'Italia del Seicento. Tra repressione e mediazione. By Marco Cavarzere. [Temi e testo, 92, "Tribunali della Fede."] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2011. Pp. xx, 263. €38,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-86372-281-9.)

This is a survey of ecclesiastical censorship from the first papal Index of general authority of 1559 (not 1558 as Cavarzere asserts) and ending in the early eighteenth century. The author has done extensive research in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF) in Rome, which contains the surviving papers of the Congregations of the Index and Inquisition and other materials. Although the book mentions individual censorship cases, its purpose is to provide an overview of papal censorship in Italy. The book begins with an account of the system of ecclesiastical censorship. Other chapters describe the censors, press censorship, the censorship

of various forms of literature, self-censorship, the impact of censorship on society, and persons who avoided strict censorship. The book is sweeping and well written. It includes references to a considerable amount of recent scholarship, but not always the older scholarship. Unfortunately, the lack of balance prevents this book from being the needed survey.

The first sentence of the book refers to the decadence of Italy in the seventeenth century, and page after page leaves no doubt that the "repressive Roman system," "ecclesiastical censorship," "omnipresence of Roman ecclesiastical censorship," "papal repression," and "internal police" were responsible. Once in a while Cavarzere mentions "the marriage of repression and mediation," but mediation always failed. Since the opening of the ACDF archive in the late 1990s numerous scholars have published detailed studies showing nuanced and complex stories of attempts at expurgation, compromises, and bureaucratic backing and filling, as well as significant repressive censorship. Moreover, recent scholarship has also demonstrated that ecclesiastical censors recognized that they should not cut Italians off from European scholarly and cultural developments. So they created a system of permissions that enabled thousands of clergymen, scholars, and even ordinary laymen and laywomen to hold and read prohibited books. Cavarzere is aware of these developments, and he acknowledges that seventeenth-century censorship necessitated collaboration between church and state. But he does not see these exceptions as significantly modifying ecclesiastical repression. This is a legitimate point of view. But it is not the only one.

Sometimes Cavarzere reaches too far; for example, he sees the censorship of opera as part of seventeenth-century clerical repression. What would he make of the fact that nineteenth-century civil censors forced Giuseppe Verdi to make changes in his masterpieces? In the last chapter Cavarzere surveys the breaches in the wall of Roman repression such as the significant number of books printed in Venice that skillfully propagated libertinism, anticlericalism, and unbelief. In addition, Cavarzere correctly points out that influential clergymen and laymen held prohibited books in their libraries and made them available to others without penalty. Cavarzere argues that these exceptions paved the way for the Italian Enlightenment. But how pervasive could Roman repression have been when such works were printed and read in the seventeenth century? The account also jumps around chronologically, does not provide enough dates, and assumes a considerable amount of knowledge of censorship cases. In short, this is one point of view about the impact of seventeenth-century censorship, but probably not one that will win general assent.

University of Toronto and Chapel Hill, NC PAUL F. GRENDLER

Picturing the Scientific Revolution. By Volker R. Remmert. Translated by Ben Kern. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, Vol. 4.] (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2011. Pp. vi, 295. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-916-10167-1.)

This volume, a translation of the German text *Widmung, Welterklaerung, und Wissenschaftslegitimierung* (Wiesbaden, 2005) brings to English readers the opportunity of understanding more fully the role of frontispieces, engravings, and visual emblems in the development of astronomy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like the texts and images that are Volker R. Remmert's historical subject, the author provides a kind of *explanatio imaginum* that brings out the contextual meanings implied in the pictures he examines. The book is handsomely constructed and well annotated with numerous references to historical sources and secondary interpretations drawn from the ranks of historians of science and art. However, Remmert clearly emerges as a historian of science in that his book's organization is not so much around the images as much it is around the ideas inscribed in the images. He contextualizes the images, not in an artistic tradition, but in the debates around Copernicanism and the attempt to gain support for both science and the theory itself. As the German title suggests, Remmert shows the role of dedication (*Widmung*) in garnering patronage for the sciences, a strategy closely related to the legitimation of the mathematical sciences in general and the heliocentric theory in particular (*Wissenschaftslegitimierung*).

Although the book belongs to a series on early-modern Catholicism, Remmert treats as many as Protestant scholars (for example, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, Philippus Lansbergen, John Wilkins) as he does Catholic (Christopher Scheiner, Christopher Clavius, Giovanni Battista Riccioli). He devotes considerable space to Brahe and his attempt to enhance the status of astronomy as a discipline, a trend that continued through the seventeenth century (chapter 6). This elevation of astronomy involved constructing a tradition of astronomy that included not only the customary luminaries such as Alfonso the Wise and Copernicus but also the portrayal of Ptolemy as a king in William Cunningham's *Cosmographicall Glass* (1559). Remmert furthers the not-to-be-forgotten work of Nicholas Jardine in the 1980s on Kepler's attempt to construct a new history of astronomy in his defense of Brahe. These are instances of how the discipline of astronomy experienced a deep-seated change in its aims and self-characterization between Copernicus and Isaac Newton.

Chapter 7 covers the pictorial representations of four Jesuit figures. The author offers enlightening commentary on how a book in early-modern Europe functioned in multiple ways only one of which was to be read. Extending his earlier discussion of Scheiner's *Rosina Ursina* (Bracciano, 1630), Remmert demonstrates how the visual representations contained in this volume served the dual purposes of soliciting patronage and fostering the

advancement of science itself. The three other Jesuits treated (Mario Bettini, André Schott, Francesco Eschinardi) advance the theme of the application of the mathematical sciences by invoking the imagery of gardens, pictures that to seventeenth-century eyes would no doubt have connected their thoughts to Eden and the implied command in Genesis to increase knowledge for the glory of God and the betterment of the human race.

Given the high quality of this volume, Remmert's interpretations are nevertheless open to criticism, especially with regard to issues of biblical and scientific authority. His treatment of Scheiner's *Rosa Ursina* is rich and nuanced but results in some overstatements. He contends that the difference between Galileo, as expressed in *Il Saggiatore,* and Scheiner lay in the latter's vote for the negating authority of the Bible and patristic exegetical consensus even in matters of physical truth. However, the frontispiece of the *Rosa Ursina* does not necessarily suggest a belief in the superiority of biblical and patristic truth so much as a trust in the concurrence of natural and scriptural knowledge. In general, this book leads the reader into the beautiful world of early-modern representations of scientific ideas.

Institute of Catholic Thought KENNETH J. HOWELL
University of Illinois, Champaign

Sinners on Trial: Jews and Sacrilege after the Reformation. By Magda Teter. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 331. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-05297-0.)

Politically powerful noblemen in Reformation Poland, attempting to protect Protestants (and enhance their own power), advanced measures limiting the authority of the Catholic Church. This culminated in the 1560s when the Polish parliament (Sejm) decided that secular authorities would no longer enforce verdicts declared by ecclesiastical courts. Ironically, with the ecclesiastical courts' loss of power, secular courts gradually began to adjudicate religious and moral matters. Acts that once were classified as sins and might have been punished with symbolic acts of penance or excommunication were now criminalized. As Magda Teter notes, "Crimes against religion, such as adultery, blasphemy and sacrilege, almost surely sent the convicts quickly to the stake, while social and sexual crimes, such as adultery, bigamy, abortion and infanticide, became punishable by diverse forms of death. . ." (p. 7). In effect, local magistrate courts became the adjudicators of religious and moral behavior and the arbiters of the sacred. As the forces of the Counter-Reformation gained momentum in Poland and the Protestant and Catholic Churches vied for the status of "ecclesia Dei" (the Church of God), local authorities tended to side with the Catholics.

With erudition and much precise detail (although with a murky rhetorical strategy), Teter traces the highlights of the Protestant-Catholic competi-

tion, focusing especially on the issue of transubstantiation and the divine nature of the Eucharist. She shows how both legends and trials of cases of desecration of the host were part of a larger project to silence dissent, affirm Catholic dogma, and re-establish the Catholic Church's religious monopoly. Teter forces a rethinking of the thesis of Janusz Tazbir, who famously termed Counter-Reformation Poland "a state without stakes" (p. 225). He claimed that the decline of the Reformation in Poland was "gradual and painless" (p. 225). Poland, due to its constitutional system and vaunted toleration of dissenters, was spared "bloody religious strife" (p. 225). Teter insists that, although there may not have been religious wars, or mass trials and autos de fe, numerous individual acts of religious violence imposed by secular courts played a key role in Polish re-Catholicization: "The stakes were lit . . . it was the lay courts' classification of Catholic spaces as the only 'sacred' places and their adjudication of crimes of 'sacrilege' that sent Jews and Christians alike to death by fire . . ." (p. 225).

Teter's subtitle signals the other major theme of her book. Returning, more emphatically, to a thesis of her previous work, she posits that accusing, torturing, and burning Jews in desecration of host sacrilege cases was not typically persecution of Jews per se. Traditional Christian Jew-hatred made the Jews into a convenient foil who, by supposedly desecrating the host, dialectically affirmed its holiness and, by extension, the truth of the Catholic Church. Trying and burning Jews (not exclusively; actually, the majority of those executed for sacrilege were Christians) was but one tactic in the fight to re-Catholicize Poland. Moreover, cases of Jewish sacrilege were often overdetermined; Jewish victims might be demonized and (falsely) accused as a means of attacking the political power of their noble or royal protectors, confiscating Jewish property, weakening Jews as economic competitors, or securing their expulsion from the city.

Teter does bring evidence that the Jews saw themselves not as pawns in larger struggles, but as targets of religious persecution. However, her conclusion is that "Jews, conversely, were accused only when extraneous conditions of religious, political, or economic nature coincided" (p. 223). Often accusations failed, and Jews were spared. In another ironic twist, unlike poor individual Christians, Jews (at least prominent ones), had resources to marshal in defense against lethal libels: "charges mobilized a Jewish communal support network that was often successfully able to seek help from higher authorities" (p. 224).

With its wealth of information and two challenging theses, *Sinners on Trial* should become required reading for anyone studying Polish, Jewish, or church history.

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MOSHE ROSMAN

Empire of Souls: *Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth*. By Stefania Tutino. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 404. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-74053-6.)

Of the periodic outbursts of controversial writing that punctuated and quickened the development of ecclesiological and political thinking in medieval and early-modern Europe, the first, set off by the onset of the Investiture Conflict in the late-eleventh century, has been the focus over the years of an enormous amount of historical research. The same is true of the upwelling of polemical and theological literature occasioned at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the bitter standoff between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV of France. That, however, cannot be said of the early-seventeenth century outburst that generated at least in Milward's incomplete listing (he does not cover the Venetian contribution) some two hundred often voluminous pieces of writing, and which Charles Howard McIlwain long ago characterized as having precipitated "a paper warfare in Europe the like of which has not been seen since . . . now that the common language of that warfare has fallen into disuse."[1] That great upheaval of the spirit was occasioned by the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, by James I's imposition of an Oath of Allegiance in 1606, by Pius V's imposition in the same year of an interdict on Venice, and by the assassination in 1610 of Henry IV of France by a Catholic fanatic. Although it has not, of course, escaped the attention of historians, that attention has been uneven in nature and the affiliated research efforts somewhat balkanized. That is to say, they have tended to focus on one or other of the several national flashpoints of the controversy and have failed, by and large, to explore in adequate depth its intricately intertwined pan-European character.

This lack Tutino has now moved happily to remedy. She has done so by focusing intently on Cardinal Robert Bellarmine and his teaching on the *potestas indirecta* of the pope in matters temporal. That power he depicts as grounded in the superiority of the pope's *spiritual* power (hence "the empire of souls" in the subtitle). His theory had by 1610 found its way into the very center of the Europe-wide outburst of theopolitical controversy and, in examining it, Tutino draws to the surface the degree to which its nuances were elicited in the course of Bellarmine's dialogue with thinkers as diverse as Paolo Sarpi in Venice, King James I of England, the Gallican Jean Richer and the ultramontane André Duval in Paris, his fellow Jesuit Martin Becanus in Germany, as well as various critics in Rome such as Pope Sixtus V. To some of them, he was "a dangerous man" properly to be denounced to the Holy Office. Any reader, then, prone to thinking of Bellarmine as an accepted member of some sort of Counter-Reformation establishment will be speedily disabused of that notion by Tutino's account, which makes clear the degree to which he was dogged by

[1]Charles Howard McIlwain, introduction, *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, MA, 1918), pp. xv–cxi, here p. lvii.

controversy in high papalist circles precisely because the papal power in temporals that he emphasized was no more than an indirect one. Nor is the reader allowed to overlook the importance of the differing national contexts in which that theory was deployed, the nuances that those differences inserted into its usage, and "the fragile dynamic between center and periphery of the Catholic world" (p. 258) that Tutino skillfully evokes. She does so by exploring not only the veritable ocean of pertinent theopolitic literature but also (and admirably) by calling upon the records of the Roman Inquisition and the voluminous correspondence between Bcllarmine and the Roman officialdom, as also with writers like Duval and Becanus. The outcome: A first-rate book, ambitious in scope, impressive in delivery, tenacious in analysis, precise and comprehensive in documentation, a book destined for many a long year to come to constitute the requisite point of departure for other studies in the field.

However, a few mild criticisms need to be made. I am surprised by the lack of any mention of the earlier but still pertinent contributions of John Courtney Murray and frankly puzzled by the author's failure to discuss the theory of a papal *potestas indirecta* developed by Jean de Paris three centuries before Bellarmine wrote. Although slightly different from Bellarmine's theory, it had resonated down through the centuries intervening, starting echoes in the thinking of such as Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, John Mair, and Jacques Almain—men whom Tutino certainly mentions, but not in this connection. I also would judge as ill advised the author's attempt at the end of the book to vindicate the continuing pertinence of Bellarmine's theory by inviting us to see it through the lens constituted by the views of such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Carl Schmitt (this last enjoying at the moment something of an undeserved vogue). That attempt does not really work, and it has the effect, alas, of introducing a fleeting moment of opacity into what is otherwise a crisp and lucid account.

Williams College FRANCIS OAKLEY

Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain. By Erin Kathleen Rowe. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 264. $74.95. ISBN 978-0-271-03773-8.)

A country deeply divided over its proper role on the world stage, in doubt over the nature of its core values and leadership, a country where a militaristic, nativist, and traditionalist faction was pitted against a more inclusive, forward-looking wing—this was not the contemporary United States, but Spain during the crisis of the seventeenth century. In *Saint and Nation*, Erin Kathleen Rowe makes a case for studying how national identity can crystallize around a religious symbol. Between 1617 and 1630, Spain was split in a contentious battle over which saint or saints should be the country's patron—the traditional Santiago Matamoros (St. James the Moorslayer) or Santiago together with the newly canonized St. Teresa of Ávila. Teresa's pro-

moters ("*teresianos*") argued that new challenges—the rise of Protestantism, mainly, but also difficult times at home—necessitated a modern patron saint who understood these problems and could lead the Spanish nation to victory. Santiago's supporters ("*santiaguistas*") fought back viciously and ultimately won the day.

Over the course of an introduction and seven chapters, Rowe develops the story of this controversy, relying primarily on the pamphlets that the two sides hurled at one another, but also the archival records of the many cathedrals involved, the royal crown, and the Vatican itself. In essence, Rowe's book traces two histories. First, there is the ideological battle waged by the pamphleteers. A close reading of these pamphlets, some of them penned by Spain's leading authors and political thinkers, lays bare the nation's prejudices and aspirations. The *santiaguistas* revealed themselves to be misogynistic, papal and royal scofflaws who could not bring themselves to accept a woman as their patron saint, even though the pope, king, and parliament all commanded it. On their part, Teresa's supporters, armed with the Tridentine Church's critical reappraisal of sainthood, questioned Santiago's murky credentials and put forth the virtues of a real saint better equipped to deal with the modern world in which they lived. The second history is that of the legal battle that ensued over Teresa's shared patronage with Santiago. Matters of cult, Castile's cathedral chapters argued, belonged to them, and the monarchy or parliament could not simply vote themselves a new patron saint and expect them to worship accordingly. Because there was the inconvenient fact that the papacy had issued a brief authorizing Teresa's co-patronage, the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela set itself the task of proving that Pope Urban VIII had been mistaken when he granted it and remarkably won the fight in 1630, quashing forever hopes for Teresa's co-patronage of Spain.

Although both Santiago and Teresa's supporters pitched their saints as patrons for all of Spain, in reality this is a Castilian story. True, Philip III and Philip IV were avid *teresianos*, but hitching Teresa to the cause of the Hispanic monarchy, as Olivares hoped, never won over the hearts and minds of non-Castilians, just as the monarchy itself could never convince the Catalans, Portuguese, Italians, and Dutch to fall in line with its policies. Ultimately, therefore, the co-patronage controversy is a story about how Castile's cathedral chapters, bishops, cities, parliament, and religious orders lined up behind their saint and defended their privileges and political interests. At times, a more critical reading of some of the various primary sources would have been welcome, as well as a conclusion that integrates the book's themes, rather than looking forward to the fate of Santiago and Teresa in the twentieth century. These remarks aside, on the whole Rowe handles very well the complexity of her subject and her sources, and in doing so sheds valuable insight on the evolution of the Spanish national identity during the early-modern period.

William Paterson University SARA T. NALLE

Processi informativi per la nomina dei vescovi di Trento nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (secoli XVII–XVIII). Edited by Ugo Paoli. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Fonti, 10.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2010. Pp. 771. €48,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-13998-6.)

In his book, Ugo Paoli introduces an important source for the historical reconstruction of the Prince-Bishopric of Trent: the information processes written for the appointment of the prince-bishop. The documents used were obtained from the consistorial archives of the Apostolic Datary and the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna, preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives. The author was vice-prefect of the Vatican Secret Archives from 1997 to 2002, and this made the collection of data easier. Paoli previously published a similar book, the *Relationes ad limina* (Trento, 2000), which covered the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries for the Prince-Bishopric of Trent. The *Relationes* are a complementary source to the processes, since they contain more information on the dioceses, whereas the processes focus on detailed biographies of the bishops.

The importance of this historical source is shown by the triple role carried out by the prince-bishop during the old regime: diocesan ordinary, prince of the Holy Roman Empire of Germany, and confederate member of the Tyrolean province. The prince therefore dealt with three authorities: the pope, the emperor, and the count of Tyrol. The bishopric of Trent was under the Holy Roman Empire, and as prince of the Empire the bishop had the right to vote in the imperial diet and the option of using the imperial courts;Trent also was a confederate member of the Tyrolean province, constantly fighting with the counts of Tyrol due to their repeated attempts to dominate.

This book is divided into two parts. The introduction describes the origin, evolution, and characteristics of the information processes used for the appointment of new bishops. The purpose of the processes was to determine whether the appointed bishop had the necessary requirements to be confirmed by the pope. The process examined qualified witnesses who would provide answers under oath regarding the appointed bishop's age, life, habits, doctrine, political views, and qualification to teach. The rest of the information pertained to the dioceses—boundaries, location, population, cathedral architecture and furnishings, structure of the cathedral chapter, number of city parishes and religious homes, number of students attending seminary, preservation of the bishop's palace, and the status of the bishop's revenue. In addition to this examination, the future bishop provided the following documents: certificate of appointment, baptism and confirmation certificates, ordination to minor and major orders, studies conducted and academic degrees, offices, profession of faith, proof of good manners and habits. The author then focuses on the content of the processes specific to the various bishops elected and on the historical circumstances affecting their election.

The second part of the book is a transcript of all the processes concerning the newly appointed bishops from 1665 to 1776. A total of eleven information processes is included—nine held in Vienna and two in Rome.

This volume is a unique and fundamental source regarding the history of the bishops of Trent. The documents published are important from a prosopographical point of view in reconstructing a collective biography of the bishops, and for the study of political-institutional matters in a state that for several years was a nexus among the Italian states, the Roman Church, and the German world.

University of Milan ALESSANDRA DATTERO

Aspects de l'érudition hagiographique aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles. By Bernard Joassart. [École pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques—V; Hautes Études médiévales et modernes, 99.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2011. Pp. x, 171. $72.00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-600-01360-4.)

The European Renaissance presumed the myth of the golden age. Whatever was good was located in a remote and pristine past. The Jesuits as "Renaissance men" approved of the recovery of texts, cleaner texts (reconciling the many variants) and corrected ancient texts—an early form of "historical criticism"—delving into the glorious past alongside other Renaissance scholars, religious or "secular," Protestant or Catholic. Even so, criticism of the lives of the saints formed just a small part of the textual recovery of the era.

Joassart writes that Jean Bolland (1596–1665) worked alone in compiling the *Acta Sanctorum* until he was joined by Godefroid Henschen (1601–81) and later by Daniel Papebroch (1628–1714). There is scant reference to hagiography in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. Even though it grew into a legend, as did the small mission to Quebec recounted in the *Relations jésuites*, the Bollandist hagiographical work was a numerically insignificant apostolate of the Society.

Not surprisingly, "friendly rivalry" developed between the older and established Benedictines and the Jesuits. Dom Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), a monk of the Congregation of St. Maur and student of Luc d'Achery (1609–83), gained fame for his profound study of the *Acta* of the Benedictine saints. The Maurist scholars were numerous, but only Mabillon distinguished himself in hagiography, although he did not work alone and was active in other areas of study. Mabillon's masterpiece was the *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681; and supplement, Paris, 1704). Joassart asserts that Bolland and Mabillon were "twins" in the work they did for their respective communities. He likewise asserts that the Bollandists eagerly followed the numerous publications of the Maurists to stimulate their own research (p. 53). The two communities did not organize or present their material in the same way. The Maurist hagiography

was intended primarily for internal consumption, whereas the Jesuits were writing apologetics for the whole world.

Early in his introduction Joassart exclaims that he does not wish to write about something boring like we find locked away in dull dissertations. Although the Bollandists and the Maurists may have been in benevolent competition with each other, this was not the case between the Jesuits and the Carmelites. The beginning of the quarrel dates from 1675. The Bollandists had just published in their first volume the article concerning Albert, "Patriarch of Jerusalem." Some of the early Christian writers did not support the Carmelite claim that their founder "materially" was the Prophet Elijah. One may see here the myth of the golden age at work in the Carmelite passion to seem as ancient as possible. The Bollandists analyzed the tradition and stirred up a controversy with the Carmelites, which became heated. Even some Carmelites, including Louis-Jacob de Saint-Charles (1608–70), doubted the claim about their foundation, which only increased the rancor. There followed a flood of Carmelite polemics in favor of the tradition that the Prophet Elijah did indeed found the Order (pp. 92–93). Henschen and Papebroch were responsible for the materials concerning the Carmelites. The Jesuit Superior General advised a middle path between compromising the truth and needlessly offending the Carmelite Order. The Carmelite Provincial, Daniel de La Vierge, wrote to the Bollandists to protest their publication, but his arguments were *ad hominem* and not historical. Various important dignitaries in Rome became involved in the case, mostly concluding in support of Papebroch. The Superior General disapproved of the "tone" of the work against the tradition of the founding of the Carmelites. Mabillon wrote to Papebroch, assuring his full support for the position taken by the Jesuit Bollandist. Mabillon went so far as to say he grieved that Papebroch was now distracted from his important work in order to defend himself in the case. In 1698 Pope Innocent XII ordered that both sides keep silence on the matter—a pontifical solution already famous at the beginning of the same century in the *De auxiliis* controversy between Dominicans and Jesuits.

Alma, MI BRIAN VAN HOVE, S.J.

Morales en conflit: Théologie et polémique au Grand Siècle (1640–1700). By Jean-Pascal Gay. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2011. Pp. 984. €45,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09150-3.)

In this major study of one of the most notorious of intra-Catholic disputes in early-modern France, Jean-Pascal Gay provides a tripartite survey of the Jansenist-Jesuit controversy. He begins, persuasively but surprisingly, at the end, with the censure of laxism by the Assemblée du Clergé in 1700, before retracing both the growing critique of casuistry and the attendant evolution of rigorism from the earlier years of the century. Among the many complex and overlapping considerations that arise are the question of Gallicanism (the

degree, in other words, to which this conflict was aggravated by its origins in the French Church or, conversely, by the suspicion within France of an ultramontane agenda, focused on the Roman center and its links with the Society of Jesus); the relationship among casuistry, *stricto sensu*, and the various penitential hypotheses to which it gave rise (tutiorism [the safer], probabiliorism [the more probable] and, most controversial of all, probabilism [that which is simply probable]); the internal differences within both warring factions and, more controversially again, the perceived proximity between Jansenism and Calvinism; the local variations within the French jurisdiction; the accessibility (or not) of casuistic publications (in French and Latin), and the uses to which they were put; and the prehistory of the tradition and the appeal to precedent. The three parts are broadly diachronic (narrating the evolution of the controversy), ideological (examining the core issues at stake), and generic (examining the respective arenas of theology and polemic). There are four dominant texts (alongside an immense corpus of more technical treatises, from all of which extensive quotation is provided): the hostile *Théologie morale des Jésuites*, attributed to Antoine Arnauld (1643); the *Lettres provinciales* of Blaise Pascal (1656–57), constituting a turning point in the popularization of the debate and the trigger for a great deal of what was to follow, both in writing and in practice; the response, in the form of the *Apologie des casuistes* by the Jesuit Père Georges Pirot (Paris, 1657); and the rigorist *Théologie morale de Grenoble* (Paris, 1676), whose influence was to continue well into the eighteenth century (and the broader scope of reference of the study extends both backward into the sixteenth century and forward to the 1730s). As is characteristic of a published thesis, Gay's book is relentlessly exhaustive in its exemplification and annotation, but since much of the material is both little known and difficult of access, it is hard to see how this approach could have been modified in the interests of readability (and French translations are helpfully provided of all the Latin texts).There is also a degree of repetitiveness, not in the manner of treatment of the issues debated, but simply by virtue of the nature of the raw material and indeed of the modes of argument deployed. On the other hand, the gradual elucidation of the deeper theological questions at stake is made substantially clearer by the provision of partial conclusions to each chapter. Gay finally supplies a series of textual appendices, including a particularly enjoyable one that provides an anthology of satirical and parodic material. It will probably only be those scholars who are centrally concerned with the disciplines of early-modern European Catholic history who will read this detailed and technical account from beginning to end; but many others will consult it, and there is no doubt that it will serve as a seminal point of reference for any future work in the area.

St. Catherine's College, Oxford RICHARD PARISH

Old Believers in a Changing World. By Robert O. Crummey. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv, 267. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80650-1.)

For nearly four decades Robert O. Crummey has written about the history of Russia's Old Believers in studies ranging from his classic monograph *The Old Believers and the World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community and the Russian State* (Madison, WI, 1970) to essays in the *Cambridge History of Russia* and the *Cambridge History of Christianity*. Unlike other scholars, who tend to specialize in one time period, Crummey has done groundbreaking research about both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He has made significant contributions to the study of Old Belief's legendary founding fathers, the religious and intellectual underpinnings of Old Belief high culture, and the complex relations between this high culture and popular religion. He also has published a number of thought-provoking essays on the historiography of Old Belief. This volume presents a selection of twelve articles and book chapters from Crummey's œuvre.

The volume highlights Crummey's distinctive approach to the study of Old Belief: his careful analysis of the manuscripts and miscellanies that guaranteed Old Belief's long-term survival. Crummey's principal interest is in "the intellectual leaders of Old Belief" (XIII) and "the theological, liturgical, and moral issues that preoccupied" (XII) them. This focus is illustrated, for example, in four essays on the spirituality and historical philosophy of the founders (e.g., Andrei Denisov) of the famous Vyg Community during the early-eighteenth century and another essay on Old Believer hagiography ("The Miracle of Martyrdom"). Crummey's preference for textual analysis is reflected in two historiographic essays (expressing, for example, great admiration for the Novosibirsk scholar Nikolai N. Pokrovskii, who pioneered the study of old manuscripts surviving in Soviet- and post-Soviet Old Believer communities).

One of Crummey's lasting contributions is his emphasis on lesser-known leadership figures (who were eclipsed by the iconic Archpriest Avvakum). For example, he identified the Monk Avraamii as one of Old Belief's principal founding fathers (pp. 68–84). Avraamii articulated for the first time the apocalyptic worldview that "provided concepts, images, and rallying cries with which ordinary men and women could comprehend the rapidly changing . . . world around them. . ." (p. 84). Similarly, he resurrects the long-forgotten Andrei Borisov, leader of the Vyg Community from 1780 to 1791, who was inspired by both Eastern Christian tradition and the European Enlightenment (pp. 136–56). Fascinated by Rousseau and Western science (e.g., the physics of electricity) Borisov prefigured later intellectuals trying to make sense of Old Belief's place in the modern world.

Crummey also explores the social contexts of Old Belief. An essay on popular culture (pp. 17–27) argues that Old Belief "was clearly not a religion of

the illiterate" (p. 25) because "leaders struggled unceasingly to enforce the most rigorous standards of Orthodox worship" (p. 26). This confessionalization process sharply distinguished Old Belief from official Orthodoxy. An essay on religious radicalism (pp. 52–67) seeks to understand the apocalyptic mind-set of peasants who committed suicide in the face of persecution during the late 1660s. It is a fascinating account of women and men who "extended their rigorous asceticism to its ultimate end—they stopped eating altogether" (p. 59). Crummey's findings suggest that preachers on the fringes of Old Belief advocated suicide to escape the world of Antichrist.

Without Crummey's contributions, the study of Old Belief would not be as alive as it is today. One might call Crummey a "founding father" himself (comparable in stature to Denisov) of Old Believer studies. Crummey has continued and deepened earlier traditions of learning (that is, the scholarship of Pierre Pascal, Sergei Zenkovsky, and Michael Cherniavsky) and thus contributed greatly to all future scholarship on Old Belief. This volume is a tribute to Crummey's scholarly erudition and offers readers a uniquely thoughtful introduction to the current state of research in Old Believer studies.

University of California, Riverside GEORG MICHELS

La Diócesis de Pamplona en 1734, a través de la visita ad limina *del Obispo Melchor Ángel Gutiérrez Vallejo*. By María Iranzu Rico Arrastia. [Colección Aspectos Jurídicos, 20.] (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra. 2010. Pp. 489. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-497-69267-0.)

Since Pope Sixtus V mandated the first *ad limina* visits in 1585, bishops have regularly traveled to Rome to visit the tombs of Ss. Peter and Paul and to give the pope a report on the state of their dioceses. The documents generated with each *ad limina* visit are numerous, and the records at the Vatican Archives, spanning more than four centuries, are indispensable to study the evolution of the *ad limina* visits, church organization, and religious practices within dioceses.

This book provides a detailed description of the *ad limina* visit of the bishop of Pamplona in 1734 and includes transcriptions of all the *ad limina* documents from that visit. María Iranzu Rico Arrastia does not analyze the documents here; rather, she provides a primer on how to read and interpret these sources. She posits that understanding how and why the documentation was generated in Rome and Pamplona will help historians move beyond the formalism and the repetitive nature of the documentation and thereby gain fresh insights into early-modern society from these sources.

The book is divided into five chapters and includes lengthy appendices. Chapter 1 defines an *ad limina* visit and briefly gives the context for the visit of 1734. Chapter 2 identifies repositories in Rome and Pamplona with docu-

mentation on *ad limina* visits. Chapter 3 describes the different types of documentation generated in Rome and Pamplona. Chapter 4 develops more fully the historical context of the visit, examining the career of Bishop Melchor Ángel Gutiérrez Vallejo, his efforts to prepare for the *ad limina* visit despite illness, and the role of local clergy in preparing the documents as well as in impeding the visitation process by claiming exemption from episcopal oversight. Chapter 5 describes the documents in the appendices. Rico Arrastia's commentary on the written report and a unique catalog describing the 927 parishes in the diocese is particularly helpful. Here, she hints at different ways the documentation might be used for church history, demographic history, or social history. For example, she notes that the clustering of parishes named San Román in the archpresbyterate of Yerri might shed light on popular devotion in that region. Disappointingly, because it is a primer, the book only alludes to such lines of investigation but never takes them up. Rico Arrastia also points out the documents' shortcomings, most notably numerical errors in the documents sent to Rome. With this grounding, the reader is ready to undertake his or her own investigation of the sources.

The appendices consist of tables and documents. Rico Arrastia has painstakingly created seventy-two pages of useful tables from the documentation. These tables include names of the parishes within the diocese; identification of parishes dependent on chapters, religious orders, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical bodies; locations of monasteries, convents, and confraternities; plus several tables on the population of the parishes. The seventeen documents of the *ad limina* visit total 240 pages of text. Most of the documents are in Latin, but a few are in Castilian.

Rico Arrastia must be commended for providing scholars with an easy-to-follow description of the documentation and making available the documents of the most thorough *ad limina* visit from early-modern Pamplona. This book will be a useful starting place for all historians planning to consult *ad limina* records for their own research.

Saint Anselm College SEAN T. PERRONE

Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines, 1740–1803. By Ulrich L. Lehner. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 266. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-199-59512-9).

Ulrich Lehner has written a book that anyone with an interest in eighteenth-century Catholicism and the more general phenomenon of religious Enlightenment will want to read. Focused on the roughly 150 monasteries (composed of some 3500–4000 professed monks) in the German-speaking Benedictine communities of southern and Middle Germany, Austria, and Switzerland over the course of the eighteenth century, the book draws on extensive primary research in local and regional archives as well as the very

best of contemporary scholarship in German and English. Lehner is nothing if not a thorough and industrious scholar, and the wealth of information he has amassed alone makes this book a valuable resource. But he is also a fluid writer, with an eye for piquant details and arresting stories, ensuring that the narrative is enlivened along the way by a great number of vivid and sensitive portraits of individuals, like the "Catholic Werther" (p. 118), Nonnosus Gschall, whose theological struggles and depressive illness led to his self-inflicted demise; the scholar and notorious convert to Protestantism Gregorius Rothfischer; and the Scottish Benedictine Andrew Gordon, whose residence at the Abbey in Regensberg and keen interest in contemporary philosophy (above all, the thought of Christian Wolff) made him a central eighteenth-century intermediary between the Anglophone and German worlds.

Lehner organizes his study around a series of "challenges" that beset the Benedictines in the age of Enlightenment. These ranged from the need to grapple with new philosophies, theologies, and understandings of history and natural law to responses to cultural and "lifestyle" changes common to many parts of eighteenth-century Europe. Thus, Lehner traces how changing conceptions of leisure time and the introduction of new luxury items like coffee, tea, and tobacco led some monks to demand greater freedom and independence in which to play cards or billiards or smoke. So, too, did evolving understandings of personal privacy and self-expression lead to conflicts over space and appearance. Did monks have a right to privacy in their cells? Might they even lock their doors? And could they abandon the traditional tonsure in favor of something a little more dashing? By the end of the eighteenth century, Lehner observes somewhat amusingly, "hair emancipators" (p. 41) were a feature of nearly every Benedictine community in the German-speaking world.

The attention to such changes in lifestyle and comportment, although certainly interesting in themselves, threatens at times to expand the notion of Enlightenment so broadly as to render it virtually synonymous with eighteenth-century culture as a whole. Yet Lehner's overriding aim is to show that the Benedictines cannot be sealed off hermetically from the rest of eighteenth-century culture, including the culture of the Enlightenment. In this he succeeds admirably, showing not only how the attitudes of Benedictine monks tracked with wider conceptions of personal liberty that affected their thinking about discipline and punishment, freedom of movement and thought, and the relationship between rulers (abbots) and ruled but also, more specifically, how the order participated directly in the cultural practices and debates of the Enlightenment in a more restricted sense. Through scholarly exchanges and correspondence as well as university teaching, book collecting, travel, and the performance of scientific experiments, enlightened Benedictines showed themselves remarkably receptive to many of the central developments of Enlightenment culture, reading John Locke and Immanuel Kant, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Christian Wolff, and even Johann Gottlieb

Fichte. Yet Lehner is well aware, too, that this receptivity was apt to provoke a reaction: "The more the Enlightenment shaped all parts of society, the stronger the support for the anti-Enlightenment grew" (p. 7). With the demise of the German Reichskirche in the wake of Napoleon's armies and the dissolution of the monasteries, light gave way to darkness of many, somber shades.

Florida State University DARRIN M. MCMAHON

The Mixed Multitude: Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement, 1755–1816. By Paweł Maciejko. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 360. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24315-4.)

This fascinating book tells the tangled story that began in 1756 when Jacob Frank, a charismatic Ottoman Jew, returned to his native Poland and turned the world of east European Jewry topsy turvy. He proclaimed himself the bearer of a new, eccentric variant of Sabbatianism, a seventeenth-century antinomian and messianic strain within Judaism that taught salvation through faith alone, coupled with flagrant ritual violation of the laws of *halakhah*, rather than their observance. Inevitably, Sabbatians and traditional Jews came into fierce conflict, each faction abusing the other as the *erev rav*, the "mixed multitude" of the Hebrew Bible who threatened the purity of Judaism from within.

As related here by Paweł Maciejko, a lecturer in Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Frank quickly attracted adherents, notice, and controversy in Poland. Faced with competing pressures from the Catholic Church that was eager for Jewish converts and the rabbinic leadership that was bent on purging these undesirables from the fold of Jewry, Frank and his followers received baptism as Catholics in 1759, the culmination of a bizarre but discernible chain of religious logic. By the next year, Frank found himself confined to lengthy virtual imprisonment in Częstochowa by decree of Polish church authorities, dismayed by the lurid and heretical rites of the Frankists as well as the discovery that their leader had accepted Islam before his arrival in Poland. If anything, the aura of martyrdom merely swelled the ranks of his followers to the tens of thousands. Freed by the Russians in 1772 at the time of the first partition of Poland, Frank and his considerable entourage moved on to the Habsburg Empire and finally Offenbach am Main, constructing a cultic adoration of his daughter as a semi-divine being modeled on a peculiar understanding of the Virgin Mary and living out his days in ostentatious splendor. After his death in 1791, his movement lingered on for several decades, with greater decorum but decreasing visibility, before fading out, as neither mainstream Christians nor Jews in Poland regarded it as a legitimate or reputable branch of their own tradition.

Maciejko has based his account on an impressive amount of archival research in Poland, the Holy See, and four other countries. In addition, he has

done careful reading of the published work of other scholars and is not shy to take issue with conventional wisdom on the subject. Above all, he stresses that Frankism should not be regarded as simply a new form of Sabbatianism, but as a doctrine *sui generis* cobbled together by its inventor; the strength of Frank's undeniable religious appeal, which persuaded thousands to regard him as a messiah rather than a mere charlatan, was not consistent defense of clearly stated convictions, but his originality and flexibility in adapting his creed to suit different audiences and circumstances. One suspects that the debates over Frankism have not ended, but for now, *The Mixed Multitude* should stand as the authoritative work on the subject.

University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee NEAL PEASE

Late Modern European

Religionen und Katholizismus, Bildung und Geschichtsdidaktik, Arbeiterbewegung: Ausgewählte Aufsätze. By Michael Klöcker. [Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, Vol. 21.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2011. Pp. 629. $137.95. ISBN 978-3-631-61714-4.)

This edition collects some of the most important works produced during a forty-year career that began with a lectureship in Cologne's Teachers College (*Pedagogische Hochschule*) and that continues with a professorship in history and history education at the University of Cologne since Cologne's teachers college has been integrated into the university. This helps explain the broad range of Michael Klöcker's publications, which stretch from history education and the Rhenish labor movement to the particularities of Rhenish Catholicism. With the exception of a lengthy introduction by series editor Christoph Weber, all essays included were published previously in other journals, reference works, or proceedings. The essays typify the solid archival research of someone who has conducted primarily regional research as a means to offer a more differentiated view of larger scholarly issues. An excellent example of this is Klöcker's article on the question of Catholic parity—or, rather, imparity—in academic appointments at the University of Cologne during the Weimar years.

Klöcker's work addresses Rhenish history from the Napoleonic occupation to the present. In particular, he focuses on the development of the Catholic laity. The Rhineland is a region with a comparatively large Catholic middle class (especially compared to Bavaria and Silesia), which historically took the initiative in developing lay associations of all types. Klöcker's work reveals the transformation of Germany's laity from one loyal to the hierarchy and observant of the Church's teachings to one that largely sees religious ritual as a consumer good and where the magisterium has lost much of its authority. Klöcker questions how Catholicism will fare in a postmodern pluralistic society. He sees contemporary German Catholicism facing a crisis

moment where it can welcome either a new antimodernism or a new *aggiornamento* (pp. 335–36).

Given Klöcker's analyses of the particularly Rhenish qualities of Cologne's Catholicism, one need not guess where his sympathies lie. He identifies a Rhenish-Catholic mentality that is undogmatic, strong-willed, and critical of authority (p. 467). For example, for years before and after World War I, archbishop and clergy would mount an intense campaign against carnival celebrations. Beginning right after Christmas, every Sunday homily would include an admonition that Catholics should go on retreat rather than anticipate Lent with little intention of later observing Lenten self-discipline (p. 417). Klöcker drily notes that the hierarchical appeals remained ineffective. Similarly, Klöcker helps explain Adenauer's political flexibility and pragmatism by pointing to his Rhenish origins.

Of particular interest is an article on the definition of German political Catholicism, which was originally published in 1971. Klöcker's argument that political Catholicism should be defined more broadly and inclusively was novel then; now it is commonplace. Just how much of a shift this represents can be understood by the fact that no one less than E. W. Böckenförde, one of the institutional Church's fiercest critics, recommended the article for publication.

Also included in the volume are several contributions made by Klöcker in other areas. For example, he offers an interesting comparison of economic concepts and relevant moral teachings of the three monotheistic religions. In several other articles, Klöcker summarizes the state of the field such as in a 2005 article on National Socialism as a religion or as in two articles, from 1980 and 2003 respectively, on the state of history education in Germany.

Overall, although the individual articles might be useful primarily to scholars of modern Rhenish Catholicism, the collection as a whole not only reflects forty years of scholarly engagement but also reflects forty years of German Catholic historiography.

Rivier University MARTIN MENKE
Nashua, NH

The Pope's Soldiers: A Military History of the Modern Vatican. By David Alvarez. [Modern War Studies.] (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2011. Pp. xiii, 429. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-700-61770-8.)

Serious readers of church history are well aware of military episodes in its long chronicle, among the most dramatic being the subjection of central Italy by the fire-breathing Pope Julius II and the participation of papal galleys at Lepanto with the blessing of the saintly Pope Pius V. Less well known are the years during and after the French Revolution, when the defense of

the pope's temporal power required a military option. That story is no less fascinating.

Years ago, this was a book I had dreamed about writing. Fortunately, David Alvarez got there first and did a much better job than I would have done. His research was very extensive, as demonstrated by forty-five pages of helpful notes and bibliography. Although he brings his narrative up to the Swiss Guards of the present day, the heart of his story takes place between 1796 and 1870. During that period, there were six distinct military campaigns, culminating in the definitive loss of the Papal States and Italy's unification. By that point, the Papal States had built, per capita, one of the largest armies in Europe and, judged by its performance, one of the best motivated.

The saga begins when France's Revolutionary Republic invaded Italy, at the expense of what Alvarez calls the "worst army in Europe" (p. 1), a largely ceremonial force hampered by curial penny-pinching and skirmishing among careerists. From that very low point, there were serious attempts to build the pathetic militia into a credible force which might at least deter outside powers from invasion. By the pontificate of Pius IX, even the skeptics saw the need to field a reliable military. Optimistic cardinals who favored diplomacy learned the hard way that even the friendliest major powers were unwilling or unable to protect the Patrimony of Peter.

After a surprisingly brave performance in 1848, the army began active recruiting and training of native Italian troops, as well as numerous foreign volunteers. Potential adversaries learned that the old papal army, whose primary skill had once been the ability to run away, had now grown to include dedicated troops who were willing to sell their lives dearly for a cause in which they believed. The Castelfidardo campaign of 1860 was a tragic loss of an army not yet trained and equipped to carry out its task. But those defeated volunteers, including Irish and German recruits, showed a sort of courage not common in anyone's army. The final chapters in the Risorgimento came in 1867, when Papal Zouaves mauled Giuseppe Garibaldi's much larger force at Mentana, and the final defense of Rome in 1870. General Hermann Kanzler's troops demonstrated that they were willing and able to continue resistance until the last, if Pius IX had wished it. Later chapters cover the evolution of a credible army into peacetime units of Gendarmes, Swiss, Palatine, and Noble Guards. Defending the autonomy of the Vatican during World War II was indeed a military issue, with very high stakes for Pius XII to retain his voice.

Many parts of this fine book read like an adventure novel. The author might have added more maps to support his fast-moving narrative, which includes many place names. But overall, the book will stand up as a beacon of the final and enthralling finale of the Papal States.

Washington Theological Union LEOPOLD GLUECKERT, O.CARM.

Were the Popes against the Jews? Tracking the Myths, Confronting the Ideologues. By Justus George Lawler. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2012. Pp. xviii, 387. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-802-86629-5.)

Historian David Kertzer contributed constructively to our understanding of one of the most infamous events in Catholic-Jewish history with his *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York, 1997). That incident, which took place during the waning days of the Papal States in the pontificate of Pius IX, ranks only slightly behind the Dreyfus affair in Jewish memory as a precursor of the tragic events of the mid-twentieth century. Kertzer's more recent effort, *The Popes against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, 2001), however, was a much more cursory swing through history that, in essence, cobbled together all the negatives it could find, exaggerated some facts, and ignored many others in what amounted to a polemical indictment of the papacy as responsible for the rise of racial antisemitism (which it opposed) and therefore for the Holocaust itself. Justus George Lawler's study, as its title indicates, takes on the serious methodological flaws not only in Kertzer's book but also in others of the genre such as those by Daniel Goldhagen and John Cornwell. Lawler is both correct and effective in surfacing and debunking the antipapal ideology that lies behind such studies.

Lawler analyzes the sleight-of-hand rhetoric in which Kertzer engages to draw his readers into unwarranted conclusions and, where appropriate, supplies necessary historical context and interpretation. Kertzer, for example, presumes that the Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* is on the same level of presenting the official views of the Holy See as *L'Osservatore Romano* and that all other Jesuit publications around the world mirror every article in it. Although it is true that there were a handful of anti-Jewish articles in *La Civilta Cattolica* at the turn of the twentieth century, the Jesuit publications of France, England, and the United States such as *America* had a quite different and more positive approach when dealing with Jewish concerns. Lawler quite helpfully rejects such misleading generalizations of Kertzer's through analysis and example.

Although Lawler's book will be of interest to historians of the papacy and its dealings with the Jews from the nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century, it has its own serious flaws with regard to the history of Catholic-Jewish relations over the centuries and especially from World War II to the present. He cites Rosemary Radford Reuther's deeply flawed *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1974) as "pioneering and still indispensable" (p. 306), for example, when in fact its simplistic equation of the anti-Judaic polemics of the later strata of the New Testament with the antisemitism of the Nazis ignored both the intervening historical developments over the centuries and the distinction that must be made between religious disputation and modern racism. Likewise on the

same page he equates Ss. John Chrysostom and Augustine as making essentially the same "inevitably negative" judgment on Jews and Judaism, despite the fact that the book he cites—Paula Frederiksen's excellent *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York, 2008)—argues, and proves, the opposite.

Lawler similarly reprints on pages 288–97 his own 1965 negative review of the truly pioneering and still indispensable study of Edward Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews* (New York, 1965), despite its substantially revised second edition (New York, 1985), of which he is seemingly unaware. He seems likewise to be unaware of the numerous official statements of the Holy See, the popes, and the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, as well as those of other bishops' conferences, issued since the Second Vatican Council, which have significantly and carefully developed church teaching on Judaism and the Church's relationship with the Jewish people.

Saint Leo University EUGENE J. FISHER

A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians. By Timothy Larsen. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 326. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-199-57009-6.)

In recent years, Timothy Larsen has published studies of Jesus's preaching (*The Sermon on the Mount through the Centuries* with Jeffrey P. Greenman and Stephen R. Spencer, Grand Rapids, MI, 2007), religion and politics (*Friends of Religious Equality*, Waynesboro, GA, 2007), "fundamentalism and feminism" (*Christabel Pankhurst*, Rochester, NY, 2002), and nineteenth-century conversions from doubt to faith (*Crisis of Doubt*, New York, 2006). This project is an examination of Victorian "biblicism," of the ways in which the scriptures permeated the thought and work of people of many denominations—and, somewhat paradoxically, of people who professed no faith at all.

Larsen takes roughly the same approach in each of the ten chapters in the book. In the title, he names a religious tradition and identifies the man or woman whom he sees as "a fitting representative" (p. 12) of that tradition: E. B. Pusey of Anglo-Catholicism, Mary Carpenter of Unitarianism, and of course C. H. Spurgeon of Baptists and "Orthodox Old Dissent" (three others—Spiritualism, Judaism, and the Plymouth Brethren—could not be included in the study proper, but are briefly surveyed in the conclusion). That person's commitment to the scriptures is then the primary—but not necessarily the only—focus of the chapter itself, as Larsen often also provides a biographical sketch, discussions of another important people, or an "excursus" into "denominational history" (pp. 104, 138).

In many cases, Larsen helps us to see familiar people in unfamiliar ways. For the purposes of this study, for example, Florence Nightingale, Charles Bradlaugh, and T. H. Huxley are not significant, respectively, for their nursing

during the Crimean War, the lawsuit that permitted an avowed atheist to take his seat in Parliament in the 1880s, or scientific lectures and work as "Darwin's bulldog." Rather, Larsen portrays them respectively as a liberal preacher and author of the apologetic work *Suggestions for Thought to the Searchers after Truth*s; a man who once taught Sunday School and whose "first freethinking work" followed all of the conventions of Victorian "biblical commentary" (p. 71); and someone who advocated the study of the scriptures while protesting, in the style of "an Old Testament prophet" (p. 206), what he saw as the idolatry—and specifically the "bibliolatry" (p. 207)—that characterized Victorian Christendom.

What is *not* consistent is the way in which Larsen has organized the study. He tells us in the introduction that "the order of the chapters is simply the order in which they were researched" (p. 7). This leads to a somewhat disjointed sequence: we read about Anglicans in chapters 1, 5, and 9; Roman Catholics in chapter 2; Methodists, Unitarians, and Quakers in chapters 4, 6, and 7; Spurgeon in chapter 10; and atheists and agnostics in chapters 3 and 8. This organizational scheme also makes it difficult to smoothly segue from one topic to the next; most of the chapters seem to come to a rather abrupt end. These may be rough edges, but they are not fatal flaws. Although *A People of One Book* cannot be given an unqualified endorsement here, it is nonetheless a worthwhile project by a prolific and insightful scholar. Many of us have probably grown skeptical of the promotional language on dust jackets, but, in this case, the claim that the book is a story of religious "diversity" told through a "series of lively case studies" is not far off the mark.

Marshall University ROBERT H. ELLISON

L'Archivio "Erik Peterson" all'Università di Torino. Saggi critici e Inventario. Edited by Adele Monaci Castagno. [Collana di Studi del Centro di Scienze Religiose, 1.] (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso. 2010. Pp. viii, 247. Paperback. ISBN 978-8-876-94260-0.)

In the English-speaking world, the German patristics scholar, exegete, and theologian Erik Peterson (1890–1960) is known principally to specialists in the study of early Christianity and ancient religion, particularly to those with interests in liturgy, asceticism, martyrdom, and apocryphal literature. Some of his most important contributions were reprinted a year before his death, under the title *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Freiburg, 1959). More recently he has become somewhat familiar to writers on political theology, thanks to his classic monograph *Monotheismus als politisches Problem* (Leipzig, 1935), which notoriously denied the possibility of any such thing as a Christian political theology, and that on the basis of the orthodox Nicene doctrine of the Trinity and of St. Augustine's eschatological desacralization of empire. His intimate friendship with the controversial Catholic legal scholar (and sometime National Socialist) Carl Schmitt has also brought his name and work into wider circulation.

Superbly trained in the historical methods that dominated German Protestant scholarship in the teens and twenties, Peterson nevertheless cultivated a stiffly independent theological consciousness that eventually drove him out of the Protestant world altogether. His conversion to Catholicism in 1930 led him to resign his professorship at Bonn and to move to Rome, where he married, raised a large family in near penury, and searched vainly for a suitable academic appointment in Rome and elsewhere (including an offer in 1942 of a new chair in patristics at The Catholic University of America—which he turned down, to his regret, and which was then offered to Johannes Quasten). His intensely eschatological Christianity, his austere reluctance to write "big-picture" history or systematic theology, his rather angular personality, and his anomalous status as a historically-minded lay theologian in a Catholic church that still regarded theology as a neo-Scholastic and clerical enterprise ensured he would remain the "stranger in the world" that he believed was the authentic Christian condition *in via*.

After his death, Peterson's papers, including his near-legendary card index of hundreds of thousands of notes from a lifetime of reading ancient sources, came into the possession of the University of Turin, thanks especially to the efforts of the late Franco Bolgiani. The present volume from the university's Center for Religious Studies presents the learned world with a thorough inventory of Peterson's *Nachlass*. Of special interest will be his correspondence with a who's who of European theological and scholarly life over nearly half a century, including Karl Barth and Adolf von Harnack, as well as notables from the Catholic world such as Jacques Maritain; Cardinal Yves Congar, O.P.; Cardinal Henri de Lubac, S.J.; Cardinal Jean Daniélou, S.J.; and Hans Urs von Balthasar.

The book includes essays introducing Peterson and explaining the tortuous history of the Peterson archive. Most noteworthy is the contribution of the indefatigable Barbara Nichtweiß, who, in the two decades since she published her massive intellectual biography of Peterson (*Erik Peterson: Neue Sicht auf Leben und Werk* [Freiburg, 1992]), has done so much to rescue his legacy from obscurity. Her realization of the extent of Peterson's unpublished lectures, conferences, and letters prompted her to revise drastically the limited scope of her initial research project (p. 37). Along with the help of an ecumenical and interdisciplinary team of scholars, she has supervised the publication of a new edition of Peterson's works that reprints older publications but also includes much newly edited material from the archives. *Erik Peterson: Ausgewählte Schriften* (Würzburg, 1994–) now comprises thirteen volumes either already published or in preparation. Her paper in the present volume has an instructive review of Peterson's relation to the cultural and religious world of his time, along with insightful suggestions about the ongoing reception of his work, whose relevance lies not in spite of, but precisely because of, its principled challenge to the world as it is.

The book is recommended for research libraries and for scholars interested in twentieth-century intellectual history and the renewal of contemporary theology.

University of St. Thomas, St. Paul MICHAEL HOLLERICH

The Modernist as Philosopher: Selected Writings of Marcel Hébert. Translated by C. J. T. Talar and Elizabeth Emery. Introduced and edited by C. J. T. Talar. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. x, 254. $64.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1879-3.)

The papal condemnation of Roman Catholic modernism in 1907, the establishment of vigilance committees to ferret out suspected modernists, and the promulgation of the oath against "modernism" (in scare quotes to signal that the reality of the phenomenon was quite other than the Vatican's depiction of it) did far more damage to the Church than the modernists ever did. Having driven many of its best thinkers out of the Church or underground, the official Church failed to engage the intellectual movements of the time. World War I interrupted the offensive against modernism and allowed everyone to take a deep breath—e.g., Pope Benedict XV dismantled Monsignor Umberto Begnigni's secretive *Sodalitium Pianum* (or *La Sapinière*), named after Pope Pius X—and to begin more soberly to appraise modern thought and the Catholic Church's posture toward it.

Since the progressive opening of Vatican archives (now open through the pontificate of Pius XI), published works have been appearing based on these archival materials, works that afford an "insider's" view of events previously known largely only from the outside. At the same time, it has become "safe" to give wider exposure to modernist works that are little known because history had passed them by.

C. J. T. Talar has been a foremost contributor to this latter effort. In the present volume, he and Elizabeth Emery make available in accurate and graceful translation some of the most important contributions of Marcel Hébert (1851–1916), a modernist philosopher in tune with the development of modern thought. Hébert, writes Talar in his superb introduction, "felt the insufficiency of Scholasticism to speak to minds formed by modernity, to formulate an adequate response to the philosophical legacy of Kant" (p. 3), whom church authorities regarded as the principal enemy of Catholic teaching. Indeed, the neo-Scholastic manualists regarded Kant and most other non-Scholastics as enemies to be dismissed without trying to discover why they were non-Scholastics and what truth their systems might contain that could help the Church dialogue with modern thought. This is precisely what Hébert attempted to do, especially with American and Anglo-Saxon pragmatism, which was attracting great interest among European thinkers. His effort took him outside the Church.

The first half of the Hébert collection covers the period when he was still a priest in good standing and was most "symbolist." The second half covers 1908, by which time he had left the Church and was engaging pragmatism, but from a surprisingly "conservative" perspective: out of his symbolist belief in ideals and their unchanging eternalist character, he argued that pragmatism downplayed primacy of thought for "primacy of action" and ended in a Platonist or Berkeleyan idealism (pp. 170–71).

One great value of publishing translations of Hébert's works is that they allow readers to assess his thought and judge for themselves the accuracy of neo-Scholastic characterizations of it. Hébert was indeed a "symbolist," but to know what this means requires reading him on symbol and its function in religion. This collection enables readers to give context, depth, and nuance to Hébert's thought and to see how, had he found hospitality within Roman Catholicism, he might have been part of the effort to accommodate the truths of non-Scholastic thought well in advance of *les nouveaux théologiens*, who in their turn faced ecclesiastical censure.

This text is highly recommended for graduate courses to demonstrate that, rather than proscribe those who disagree with us, it is far healthier to create a hospitable environment in which to engage what seems "other" and so possibly to "baptize" it into the Church's mission to preach the gospel to the whole world.

Marquette University DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER, S.J.

L'inconscient au paradis: Comment les catholiques ont reçu la psychoanalyse (1920–1965). By Agnès Desmazières. (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages. 2011. Pp. 270. €21,50 paperback. ISBN 978-2-228-90666-1.)

In this significant work Agnes Desmazieres traces the ways in which some of the leading mid-twentieth century Catholic European intellectuals and professionals struggled to find a place in Catholic thought for the emerging psychological constructs about the unconscious. Written in the style of a European monograph, the author guides the reader through a terrain of cultural clashes as Catholic scholars encountered theories of the unconscious, most notably expressed by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis and Carl Jung's "depth psychology." Desmaizières's frequent use of subheadings proves invaluable as she presents a series of controversies that illuminate the seeking of Catholics proponents for a foothold for the unconscious.

The book's historical overview offers a who's who of mid-twentieth-century Catholic European intellectuals. Desmazières, for example, mentions the contributions by such clerical leaders as Louis Beirnaert (French Jesuit psychoanalyst), Bruno de Jésus Marie (French Carmelite psychoanalyst/theologian), Agostino Gemelli (Italian Franciscan psychologist), André Godin

(Belgian Jesuit psychoanalyst), Grégoire Lemercier (Benedictine abbot), Marc Oraison (priest/physician/theologian), Albert Plé (French Dominican psychologist/theologian), and Victor White (British Dominican theologian).

Desmazières also mentions the influence of lay Catholic thinkers such as Rudolf Allers (Austrian philosopher), Marcy Choisy (French novelist and psychoanalyst), Roland Dalbiez (French philosopher), Joseph Nuttin (Belgian psychologist), and Anna A.A.Terruwe (Dutch psychiatrist). In addition, important North American contributions to the discussion by Leo Bartemeier (American psychoanalyst), Noël Mailloux (French Canadian Dominican, psychoanalyst), and Gregory Zilboorg (Russian American psychoanalyst) are referenced.

For the purposes of revealing the Church's ambivalence toward psychoanalysis, Desmazières discusses the influence of Gemelli in various parts of her text. The founder of Sacred Heart University in Milan, Gemelli wielded considerable influence with Popes Pius XI and Pius XII. His Thomistic training made him suspicions of both the scientism of Italian medical materialism and the reductionism of Freud's theories.

Not surprisingly, Pius XII figures prominently in the debates that the Church had with psychoanalysis. Desmazières describes the pontiff as someone sympathetic to depth psychology, an approach to the unconscious less hostile to religion than orthodox psychoanalysis. The pope was no doubt aware of the important distinction developed by Dalbiez between psychoanalytical theory and its methods.

Desmazières also considers the Church's suspicions toward some of the works of Choisy, Oraison, Terruwe, and White. Her recounting of such criticisms reminds one of the authoritarian spirit that pervaded the Church throughout the era.

Desmazières deems significant the 1953 International Congress of Psychotherapy in Rome where Pius XII declared his support of psychotherapy. Among other notable events, the author notes the beginning of psychological testing for religious candidates by Plé. Building upon the work of the American priest-psychologists Thomas Verner Moore and William Bier, Plé promoted psychological testing for aspirants to religious life and helped to engender psychological supports for religious. Plé's influence led to the incorporation of psychological training for theological students. Aspects of such training were psychoanalytically oriented, which in effect represented a significant step toward accepting psychoanalytical processes by the Catholic magisterium.

In some places, more detail would have been welcomed about how moral theological principles clashed with Freud's psychoanalytical theories and Jung's analytic constructs. Also desirable would have been some appreciation

of how psychoanalysis evolved through the decades and thus made it more palatable for Catholic tastes.

Overall, this book represents an important contribution to the historical literature of the Church's relationship with the unconscious. One hopes that Desmaizières's presentation will one day be available to an English-reading audience. Indeed, given the present-day controversies over clergy sexual abuse, historical accounts such as those offered in this book add valuable perspectives of how the Church has promoted and prevented a greater understanding of the forces residing in the unconscious.

Loyola University Chicago C. Kevin Gillespie, S.J.

I "Fogli di Udienza" del Cardinale Eugenio Pacelli Segretario di Stato. Vol. I (1930). Edited by Sergio Pagano, Marcel Chappin, and Giovanni Coco. [Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 72.] (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2010. Pp. xxv, 590. €45,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-885-04266-7.)

The long-awaited publication of part of the notations made by then-cardinal Eugenio Pacelli following his meetings with Pope Pius XI in almost a decade of service as secretary of state (1930–39) sheds considerable light on the pope and his chief minister, particularly on their personal and political relationship. In an introductory preface to the volume (pp. vii–ix), the current secretary of state, Tarcisio Bertone, alludes to the wide range of subjects and issues raised in the 1956 audiences that gave rise to the 2627 pages produced by Pacelli during his secretarial tenure. These documents are carefully edited and put into historical perspective by Bishop Sergio Pagano, prefect of the Secret Vatican Archive; the Jesuit Father Marcel Chappin; and the lay historian Giovanni Coco. Their role is crucial, for many of Pacelli's reports and notations are short, sketchy, and provide little background, so that even the specialist would not necessarily be familiar with the issues raised without access to a broader range of documents. Fortunately, the editors have provided copious notes that in most cases are far longer than Pacelli's observations. Indeed, in a number of instances this editorial commentary is more interesting and informative than Pacelli's report.

Pagano's presentation of the volume (pp. xi–xxv) continues the introduction by focusing upon the nature of the *fogli* that did not take the form of a diary but rather served as a summation of a series of sometimes daily discussions. The talks summed up by Pacelli have been divided into two categories by the editors: pontifical discussions and private ones. The first were either Pacelli's personal talks with Pius XI or the pope's talks with various dignitaries in his presence. The private talks described were those Pacelli held with various political figures or church dignitaries. During 1930, his first year as secretary of state, Pacelli reported on eighty pontifical audiences and twenty-four private ones—or, more accurately, these are the reports that have

been preserved (pp. xiv–xv). Precisely why they were written remains uncertain. Nor do we know why important and controversial issues such as Nazi racism and antisemitism or fascist totalitarianism—which must have been discussed—are largely ignored in Pacelli's *fogli.* Why was there no mention of *Mit brennender Sorge* in all of 1937 also remains a mystery. Likewise, the failure to discuss the Nazi pogroms and *Kristallnacht* in November 1938 is disappointing and limits their historical usefulness. On the other hand, we must remember that Pacelli did not draft these *fogli* for publication and kept them in his possession until his death.

The reports in the first volume, which run from February 12, 1930, to December 30, 1930 (pp. 147–383), offer no startling revelations, but they do provide interesting information and insights on a number of less controversial subjects. The volume also contains a large and useful biographical section (pp. 389–508) that provides vital information on the various individuals cited in the documents. It is particularly important in identifying lesser-known figures more than those who are well known. Thus in the first page of this informative directory (p. 389) the entry on Stanislaw Adamski will prove to be more needed by most readers than the one on the more important and widely known Konrad Adenauer. The biography is followed by a list of abbreviations employed by the editorial team (pp. 509–11), which leads to a fairly comprehensive bibliography of works (pp. 511–27) that are largely Italian but includes some English, French, and German studies. Finally, there are three indices: the first provides archival sources; the second includes other names, places and institutions; and the third lists newspapers and periodicals (pp. 529–91).

St. John's University (Emeritus) FRANK J. COPPA

Reason Fulfilled by Revelation: The 1930s Christian Philosophy Debates in France. Edited and translated by Gregory B. Sadler. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. x, 336. $64.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21721-5.)

Reflection on the relationship between faith and reason is a significant indicator of the vitality of the Christian intellectual tradition. The robust debates that occurred in France in the interwar period over the possibility and nature of Christian philosophy are an extraordinary chapter in this tradition that makes this volume most welcome. Sadler has judiciously selected and translated twelve contributions to these debates that are grouped in three distinct phases that took place between 1931 and 1936. Sadler's introductory essay (96 pp.) is a salutary aid both for understanding the multiple historical contexts of the debates and for sketching a thematic outline of the basic positions that were expounded. The chronologically arranged bibliography, spanning 1927–2010, is a boon for further multilanguage research pertaining to the original debates and its subsequent echoes and expansions. Finally, there is a combined onomastic and topical index.

The major interlocutors included the secular rationalists Emile Bréhier and Léon Brunschvicg who viewed Christian philosophy as an impossibility. Bréhier contended that "one can no more speak of a Christian philosophy than of a Christian mathematics or a Christian physics" (p. 127). In response to these secular philosophers who ignited and then receded from the debates, there was a variety of positions espoused by Catholic thinkers, many of whom were influenced by the Thomistic revival sparked by Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879). Furthermore, it is not insignificant in accounting for the vibrancy of these debates that several of the Catholic participants were laymen who were trained in secular academies.

Ironically, neo-Scholastic philosophers such as Fernand Van Steenberghen also rejected the term *Christian philosophy* for calling into question philosophy's rightful autonomy. In contrast, lay Catholic philosophers Étienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain both defended the just prerogatives of philosophical reason and argued for the legitimacy of Christian philosophy, both as an historical reality and as a theoretical desideratum. Gilson's 1931–32 Gifford lectures published as *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy* (London, 1936) made a compelling case, *pace* Bréhier, that revelation had been historically generative of reason.

Overall, Sadler highlights the position of Catholic lay philosopher Maurice Blondel by including four of his compositions. In contrast to the Scholastic thinkers, Blondel sought to overcome modern philosophy's self-sufficient rationalism by using the modern method of immanence. Blondel's "philosophy of action," originally expounded in his magnum opus *L'Action* (Paris, 1893) and reworked in a spate of publications that appeared in the 1930s, elaborated a philosophy of insufficiency that through a dialectical ascent concludes to the exigency of a supernatural fulfillment that the human spirit is powerless to effect on its own. Blondel adopted the term *Catholic philosophy* to distinguish his approach from the others. According to Blondel, the relationship between reason and faith, philosophy and revelation, nature and grace, is not an extrinsicist *placage*, or sheer juxtaposition, but the philosophical quest as expounded in his "integral philosophy" establishes an "empty space" that is oriented to the supernatural fulfillment offered by Christian revelation. Although Blondel's critics argued that he confused the natural and the supernatural orders, Blondel insisted on an interpenetration without confusion that respected philosophy's autonomy and the gratuity of supernatural fulfillment.

The volume also includes pieces by Gabriel Marcel, to whom Sadler attributes a fourth Catholic position; Etienne Borne; Antonin Sertillanges; Bruno de Solages; and Léon Noël. They offer rejoinders and nuanced appreciations of the primary positions described above. Of particular interest are the efforts to reconcile the positions of Blondel and Gilson such as de Solages's piece. Not included in the volume is the previously translated essay "On Christian

Philosophy" by Henri de Lubac (see *Communio,* 19 [1992]: 478–505) that also argues for a mediating position.

Loyola University of Chicago PETER J. BERNARDI, S.J.

Die Katholiken und das Dritte Reich: Kontroversen und Debatten. Edited by Karl-Joseph Hummel and Michael Kißener. 2nd edition. (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh. 2010. Pp. 318. €19,90 paperback. ISBN 978-3-506-77071-4.)

Die katholische Kirche im Dritten Reich. Eine Einführung. Edited by Christoph Kösters and Mark Edward Ruff. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 2011. Pp 220. €19,95. ISBN 978-3-451-30700-3.)

After Germany's defeat in 1945, German Catholics were strongly criticized for failing to mobilize resistance against the Nazi regime. In the 1950s and 1960s they were even more bitterly criticized for their failure to prevent or protest the persecution and mass murder of the Jews. In response, German Catholic historians formed the Commission for Contemporary History and published a large number of documentary and narrative volumes. The tone was largely defensive. Now, eighty years after the Nazi rise to power, the time has come for a summary of where the current debate stands. The two books here under review, presumably sponsored by rival publishers, have remarkably similar titles and are collections of essays on very similar topics. No fewer than four scholars are to be found in both books, with inevitable recapitulations and repetitions. All are, in fact, engaged in defending German Catholicism from the kind of recurrent moralistic and anachronistic judgments such as those by Daniel Goldhagen or John Cornwell. But they are aware that such sweeping attacks have to be met with scholarly integrity, based on historically accurate analyses, which these books seek to provide. The dilemma for these historians is that the standards of assessment have been drastically raised. Making a convincing case for the Catholic political choices during the Nazi era is no easy task even in the hands of these experienced scholars.

For instance, in their elucidation of the background of the 1933 Concordat, both Matthias Stickler in the first of these books and Heinz Hürten and Rudolf Morsey in the second repeat their long-held views that this was essentially a defensive measure, but say nothing about the widespread support for the new regime by most Catholics. Morsey states that the latest research has conclusively proved that there was no connection between the collapse of the Catholic Centre Party and the signing of the Concordat a month later, thus refuting the earlier canard of a quid pro quo. He claims that the Concordat provided an effective barrier against Nazi infiltration, but ignores the fact that the Catholic hierarchy clung to its supposed safeguards even after the Nazi anti-Catholic campaign was glaringly obvious. The bishops have never admitted making a mistake.

In both books Michael Kißener examines the polemical arguments about whether Catholics can be seen as part of the anti-Nazi resistance. On the one hand, numerous priests were imprisoned for trying to oppose Nazi encroachments and persecution. On the other hand, other critics assert that the church leaders were only interested in preserving their own milieu and made no efforts to resist the regime's more virulent crimes. The heroism of the few does not compensate for the complicity of the majority.

In both books Christoph Kösters and Thomas Brechenmacher take issue with criticisms of the German bishops and the pope. They see such critics as engaging in unwarranted expectations or wishful thinking about whether these leaders could or could not have done more to stop the Nazi crimes. The need now is to be more aware of the historical factors conditioning their responses to the unprecedented circumstances they had to face.

In her chapter in the first of these books, Annette Mertens takes issue with Gordon Zahn's contention that the Catholic bishops had misled their followers to support the Nazi criminal war effort with religiously-based justifications. She points rather to the staunchly nationalistic and anti-Communist views of most Catholics that had led them to support Hitler in the first place. No bishop was prepared to challenge such views. Indeed, most of them shared the same attitudes. A more justified censure would be to point to the hierarchy's failure to recognize that their earlier teachings about the conduct of war no longer applied.

In the second book, Mark Ruff's excellent chapter on the Catholic Church and denazification after 1945 shows that the church leaders never accepted any notion of collective guilt. They opposed the sweeping measures taken by the American military government that deprived all Nazi Party members of their livelihoods. The imposition by a foreign power of a set of rules with retrospective penalties was rightly seen as unjust. The Catholic clergy saw it as their pastoral duty to support their parishioners, whatever their past. The bishops were afraid that denazification would lead to further radical measures against the Church, especially in the Soviet-occupied zone. In Ruff's view, their vigorous action was a means of regaining support and credibility for a new beginning.

In both books, the final insightful essay by Karl-Josef Hummel deals with questions of guilt—national, institutional, as well as personal. It was several years before German Catholics were prepared to face up to their history. The striking changes of recent decades have made the task of coming to terms with their own past easier. New historical sources have enabled a more balanced approach rather than one looking for scapegoats. But the importance of the issues can still arouse polemical debates. It is still too soon to say that a consensus has been reached.

University of British Columbia JOHN CONWAY

«Cronache Sociali», 1947–1951. Edizione anastatica integrale. Edited by Alberto Melloni. 2 vols. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose. 2007. Pp. cii, 1104; 1105–1983, appendix v, with a DVD. €120,00. ISBN 978-8-890-11073-3.)

Giuseppe Dossetti (1913–96)—member of the antifascist resistance, politician, canon lawyer, priest, *peritus* at Second Vatican Council, founder of a religious order, and monk—was one of the most important "public Catholics" in Italy between World War II and the end of the century. In 1945, Dossetti became vice-secretary of the Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana), the pivotal center of the political system immediately after the war. In 1953, he founded the "Istituto per le scienze religiose" in Bologna with Giuseppe Alberigo and Paolo Prodi, and served as the closest adviser of Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro, archbishop of Bologna, from the Second Vatican Council until early 1968, when Lercaro had to resign under pressure from Rome for his criticism of the Vietnam War.

More than fifteen years after his death, Dossetti still is an inspiring figure for many Italian Catholics, including those who are politically active. To understand Dossetti's contribution to Italian Catholicism and Italian politics, it is necessary to go back to the journal he founded, *Cronache Sociali*. In the long introduction (pp. XIII–XLIV), the editor, Alberto Melloni (now director of the study center founded by Dossetti and based in Bologna), reconstructs the prehistory of *Cronache Sociali* and Dossetti's engagement in the reconstruction of Italian politics. This history begins in 1942, when Dossetti met with colleagues from the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. The introduction follows step by step the short life of the journal, from its inception in 1947 (after the ousting of the leftists from Alcide De Gasperi's administration at the outset of the cold war) to its closing in 1951 (when Dossetti decided to withdraw from the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party as well as direct political engagement and return to historical-theological research).

The editorial of the first issue of the journal, published on May 30, 1947, announced the mission of *Cronache Sociali*:

> We do not want to escape from a commitment to give social and political assessments, and indeed we make that commitment. But we do not interpret this commitment as restricted to the analysis of petty politics, but rather concerned in finding the connections between politics and the living substance of the problems of contemporary man. This research and evaluation is now, in our opinion, the true and greater politics, a *human politics*. (n.p., emphasis in original)

During those four and a half years, *Cronache Sociali* tried to capture and transmit to politically minded Italian Catholics the movements and ideas coming from Europe, especially from France and Germany; this approach made *Cronache Sociali* a kind of Italian equivalent (although short-lived) of

Emmanuel Mounier's Paris-based journal *Esprit* or Walter Dirks's Frankfurt periodical *Frankfurter Hefte*. The sections of the journal included "national politics,""chronicles from Parliament,""international affairs," "economy,""life of political parties," "workers unions," "culture," and "sociology." Contributors to *Cronache Sociali* included Vittorio Bachelet (a major leader of Catholic Action in Italy), philosopher Augusto Del Noce, Giorgio La Pira (mayor of Florence), patrologist Giuseppe Lazzati, Emmanuel Mounier, and David Maria Turoldo. Their articles offer a very interesting window into post–World War II Italy and especially the politically and theologically "progressive" Christian Democratic Party that was therefore critical of De Gasperi's caution toward domestic politics and foreign policy, especially in matters pertaining to the United States.

The last issue of *Cronache Sociali*, published on October 31, 1951, opened with an editorial that was harshly critical of De Gasperi's political action to restore Italian political life:

> At this moment, given the actual functioning of the executive branch, it would be inaccurate to characterize the Italian Republic as a "parliamentary democracy" (given the special autonomy claimed by the executive before the Parliament) or as a "parliamentary popular democracy" (as it is in Great Britain). For now, we have to stop with this negative characterization . . . while we wait for a real restoration of a parliamentary democracy. (n.p.)

The journal closed not only because of Dossetti's exit from politics but also because of the growing tensions within its editorial staff.

The chronological index, subject index, and author index facilitate consultation of the articles. The two bulky volumes plus a DVD reprint all the articles published by the journal that tried to open new frontiers for a reform of Italy, especially in the relationship among government, the economy, and Catholic culture.

University of St. Thomas, St. Paul MASSIMO FAGGIOLI

American

A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513–1900. By James M. Woods. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 498. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-813-03532-1.)

Citing James O'Toole's *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) as a recent example of Catholic historians who "have tended to overlook their own denomination within the South" (p. xiii), James Woods sets out to provide a concise, well-documented overview of Southern Catholicism through 1900. Woods's South extends beyond the eleven

Confederate states to include Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Southern Catholicism forms "a tapestry of faith. . . . a rich heritage of Roman Catholicism that had been present in the southern region since the sixteenth century" (p. xv).

Part 1, "The Colonial Context, 1513–1763," explores Catholic origins in Spanish Florida, Spanish Texas, French Lower Louisiana, and the English Colonies. Part II, "American Republicanism and European Decline, 1763–1845," examines Southern Catholics in the new American republic, church and state as European empires erode, and the Church in the expanding South. Part III, "Resistance, Rebellion, Reconstruction and Regionalism, 1845–1900," concludes with a chapter on growth, expansion, and the limited role of Catholic immigrants compared to the North.

Woods, who has written extensively on Arkansas Catholicism, weaves his tapestry from modern scholarship, census data, and original documents into a readable narrative. The growth of the local church is interspersed with numerous thumbnail sketches of the early bishops; of clergy such as Jeremiah O'Neill (a priest of Savannah), Thomas O'Reilly (a Georgia priest who served at the notorious Andersonville prison camp), and Abram Ryan (priest-poet of the Confederacy); of religious men and women such as St. Katharine Drexel of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Mercy Sister Austin Carroll, and Capuchin Father Antonio de Sedella of New Orleans; and of laity such as Charles Carroll, Daniel Rudd (whose life is traced after the five national Congresses of Colored Catholics), and William Joseph Gaston (called "the most highly respected Catholic in antebellum North Carolina," p. 247).

Woods's narrative is enriched with frequent, interesting details such as Bishop Dionisio Resino's 1709 appointment as La Florida's first resident bishop and his rapid departure, the state-by-state expansion of religious freedoms in the early Southern colonies, the beginnings of Georgetown University, the 1850 and 1860 status of Irish immigrants in the South, the fate of the three Maryland Catholics associated with John Wilkes Booth, and the Little Rock diocesan archives document explaining Bishop Edward Fitzgerald's vote against papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council. He also delves beneath the chronological narrative with analysis such as the negative impact of the Spanish colonial practice of conscripted Indian labor on the early missionary endeavor.

The author provides present-day landmarks for early locations and events. The 1597 Guale Indian revolt against the Spanish began in the village of Tolomato, "on the Georgia mainland near present-day Harris Neck near Sapedo Island" (p. 12).

Modern scholarship is cited throughout the volume: Diana Meyers on the role of women in seventeenth-century Maryland; Carl Brasseaux on Acadian religious practices; Clyde Crews concerning Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget's

reputation for tireless apostolic work and unfailing graciousness; and Thomas Spalding's assessment of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, among many others.

The 1195 footnotes and forty-page bibliography of secondary sources provide a comprehensive window through which to view more than eight decades of scholarship on the Catholic South, beginning with the 1920s works by Claude Vogel, Peter Guilday, and Lawrence Hill, in addition to a few earlier, familiar volumes by John Gilmary Shea, Benedict Webb, Francis Parkman, Kate M. Rowland, and Reuben Gold Thwaites. Local historians will note some needed additions. The related articles in *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, edited by Jay Dolan (New York, 1987), come to mind.

In such a vast overview, often relying on the scholarship of others, some errors understandably appear. For example, the Catholic Church did not disappear in Natchez after the Spanish withdrawal; St. Bernard Civil and Religious Parish, home to Canary Islanders, is below New Orleans, not between New Orleans and Baton Rouge; Flaget was the third, not the second, Catholic bishop in the South; and Salvatore Pizzati built St. Joseph School on Tulane Avenue in New Orleans rather than the church. These do not detract from the book's overall reliability.

Woods has written a comprehensive, well-documented, and interesting overview of the Catholic experience in the South through 1900. He has succeeded well in his objective of providing a solid resource on early Southern Catholicism.

Long Beach, MS CHARLES E. NOLAN

Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England. By R. Todd Romero. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 255. $80.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-558-49887-7; $26.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-558-49888-4.)

In 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company chose as its seal the now-famous drawing of a New England Native standing in a barren wilderness clutching a bow and arrow and saying, "Come over and help us." Lesser known, perhaps, is an Indian peace medal from 1676 that similarly depicts a New England Native standing alone in a barren wilderness holding a bow and arrow, but the 1676 Native is speechless, has long hair, and two perfectly round breasts. It is precisely the meaning of this gendered transformation that R. Todd Romero wishes us to consider in *Making War and Minting Christians*. These images represent English perceptions of Indians as increasingly un-manly over the course of the seventeenth century, to be sure, but they also signal another change wrought by colonialism, warfare, and evangelization: the removal of the very things that allowed Indian men to live out either English

or Indian masculine ideals in terms of subsistence, community leadership, and spiritual values.

This book is largely structured around Native and Anglo-American understandings of masculinity, religion, and warfare between 1620 and 1676. Although Native and English societies "shared some cultural ground" on these issues, "they rarely recognized such commonalities, often focusing instead on differences" (p. 20). Drawing from a seemingly exhaustive and close reading of English print sources, a number of material objects, and a variety of Indian oral traditions, Romero argues that "Native and Anglo-American conceptions of masculinity unfolded in counterpoint over the course of the seventeenth century and were central to the development of colonialism" (p. 7). To make his case, Romero draws from an impressive number of episodes and exchanges that illustrate the various colonial and Native approaches to the issues at hand. Natives demonstrated masculinity through strenuous physical games like hubbub, particular modes of speechmaking, hunting, and warfare. For English colonists, manliness was demonstrated through patriarchy, particular kinds of labor (like farming), and warfare. Colonial officials sought to bend Native gender roles—particularly related to masculinity—to a thoroughly European ideal, even as they praised the few ways in which Indian masculine ideals already met English standards. Through colonial legislation and especially through the evangelization process and the resultant praying towns, John Eliot and other English missionaries and leaders tried to reshape Indian men and boys by curbing Indian games, encouraging them to grow gardens instead of fishing and hunting, cutting their hair short, attending church, observing the Sabbath, praying, accepting Christianity, wearing English clothes, providing spiritual leadership in their households, and fighting more like English men. "Manliness remained an important measure of the success of missionary efforts and colonization," Romero observes, because, in the words of the English minister Thomas Shepard, "it was necessary for the English to '*make* men' of the Indians before they could '*make* them Christians'" (p. 74, emphasis in original). Ultimately, however, this project failed, and Indian men—especially praying Indian men—found that by the 1680s they had been stripped of the resources necessary (like land) to live as men by either English or Indian standards.

As a whole, this book is a nuanced and lively rereading of a time period that can often feel well traveled. As Romero convincingly shows, gendered language appeared everywhere, from the opening moments of English colonization of New England through King Philip's War and even beyond (that Cotton Mather devoted a whole treatise to the topic of "Manly Christianity" in 1711 is just one such nugget). And there can be no doubt that Romero is right that Europeans constantly measured Indian cultures against their own (including manliness) and found them lacking. But in other cases the encounters that Romero proposes as "obviously gendered" (p. 5) are not so self-evi-

dent or convincing such as the opening few pages describing Giovanni de Verrazano's journey in 1524 or the 1622 exchange between the Narragansett sachem Canonicus and the Plymouth settlers that involved a snakeskin full of arrows (the snakeskin was returned with powder and shot). Although readers will be convinced that notions of manliness were important elements of these encounters and contestations, it is not always clear what these gendered exchanges meant to seventeenth-century participants, how these ideas about manliness were central to the development of English colonialism, or that gender was the "primary means of understanding the developing colonial world and its various peoples" (p. 20). It also would have been helpful to contextualize, even if briefly, this gendered New England language within the larger literature of New World colonization (as in the opening chapters of Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs* [Chapel Hill, NC, 1996]).

Nonetheless, there is much to learn from Romero's careful and detailed analysis, and readers who have interest in gender history, masculinity, Native American history, and colonial America will surely find this to be an informative and delightful read.

Brown University LINFORD D. FISHER

Papist Patriots: The Making of an American Catholic Identity. By Maura Jane Farrelly. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 305. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-19-975771-8.)

Every so often a book comes along that presents a dramatically different interpretation of known historical facts in a way that is, well, convincing. This is one of those books. Maura Jane Farrelly confronts one of hoariest historiographical issues in the study of American Catholicism: Can one be a good Catholic and simultaneously a good American? It was an issue that rose to the forefront of American religious scholarship in the nineteenth century, given a historiographical predisposition (at the time) to see Protestantism, Puritanism in particular, as giving rise to American democracy. After all, given the perfect fit seen to exist between Protestantism and American democracy, it only made sense to ask if Catholics could be good Americans—and the answer, of course, was usually "no." Although it is common to suggest that such a blatant anti-Catholic bias is no longer in evidence, the question (in my view) continues to shape work of many Catholic writers (like Jay Dolan, quoted on the back cover of Farrelly's book) who still seem concerned with demonstrating that good Catholics *can* be good Americans.

Farrelly begins by pointing out that pre-existing scholarly attempts to address the good Catholic/good American issue have focused on Catholics (mainly Irish American and Italian American Catholics) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She argues that we need to leap-frog over these groups

and confront a question about the Colonial period—why was it that Maryland Catholics were such staunch supporters of the American Revolution despite the fact that so many of their Revolutionary compatriots were virulently anti-Catholic? The answer to *that* question lies in how Catholics in the late-eighteenth century perceived the earliest days of the Maryland colony. Basically, those early days were seen as a Golden Age in which religious toleration had been the norm. Farrelly is careful to note that there was not really as much toleration in the early Maryland colony as later generations of Maryland Catholics likely imagined, but also that it did not matter. What mattered was only that for Catholics in the late 1700s, their Catholic forebears had once lived in a tolerant society that was distinctively "American," not "British," and that this Golden Age had been brought to an end by Britain. The only way to restore that Golden Age, then, was to sever ties with Britain and once again develop a distinctively American society founded on toleration. Farrelly, of course, fleshes all this out with a detailed consideration of life in Maryland in the centuries before the Revolution, but this is her core argument, and for her it explains the strong support that Maryland Catholics provided the Revolution. It is also explains, Farrelly argues, why Catholic leaders like John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore, tried to obtain more independence from Rome for the American Church.

The book is based on Farrelly's 2002 PhD dissertation for Emory University, and there are sections that should likely have been excised or revised by her editor. The relevance of an early section on Catholicism in pre-Reformation England, for example, is unclear and in any event does not really take account of the revisionist and postrevisionist scholarship over the last fifteen years that establishes, far more clearly that Farrelly allows, that English Catholicism was thriving on the eve of the Reformation. There are also a few (but only a few) sections where discussion of the genealogical connections amongst the political leaders who shaped life in Maryland is simply mind-numbing and adds little to her core argument.

Still, these are minor flaws in a book that will become a standard reference work on the history and historiography of American Catholicism.

Wilfrid Laurier University MICHAEL CARROLL
Waterloo, Canada

Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture. By Elizabeth Fenton. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 178. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-195-38409-3.)

Few scholars of anti-Catholicism have tried to understand the role of religious discrimination in shaping a uniquely American liberalism. In *Religious Liberties,* Elizabeth Fenton shows how "U.S. conceptions of religious pluralism and its corresponding 'right of conscience'. . . drew their force from anti-

Catholicism" (p. 1). From the Quebec Act of 1774 to Reconstruction, with a brief afterword on the role of anti-Catholicism in the politics of the 1960s, Fenton shows how popular American writers from Thomas Paine to Mark Twain exploited the ideology of a tyrannical—and thus inherently antidemocratic—Catholicism that functioned to construct an American political consensus, positioning "Protestantism as the guarantor of religious liberty" (p. 18).

To preserve political representation and "deliberative democracy," defined as "a political mode that promotes a public sphere in which citizens engage in rational debate with one another" (p. 12), religious freedom had to be restricted if not fully denied, "sacrificing democracy in the name of deliberation" (p. 63). This revealed the paradox of deliberative democracy. Anti-Catholicism was used, Fenton argues, as a negative contrast to the freedoms inherent in a Protestant political establishment, revealing how deliberative and representative democracy was also "fraught with tension and uncertainty" (p. 84). Regardless of Catholicism's effort to participate in "representative governance," especially given the political reform efforts of Pope Pius IX in Italy or the revolutionary accomplishments of Haitian Catholics, a politically driven Protestantism could never recognize the possibility that non-Protestant could participate in a religiously plural society.

Research on this topic is limited, especially in the number of historians engaged in it, making it somewhat disjointed. Fenton admits that "anti-Catholicism did not fade from public discussion of democracy and difference at the close of the nineteenth century . . . [but] persisted well into the twentieth century" (p. 143). Yet close to a century is missing from Fenton's discussion of postbellum America in the last chapter and the anti-Catholicism of the 1960s in the afterword. The question remains: if anti-Catholicism has been a key element in creating a Protestant political establishment, how has it influenced religious tolerance today? Have the contemporary Catholic sex scandals been informed by earlier anti-Catholicism? Although anti-Catholicism has had a long history, it seems to be an erratic—perhaps latent—phenomenon. Scholars need to continue to explore the reasons for such historical gaps and also the conditions that give rise to such phenomena.

The selection of literary works, which speaks to the author's comprehensiveness, may also raise questions. Readers may wonder about the selection of anti-Catholic works. For instance, Fenton does well in uncovering publications largely unknown in the contemporary context, such as George Bourne's *Lorette* (New York, 1833), but neglects more familiar works such as Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures* (New York, 1836), Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent* (Boston, 1835), or Jemima Thompson Luke's *The Female Jesuit* (New York, 1851)—the latter a story about a Catholic girl who converted to Catholicism but could never truly break the chains of popery, a narrative that would have worked well in chapter 3.

Notwithstanding these observations, Fenton has offered a much-needed study of anti-Catholicism in particular and the limits of representative democracy in general. Religious tolerance is central to America's national identity, but, as Fenton has shown, such a commitment has required intolerance. This bespeaks a sobering but important question. Can humans create truly tolerant societies?

Providence Christian College RYAN MCILHENNY
Pasadena, CA

All the Way to Heaven: The Selected Letters of Dorothy Day. Edited by Robert Ellsberg. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2010. Pp. xxiii, 456. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-874-62010-0.)

Although Dorothy Day's *The Long Loneliness* (New York, 1952) has served as an autobiography, she stated that she had intended it to focus only on what had led her to God. For a more comprehensive portrait of Day's life and spirituality, one may turn to an outpouring of primary source anthologies and histories published since her death in 1980. One of the essential works is *All the Way to Heaven*, a collection of her selected letters, edited by Robert Ellsberg. Scholar, editor, and personal friend of Day, Ellsberg has produced an accessible and informative volume that will serve the needs of casual reader and serious researcher.

This well-designed volume begins with the editor's revealing introduction to Day as a letter writer. Each of the book's six chronological sections is organized around a broad theme. Ellsberg has written a brief introduction to each part and throughout the volume provides notes for historical context and identification. An index of personal names and book titles concludes the volume.

The letters date from the 1920s to several months before her death. Ironically, the anthology begins with a letter to Margaret Sanger that expresses Day's regret that the Birth Control League was unable to "afford a regular publicity director" (p. 3). Other early letters discuss Day's publication agenda and document the evolution of her relationship with her domestic partner, Forster Batterham. These colorful letters explore her social, emotional, and religious worlds. In particular, the graphic letters to him expose the dimensions of her emotional torment over the nature of their relationship after her conversion. The love letters convey the story of a struggle between equally stubborn partners and outline her turmoil as she alternately tried to convince him to marry or to distance themselves from their powerful allure.

Following Peter Maurin's chaste entry into Day's life in 1932, her letters begin to reflect a remarkable spiritual and emotional maturity as she faced the challenges of leading the Catholic Worker movement and parenting a

daughter whose interests seem so different from those of an already famous mother. Many of the longer letters display the literary realism that Day earlier acknowledged as her style. Rich in detail about life and the Catholic Worker, these letters explored tenets of her spirituality for which her devotees now remember her. In a 1934 letter she wrote of "spiritual hospitality" and how "all those little frittering things which take up one's time are quite as important, may time more so in the sight of God, than answering letters or keeping one's files up to date" (p. 59), an insight that mirrored her devotion to St. Thérèse of Lisieux and underscored her distaste for turnstile charity. Other deeply personal letters document Day's relationship with her daughter and her anxiety for Tamar's spiritual, emotional, and material well-being.

The bulk of the letters focuses on matters pertaining to the Catholic Worker movement and its spiritual underpinnings. In these, Day sometimes dreamt of new initiatives such as a retreat center for alcoholic priests and a women's bakery, which went unrealized.

This collection of letters, most of them previously unpublished, reveals a spiritually grounded and witty woman who daily addressed thorny human problems under the scrutiny of admirers and ready critics alike. The careful reader will be rewarded with rich insight into the life and spirituality of the last century's most significant American Catholic layperson whose tremendous spiritual legacy has yet to be fully appreciated. This excellent volume should become an indispensable source for researchers as well as a spiritual classic.

University of St. Thomas ANNE KLEJMENT

Latin American

Making a New World: Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America. By John Tutino. (Durham: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 699. $99.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-822-34974-7; $29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-822-34989-1.)

Despite the intense specialization that has fashioned historical research over the last four decades, which has often produced monographs narrow in scope and timid in conceptual reach, historians still relish big history that is empirically sound, theoretically innovative, and lyrically rendered. For historians of colonial Mexico, John Tutino's long-awaited book on the foundations of early-modern capitalism in Spanish North America is precisely the kind of big history that shifts the paradigm to such a degree that historians in other fields—particularly world historians—will take notice and revisit the conventional wisdom that has shaped the direction of their own research. Tutino's book is that good.

The author argues that the world became whole in the sixteenth century just about the time Hernán Cortés had toppled the Aztec confederation and Ming China developed a ferocious appetite for silver. Trade expansion linked Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas, while European colonization of the Western Hemisphere, coupled with the rise of the African slave trade, initiated a global dynamic that facilitated capitalism. American silver—especially that which was mined in the Bajío region of Mexico, what Spaniards called New Spain—was key to global trade between 1550 and 1810; the vast quantities of the metal fashioned a protean capitalist society in Spanish North America composed of merchants, entrepreneurs, investors, miners, ranchers, and farmers—an ethnically and racially diverse lot, to be sure—most of whom looked to the Catholic Church for sanctifying power and grace. As Tutino makes quite clear in his tome, Catholicism provided an ample arena where religious piety comingled with debate and dissent, paving various pathways for these social groups to adapt, modify, alter, or discard what disrupted production, exchange, and social relations. In short, Tutino's colonial Mexico is the corrective to an older Weberian model that explained change from an Anglo-Protestant-capitalist perspective.

Tutino's work also complements quite nicely a larger body of knowledge that shows us that the Spanish colonial enterprise functioned primarily as a judicial mediator, one that sought to resolve disputes and soften the impact of colonialism on the indigenous and racially mixed populations, with an eye toward fostering equity and the common good among local communities and, in the process, maximize the revenues that come from stable commercial relationships. Moreover, Tutino mined the archives in Mexico City and the libraries at the University of Texas–Austin, and Washington State University, Pullman, to uncover a wide-range of primary source materials that speak to the commercial, political, social, and religious relationships that shaped, and were shaped by, early-modern capitalism. Those relationships took place in the breadbasket and mining center of New Spain—the Bajío—the most economically active and entrepreneurially savvy region of the colony where Spaniards, Indians, and *castas* created an economic engine that allowed capitalism to roar loudly in North America. The crisis in the larger Atlantic world following Napoleon's rise to power, however, and the way it played out in Mexico, particularly in the Bajío, would unleash a violent movement for independence from Spain that would transform the most capitalist society in the Western Hemisphere into an insecure, inward-looking region devoid of entrepreneurial spirit and handsome profit margins.

Tutino's book is indeed big history at its best. Compelling and provocative, thoughtful and well written, *Making a New World* is required reading for Mexicanists and world historians alike. Authors of world history textbooks will find themselves revising subsequent editions of their texts after reading Tutino's persuasive arguments about the rise of early-modern capitalism and the role played by Spanish North America in its maturation, not to mention

the Catholic dimensions of that process. Graduate students should review the author's footnotes to see how he used certain primary sources to demonstrate a larger conceptual point. Tutino's big history should give us pause to appreciate both the forest and the trees.

University of Arizona MICHAEL M. BRESCIA

Mujeres consagradas en el Buenos Aires colonial. By Alicia Fraschina. [Temas de historia.] (Buenos Aires: Eudeba [Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires]. 2010. Pp. 325. $16.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-502-31750-2.)

In this day and age, when one thinks of Buenos Aires, images of a cosmopolitan city, referred to by some as the Paris of South America, come to mind. Yet, during much of the colonial period, Buenos Aires was considered a dusty town located on the outermost fringe of the Iberian Empire. This reality quickly comes to the fore when one studies the foundation of religious communities in colonial Latin America. Places like Mexico City and Lima had collectively built dozens of convents by the end of the 1600s, whereas Buenos Aires did not have any convents during that time period and established only two in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Alicia Fraschina's *Mujeres consagradas en el Buenos Aires colonial* sheds light on the unique situation of religious women in Buenos Aires during the colonial period. Her work, the outcome of her PhD dissertation from the University of Buenos Aires (2007), is based on years of meticulous archival research. The book offers information on the only two convents established in Buenos Aires during the late 1700s, and it also provides a comprehensive overview of *beaterios* (houses for religious laywomen) and *beatas* (religious laywomen) in the capital of Argentina. In particular, Fraschina hones in on the fascinating case of María Antonia de San José, a *beata* who considered herself a Jesuit and became one of the Jesuits' biggest advocates after their expulsion from the Spanish Empire in 1767.

In addition to an introduction and conclusion, Fraschina has divided her book into nine chapters. Chapter 1 examines the first *beatas* in the city, and chapter 2 addresses the foundation of the only two convents: one for calced Domincans and the other for strict discalced Capuchins. Chapters 3 through 6 explore life within these convents, touching on a variety of topics such as the novitiate, daily routines, hierarchical structures, education, medical care, religious festivals, and death within the cloister. Each of the three chapters begins with an impressive historical overview of these topics in Europe and the rest of Latin America and then relates each one back to the two convents in Buenos Aires.

Chapters 7 through 9 shed light on Spain's Bourbon reforms of the late 1700s and their effects on religious women in Buenos Aires. The last chapters

contextualize the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World and analyze the life and letters of the Jesuit *beata* María Antonia de San José. Most notably, she founded a *beaterio* in Buenos Aires and a *Casa de Ejercicios*, a type of ten-day religious retreat for both men and women to follow Saint Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises.

Mujeres consagradas en el Buenos Aires colonial will appeal to two subgroups of scholars. The first will be anyone interested in women religious during the colonial period, and the second will be those who study the expulsion of the Jesuits, especially from the Southern cone. The only small issue is that it does not include an appendix transcribing some of the actual works written by these women, specifically the letters penned by the *beata* María Antonia. There are, however, three useful appendices outlining the prominent citizens who supported the religious communities and the nuns and family members associated with the two convents. The bibliography is very comprehensive and will not disappoint scholars interested in the unique situation of religious women of colonial Buenos Aires.

College of Charleston SARAH E. OWENS

The Rise of Charismatic Catholicism in Latin America. By Edward L. Cleary. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2011. Pp. xiv, 309. $74.95. ISBN 978-0-813-03608-3.)

This book offers a clear and straightforward assessment of a not very well understood phenomenon: the rise of the Catholic charismatic movement in Latin America since the 1970s. This book shows that charismatic Catholicism has its own unique history and origins, partly as a competitive alternative in the religious marketplace of the late-twentieth century, and partly spurred by lay activism in the Church and vigorous community involvement in the movement itself as well as by exceptional individual leaders such as Father Marcelo Rossi in Brazil. As Edward L. Cleary points out in the introduction, "[t]o the surprise of many observers, the fastest growing movement in the Catholic Church in Latin America is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR)" (p. 1).

Cleary's analysis and account are largely from sociological and political-science perspectives. He draws in this book on several decades of research as one of the major practitioners of religious studies of Latin America as well as his own personal contact and interviews with members and leaders of the CCR. The result is a well-documented, broad survey of a movement with more than 70 million members in Latin America. He shows that Charismatic Catholicism has some general broad defining characteristics: an emphasis on community action, personal spiritual awakening, prayer groups, a dedication to a religious life beyond the simple Mass, Bible study, and spiritual baptism beyond sacramental baptism. In his view, the CCR has been instrumental in

revitalizing the Catholic Church in Latin America, which he viewed as insufficiently instructed in basic tenets of the Catholic faith.

Cleary sees the growth of the CCR as largely the result of rational choice, a response to the spectacular growth of the Pentecostal Protestant movement in Latin America. Given the success in bringing former Catholics into the Protestant Pentecostal fold, the CCR had to compete in the open marketplace of ideas for Catholics to remain Catholic and to participate in a revitalized Church, open to lay participation.

Following the introduction come individual chapters on countries where the CCR has been especially successful: Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico. There are other chapters as well on the Caribbean, Central America, and Guatemala. Time and again, Cleary sees the emergence of the CCR in these individual countries as a successful response to the growing competition from various Protestant movements. For example, in the case of Brazil "[c]ompetition with non-Catholic religious groups, particularly the Pentecostals, seemed more like war than brotherly rivalries. But this competition has generated a vibrancy that is exceptional" (p. 130). Although the CCR does not place as heavy an emphasis on speaking in tongues as does the Pentecostal movement, it falls squarely in the tradition of charismatic religion, spirited preaching, vigorous and enthusiastic worship, and a heavy reliance on music in ritual—in the case of Brazil one of the CCR's leading figures, Rossi, also became a pop music star. Cleary also sees the CCR as explicitly global. Charismatics have adapted various "outside influences" resulting in "local adaptations" (p. 131). In a case like Mexico, it became one of the major "exporters" of the CCR to the United States.

The book on the whole offers a broad, comprehensive treatment of the rise, personalities, and traits of the CCR. Some questions are left unresolved. For example, in the introduction, Cleary points out that CCR has generally been viewed as a conservative response to liberation theology, but asks the reader to consider whether his analysis offers a dichotomy between liberation theology liberalism and CCR conservatism. However, the reader is left puzzled as to the answer provided by the book. Theology tends to take a back seat to largely structural issues. For example, Cleary shows that the CCR, like Pentecostalism, focuses on a kind of spiritual baptism apart from any formal infant sacramental baptism. Isn't this what the Catholic Church long considered Anabaptism and therefore a heretical rejection of the sacrament of baptism?

In any case, this book is an excellent primer on a largely misunderstood phenomenon in Latin American religion. It will have broad appeal for students of Latin America and religious sociology.

University of Miami MARTIN NESVIG

African

Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt. By Febe Armanios. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 254. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-74484-8.)

This book explores the religious beliefs as identifying parameters of the Coptic Christian community in Ottoman Egypt (1516–1798), mostly through using unexploited church archives. It is a new research field, since the history of the Copts during this intermediary period—although a pivotal one in the shaping of modern Egypt—has scarcely been studied. In the decades following the Ottoman conquest, a sense of misfortune triggered an outpouring of religious piety among all Egyptians, Muslims as well as Christians. The author tries to examine how the Copts coped with this trend, exploring the ways in which they used religion to define their identity.

Due to the fragmentary nature of sources, the book can only be a string of "snapshots" of Coptic religious life under Ottoman rule. The first chapter provides a general look on how the conquest affected the management of the community, and mainly how the lay elite (the *archons*), as a result of their links with the new rulers and of their growing wealth, supplanted the clerical leadership, even the previously almost absolute authority of the Patriarch. The second chapter investigates the popularity of the martyr Salib (d. 1512), who perished for publicly defaming the Prophet of Islam. Significantly, the martyrdom—a text of dynamic "communal remembrance" from the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods—carefully avoids anti-Islamic controversy. The popularity of a more ancient martyr is scrutinized in the third chapter: St. Dimyana, whose cult as a beneficent miracle-worker was centered on springtime festivities in the Nile Delta and reveals complex conceptions of the female ascetic ideal. Chapter 4 focuses on the modalities of the annual Coptic pilgrimage from Cairo to Jerusalem through the lens of eighteenth-century sources. This devout practice was connected to an antique Christian tradition but also exposed commonalities with the annual Moslem pilgrimage to Mecca. It emphasized how lay and clerical elites collaborated to ensure a Coptic presence in the Holy City. The last and fifth chapter analyzes some sermons produced by Coptic higher clergymen (especially Patriarch Yu'annis XVIII [1769–96] and Bishop Yusab [r. 1791–1826]), who were reacting against the aggressions of the "heretical" Catholic missionary enterprises. The Coptic hierarchy responded by scorning all the heterodox practices, which were proliferating as a consequence of intermarriage, socialization, or outright conversion.

Throughout the book, Febe Armanios shows how popular religion was the glue that held Coptic believers together. She challenges some scholars such as Bernard Heyberger and Molly Greene who tend to view religion as a minor marker of identity among Ottoman dhimmis and the Christians as essentially sharing the religious mentality of their Muslim neighbors. On the contrary,

says the author, religion served as a conduit for articulating those irreducible characteristics that shaped the distinct identity of the Copts. Thus, her work improves our understanding of the Ottoman period. However, a greater acknowledgment would have been welcome of the pacific coexistence between the different religious communities and its effect on Egyptian society, at a time when conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in Europe caused hundreds of thousands of deaths. Very interestingly, Armanios also demonstrates that the resurgence of the patriarch's authority in the second part of the nineteenth century and the resultant opposition of the lay elite reflected well-established trends from the eighteenth century. In this way, the author's remarkable study contributes to clarify the complexity of Muslim-Christian relations and of the internal dynamics of the Coptic community not only in the Ottoman period but also in contemporary Egypt.

Faculty of Theology CHRISTIAN CANNUYER
Catholic University of Lille

Domesticating a Religious Import: The Jesuits and the Inculturation of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, 1879–1980. By Nicholas M. Creary. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 339. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-823-23334-2.)

Nicholas Creary's book on the Jesuit mission during Zimbabwe's colonial period addresses an ecclesiastical audience as much as an audience of historians. An Africanist historian with a background of two years as a Jesuit novice, Creary writes with a strong belief in the potential of the Church to become inculturated—that is, adapted to the particularities of local cultures. The term *inculturation* was popularized by Pedro Arrupe, the superior general of the Jesuit Order from 1965 to 1983. Drawing upon Arrupe's language, Creary writes with the conviction that "catholicity . . . allows for local cultures to influence the church universal by taking elements of broader Christian culture and incorporating them into their respective cultural contexts, while simultaneously offering their respective symbols to enrich the Christian context" (pp. 248–49).

While documenting the popularity of Catholicism among the VaShona people of Zimbabwe, Creary writes with disappointment about the attitudes of Jesuit leaders, who tended to be suspicious of grassroots religious innovations. Such innovations included the incorporation of marriage payments into church practices; the adaptation of ancestral veneration into Catholic ritual; and the use of Mwari, a deity with shrines throughout the region, as a legitimate name for God within Catholic liturgy. For Jesuits, problems of inculturation were crucially shaped by canon lawmaking. The book concentrates on debates among the Jesuit leadership of Chishawasha Mission, the oldest Catholic mission in Zimbabwe, about the legitimacy of religious innovations under terms of canon law. In addition, Creary incorporates perspectives of

members of the lay Catholic Association as well as of Mariannhill missionaries who established convents for women during the 1920s, a time when the colonial government was making efforts to uphold local patriarchal authority.

Creary's intent to study "the efforts of African Christians to shed the European influences of an imported Christianity and transform it into an African religious experience" (p. 17) is carried out most effectively in a chapter concerning controversies over *kurova guva*, rites of honoring ancestors. These rites were banned for Catholic adherents in the 1890s by Jesuit missionaries, whose collective memory had been shaped by controversies during the eighteenth century between Jesuits and Dominicans over comparable Chinese rituals. Creary documents ongoing debates among Zimbabwean Catholics over the value and significance of ancestral veneration. In the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council, African Catholic priests argued that *kurova guva* fulfills the commandment to honor one's father and mother, and received permission from Rome to incorporate the rite into liturgy under the term *kuchenura munhu* (to purify the person). Yet in 2007, the Southern African Catholics Bishops' Conference issued statements opposing the rite on grounds that it is performed out of fear of ancestral curses. Creary disputes this latter position, arguing that it overlooks commonalities between *kuchenura munhu* and prayers to saints, and represents a step backward from inculturation. Local ambivalence about ancestral demands is clearly a significant component of popular Catholicism in Zimbabwe; yet the implications of this issue are obscured by the text's emphasis on the degree to which the Church has been inculturated.

Owing to the atmosphere of fear associated with political violence in Zimbabwe since 2000, Creary was unable to conduct oral interviews that might have enriched descriptions of popular religious practices such as pilgrimages to the shrine of Bernard Mizeki, an Anglican martyr revered by Zimbabwean Christians of many denominations. In addition, the focus on inculturation glosses over Catholic responses to colonial and postcolonial violence. What this book has to offer instead is a detailed account of how the Jesuits' own commitments to defining church law shaped their assessments of the cultural practices of their parishioners.

Northern Kentucky University FREDERICK KLAITS

Far Eastern

Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J. Translated by Michael J. Sweet. Edited by Leonard Zwilling. (Boston: Wisdom Publications. 2010. Pp. xxvi, 795. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-861-71676-0.)

Among the small number of Westerners who visited Tibet in the eighteenth century and before, most fascinating was Ippolito Desideri (1684–

1733). This Italian Jesuit lived in Lhasa for about five years and was, by all accounts, the first Westerner to learn Tibetan and understand deeply Tibetan culture and religion. His *Historical Notices of Tibet*, which he wrote and rewrote (in Italian) but never published in his lifetime, is a full account of his experiences, including his slow and arduous journey to India, Nepal, and finally Tibet; his years in those places; as well as his journey home after prematurely leaving Lhasa due to internal missionary disputes. It is a mix of travelogue, history, cultural anthropology, and political analysis; a monument of missionary scholarship; and an early contribution to the study of religions. As such, this new edition and translation will interest a wide range of scholars.

The long book III, "Of the Unique Religion Observed in Tibet," well illustrates Desideri's approach to scholarship. In it, Desideri seeks after the origins of the Tibetan religion and also the mechanisms of power and tradition by which it took root among Tibetans and continued to flourish among them. Throughout, he is the model scholar, committed to accuracy regarding the people to whom he has been sent. He was attentive and subtle; for Desideri, religion was a complex reality, inextricably intertwined with social and political realities, and possessed of a long and complicated history. Explaining a religion, Desideri knew, is more than spinning tales and wished-for scenarios, and requires arduous research. He rejects the widespread but fanciful theories about Tibet and the newly discovered Buddhism, and stayed as close as possible to the facts as he could discover them. Toward the end of part 3, he confesses his own errors in earlier letters he had written and likewise criticizes European scholars—including Athanasius Kircher, S.J. (1601–80), author of the famed *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667)—for wholesale fabrications or, more charitably, for gullibly accepting convenient and entertaining rumors about the East. At the end of the entire treatise, Desideri devotes three important chapters to his plea for "the learning required by missionaries to the Indies" (p. 555).

Yet Desideri, ever the missionary, does not approve of the religion he is studying so carefully, for he judges it to be full of errors—notably two. First, he describes at length the Tibetan view of metempsychosis (rebirth), including the role of good and bad actions, and the facts of the heavens and hells to which the dead temporarily progress before returning to earth. He insists that the Tibetans really believe in rebirth, even as he finds it to be an incredible position to hold. Second, he describes Tibetan atheism and stoutly insists that the Tibetans do not believe in a creator. Nor are they polytheists who merely have a confused idea of God, failing to see the one in the many. Even the saints (konchoks) Tibetans venerate are not true deities but only revered ancestors, kings, and teachers. So, too, their rites, although busy with invocations of various beings, do not support the view that the invoked beings are gods in the Western sense. At best one can find, Desideri suggests, obscure and scattered hints at the mystery of the Trinity.

Desideri is among the foremost of those missionaries insisting on the need for accurate and deep knowledge of the newly discovered religions and cultures. In the Jesuit context, his great work can be compared only to works such as the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590) of José Acosta and the *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains Comparées aux Mœurs Des Premiers Temps* (Paris, 1724) of Joseph François Lafitau. On another level, the *History* is valuable, too, for its intimate insights into a man who combined a hard-won objectivity with a seemingly unalterable faith conviction.

Michael J. Sweet and Leonard Zwilling should be commended for their splendid presentation of the text, their edition and translation, their abundant notes, and their outstanding introduction to Desideri and his book.

Harvard University FRANCIS X. CLOONEY, S.J.

Church Militant: Bishop Kung and Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai. By Paul P. Mariani. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 282. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-06153-8.)

This book is the gripping blow-by-blow narrative of the tragic six-year conflict between the Chinese Communist Party and the Shanghai Roman Catholic community in the 1950s. Mariani has skillfully portrayed the militancy of Shanghai Catholics who—together with their bishop, Ignatius Kung (Gong) Pinmei—preferred martyrdom and long prison sentences to co-option into renouncing their allegiance to the pope and the universal Church.

After a detailed introduction retracing the deep roots of the Catholic presence in Shanghai, the author takes us through the successive phases of the conflict. Chapter 1, "The Lines Are Drawn," retraces the mounting tension between the two sides soon after the entrance of the People's Liberation Army in Shanghai in May 1949. Chapter 2, "Targeted Attacks," discusses how in June 1951, the Communist Party began to strike against three main targets: Archbishop Anthony Riberi, the pope's representative and a staunch opponent of any organization aimed at separating Catholics from the Vatican; the Catholic Central Bureau, the central coordinating and publishing arm of the Church; and the Legion of Mary, the lay movement disseminating the bureau's publications and encouraging Catholics to remain faithful to the pope. The chapter describes the constant pressures put on legionaries by the Communists to resign and denounce the legion as a secret counter-revolutionary organization. It ends with the 1951 Chinese takeover of Catholic schools, especially Aurora University, and the failure of the Communist Party to turn many students against the Church and their former professors.

Chapter 3, "Arrests and Expulsions," reveals the Communist Party's early attempts and failures to create divisions between the foreign and Chinese clergy as well as among the Chinese clergy. From the night of June 15, 1952, onward, the government therefore resorted to systematic arrests and incarcer-

ations of leading clergymen and sisters, especially those most influential with the Catholic youth. By July 1954, most foreign clergy and sisters had been expelled, and their Chinese counterparts had been placed under house arrest or in prison for refusing to confess they had been working with "imperialists."

Chapter 4, "Assault," narrates the massive roundup of September 8 and 9, 1955, when Kung; several dozen priests, sisters, and seminarians; and at least 300 leading Chinese Catholics were arrested. Denunciations and indoctrination sessions lasted for months and even years. The chapter also reveals how some of those arrested in 1952 as well as during this latest assault cracked under pressure. Mariani describes in particular the case of Monsignor Fernand Lacretelle, whose confession after some 550 hours of interrogation between June 1953 and July 1954 accused the bishop of being an imperialist and implicated several priests by name. He writes also, but without details, about the confession made by Jin Luxian, the present government-recognized bishop of Shanghai.

Chapter 5, "Final Operations," relates the March 1960 trial of Kung and thirteen Chinese priests who were found guilty of high treason. Their sentence ranged from life in prison for Kung to five years for two of the co-defendants who were said to have "showed some repentance" (p. 195).

The book ends with a twenty-seven-page epilogue on the Catholic Church in China since the Cultural Revolution. This last section should be read with caution because the author's handling of sources and description of the Church's developments during the past fifty-five years is somewhat questionable. Mariani excels in portraying Kung and many priests and Catholic laypersons of the so-called "underground church" as heroic faith witnesses and therefore great figures of the Chinese church. Yet when he describes the other half of that divided church, there seems to be a definitive mistrust for those so-called "official" or "patriotic" people. Moreover, as this reviewer knows Jin personally and has had long conversations with him, it appears that some of the bishop's quotes are not put in their proper context.

This caveat apart, this book, based on recently declassified Chinese sources, is a must to understand the deep faith of Shanghai Catholics, their perseverance, and their steadfastness in the midst of terrible ordeals.

Beijing Center for Chinese Studies JEAN-PAUL WIEST

BRIEF NOTICES

Duffy, Eamon. *Ten Popes Who Shook the World*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. 151. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17688-9)

This short, illustrated volume of captivating essays began as a series of BBC radio programs in 2007. Eamon Duffy starts by declaring, "The papacy is an institution that matters, whether or not one is a religious believer" (p. 9), and moves easily from Walter Ullmann's determinism—even as Duffy tells a more decentralized, messy tale—to Thomas Hobbes's dismissal of the papacy as "not other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned on the grave thereof" (p. 17). There follows quite a pleasant read with all sorts of jewels—very few church historians could get away with calling Roman polytheism's acceptance of other faiths "a sort of symbolic scalp-collecting" (p. 35) or the Holy Roman Emperor "God's policeman" (p. 62) without losing perspective and *gravitas*. Why these ten and not others? Duffy states that he did not try to choose the "ten 'best' nor even the ten most influential. . . . [E]ach of the men discussed here encapsulates one important aspect of the world's most ancient and durable religious institution" (p. 24). Much of his accessibility and appeal lies in the ability to take what can be an insider's history and place each pope on a broader canvas, rendering compelling even familiar stories. The first six essays (on Peter, Leo I, Gregory I, Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Paul III) function in this way as episodes in a Western civilization survey course. Some might then find it abrupt to jump between Paul III, the surprising sixteenth-century reformer, to four popes of the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries: Pio Nono, Pius XII, John XXIII, and John Paul II. Duffy captures well John Paul II's essential paradoxes, which in a sense define the church's intramural struggles and efforts to remain a witness to the world today. CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO (*Kean University*)

Frazee, Charles. *Christian Churches of the Eastern Mediterranean*. (Placentia, CA: The Author. 2010. Pp. xi, 371. $18.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-456-32954-9.)

Over the years there have been many attempts to group and classify the many and varied Eastern churches to facilitate a grasp of the wider picture. In the past the most common method was to classify these churches according to their liturgical rites. More recently, it has become common to group them according to the four communions to which these churches belong.

Charles Frazee, professor emeritus of history at California State University, Fullerton, has opted for a geographical approach and produced a book about the churches of the eastern Mediterranean. The bulk of the book covers the history of the four ancient eastern patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem and the various divisions that grew up

within them. But he also includes chapters on the Assyrian Church of the East and the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Frazee has published extensively on the churches in this region, especially on Orthodoxy in Greece, and writes with confidence and accuracy. In view of this background, it is surprising, however, that he provides so little information on contemporary developments in the Orthodox Church of Greece. He also has a tendency to apply the term *autocephalous* in an undifferentiated way to Eastern churches throughout their history when in fact the term has had a variety of meanings over the centuries. And he does not seem to have a clear understanding of the nature and authority of the so-called "Balamand Document" produced by the Catholic-Orthodox international dialogue on the question of uniatism in 1993.

Nevertheless, Frazee has produced a very useful overview of the churches in this region, bringing together an enormous amount of research into a coherent and highly readable narrative. It will serve as a valuable introduction to the churches of the lands where Christianity originated and where its future prospects are often perilous at best. RONALD G. ROBERSON, C.S.P. (*Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops)*

Tanner, Marie. *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of St. Peter's in the Renaissance.* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers. 2010. Pp. 288. $174.00. ISBN 978-1-905-37549-3.)

Marie Tanner seeks the intellectual roots of the building of the new St. Peter's in the cultural history of the Renaissance in this richly illustrated volume. Italian architects and men of letters sought a historically regional inspiration in the Etruscan heritage, but they cross referenced their study of ancient remains with images of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. One conduit for humanistic ideas about Etruscan architecture was the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome, which was confused by scholars with the nearby Temple of Peace. Humanists also studied remains of other Roman buildings, especially the Pantheon, baths, and mausoleums. The architects' frequent emphasis on central plans (Greek crosses and circular structures, often with domes), also tied these architectural studies to the Holy Sepulcher site in Jerusalem. They annexed the triumph of Titus, depicted in his triumphal arch on the edge of the Roman Forum, to Christianity, seeing the Roman ruler as an avenger of Christ's Passion. These learned influences can be found in the early designs for the new St. Peter's, although a more conservative approach dominated much later, providing the church with a longer nave. The result was not a Greek cross but a more traditional Latin cross, now hidden behind Gian Lorenzo Bernini's colonnade.

Tanner ties the efforts of Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) and his architect, Donato Bramante, to an earlier generation of humanistic architectural efforts,

that of Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55). Nicholas employed the humanist Leon Battista Alberti, one of the scholars most interested in Etruscan influences and Roman remains; and he started important works at the Vatican, including a new choir for old St. Peter's. The pontiff apparently saw Rome as his own new Jerusalem. Tanner looks at the designs of churches attributed to Alberti and drawings by Bramante and others not usually available to the interested reader. Many of these sites were in cities tied to Pope Nicholas's Italic League, intended to bring peace to Italy and act against external foes like the French and the Ottoman Turks.

The reader should be aware of certain aspects of Tanner's book. The argument is not always presented in a linear fashion, with important topics raised late in the volume or repeated. Beginning with the discussions of Pope Nicholas's plans might be advisable, since Pope Julius and Bramante may have been drawing inspiration from earlier ideas for the Vatican site. Alberti's influence in Rome is not always accepted by everyone, and it has been inferred where documents are vague or lacking. The humanist's attitude toward Nicholas is itself a topic of debate, especially since his *Momus* reads like a critique of papal ambitions. It is apparent, however, that Alberti looked for Etruscan remains and drew inspiration from them. Other scholars, such as Gianozzo Manetti, had different scholarly interests that focused on Jerusalem or Rome. These interests came together in pontificates half of a century apart, leading in the second period to the drafting of ambitious designs for St. Peter's, some of them executed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
THOMAS M. IZBICKI (*Rutgers University*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Conferences and Celebrations

The millennium of the founding of the Holy Hermitage of Camaldoli was celebrated at the monastery on June 19.

An international conference on "Egidio da Viterbo, cardinale agostiniano, tra Roma e l'Europa del Rinascimento" will be held in Viterbo on September 22–23, 2012, and in Rome on September 26–28. The following American scholars will present papers: Daniel Nodes (Baylor University) on "Il dono dello Spirito santo e l'Amore divino: l'encomio letterario di Egidio a conclusione del suo 'Commentarium'"; John Monfasani (University at Albany, SUNY) on "Giles of Viterbo and the Errors of Aristotle"; Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America) on "Egidio Antonini da Viterbo, the Reform of the Religious Orders, and Lateran V"; Ingrid D. Rowland (University of Notre Dame) on "Egidio da Viterbo, il Neoplatonismo e Giordano Bruno"; Brian P. Copenhaver (University of California at Los Angeles) on "Piety and Pornorthography in Papal Rome: Egidio's Book on the Hebrew Letters"; and Meredith J. Gill (University of Maryland–College Park) on "Egidio da Viterbo, his Augustine, and the Reformation of the Arts." Further information may be obtained from the *Segreteria* of the conference at rremail@fastwebnet.it.

The four-day symposium "Reform and Renewal: Vatican II after Fifty Years" will be held at The Catholic University of America on September 26–29, 2012. Cardinal William Levada, prefect emeritus of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, will deliver the keynote address on the first evening. There will be lectures and workshops on the principal pronouncements of the Council. The preliminary program and general information may be obtained at http://trs.cua.edu/vaticanII.

The Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences, in collaboration with the Centro Studi e Ricerche "Concilio Vaticano II" of the Pontifical Lateran University, will present an international conference on the Second Vatican Council that pertains to the archives of the Council Fathers; it will be held in Vatican City on October 3–5, 2012. Representatives of more than twenty countries, regions, and organizations will report on their respective documentary holdings; Tricia T. Pyne (Associated Archives of St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore) and Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J. (University of Virginia), will present a survey of papers in the United States.

Causes of Saints

Cardinal Timothy Dolan, archbishop of New York, announced on Easter Sunday, April 8, that Pope Benedict XVI, following the unanimous recommendation of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints in a decree on March 7, had approved the conferral of the title "Venerable" on Father Félix Varela y Morales, whose "heroic virtues" had been recognized in the decree. The postulator of the cause is Brother Roberto Meoli, F.S.C. Venerable Varela was born in Havana on November 20, 1788, and was ordained a priest at age twenty-three. A year later he was appointed professor of philosophy, physics, and ethics in the seminary of the capital. He had already distinguished himself, as noted by the Archdiocese of Miami, as "a man of culture and profound learning" and had written a textbook on philosophy. He instituted the first physics and chemistry laboratory in Cuba. In 1821 he was elected a representative (*diputado*) of Cuba in the Spanish Cortes at Madrid. Among the laws he proposed were one to abolish slavery and another to grant self-rule to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. After the restoration of royal absolutism he had to leave Spain, and, unable to return to Cuba, he went into exile in 1823 and then worked for thirty years in the Diocese (later Archdiocese) of New York, where he became vicar general and patron of the Irish immigrants. He died on February 25, 1853, in St. Augustine, Florida. His remains were later moved to the Aula Magna of the University of Havana, where they remain today. In 1981 the government of Cuba created the *Orden Félix Varela* as the greatest distinction of the country.

The causes of Mother Riccarda Beauchamp Hambrough (1887–1966) and Sister Katherine Flanagan (1892–1941), both Bridgettines, have been submitted by the Archdiocese of Westminster to the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Mother Riccarda was the mother general of the Bridgettine Order in Rome during World War II and saved the lives of at least sixty Jews by hiding them in the motherhouse. Sister Katherine labored at opening Bridgettine convents; she was the first prioress of new convents in Iver Heath, Buckinghamshire, in Lugano, Switzerland, and in Vadstena, Sweden.

Publications

The international symposium "*Varia et immensa mutatio* 1310: Percorsi nei cantieri architettonici e pittorici della Basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padova" was held in that city on May 20, 2010. The proceedings have now been published in fascicle 2–3 of volume LI (2011) of *Il Santo* (pp. 307–536). Each article in Italian is followed by a summary in English. There are forty-one color plates in appendix 1 and thirty-seven in appendix 2.

"Priests in the Catholic Community" is the theme of the fall 2011 issue (vol. 29) of the *U.S. Catholic Historian*. It is articulated in four articles: "'To Work in the Field of the Lord': Roots of the Crisis in Priestly Identity," by

Leslie Woodcock Tentler (pp. 1–18); "Research on Catholic Priests in the United States since the Council: Modeling the Dialogue between Theology and Social Science," by Bryan T. Froehle (pp. 19–46); "Bishop P. Francis Murphy Proposes the Ordination of Women Priests," by Christopher J. Kauffman (pp. 47–66); and "The Other Ministerial Priesthood: The Prophetic Ministries of Religious Clergy," by Paul J. Philibert, O.P. (pp. 67–86).

The Australian Catholic Record presents "Models of Christian Living" in its issue for October 2011 (vol. 88, no. 4): Anne Hunt, "Immortal Diamonds: The Lives of the Saints as Locus Theologicus" (pp. 387–400); Moira O'Sullivan, "Mary Aikenhead: Inspiration for Now, a Woman for All Seasons" (pp. 401–11); Christine E. Burke, "Mary Ward (1585–1645): 'Half women are not for these times'" (pp. 412–21); Pauline Smoothy, "Mother Mary Vincent Whitty: Woman of Mercy" (pp. 422–32); Stephen Utick, "Charles O'Neill, the Engineer of Charity" (pp. 433–46); and Clara Geoghegan, "Caroline Chisholm—A Prophetic Voice in Church and Society" (pp. 447–61).

For the 200th (and 201st) number (vol. LVII, May–December 2011) of *Itinerarium*, the periodical of the Portuguese Province of the Franciscan Order, the editors have published several articles under the heading "Os Franciscanos e a República," as follows: "A controvérsia modernista entre Franciscanos e Jesuítas nas vésperas da revolução republicana," by José Eduardo Franco (pp. 209–21); "Os Franciscanos de Varatojo e Montariol em torno da *Voz de Santo Antonio*," by Álvaro Cruz da Silva, O.F.M. (pp. 223–45); "A «Voz de Santo Antonio». Génese e extinção," by Manuel Pereira Gonçalves, O.F.M. (pp. 247–61); "A República, fonte de alívio para a familia franciscana? O valor do salvo conduto. *Elementos de enquadramento de questões de imprensa e pregação em Montariol*," by Antonio de Sousa Araújo, O.F.M. (pp. 263–72); and "Os Franciscanos e a República em Portugal—Testemunhos," by Henrique Pinto Rema, O.F.M. (pp. 373–542), which is followed by a "Suplemento documental" (pp. 543–602).

Personal Notices

Cardinal Raffaele Farina, S.D.B., has retired from the office of archivist and librarian of the Holy Roman Church, having reached the age limit. He has been succeeded by Archbishop Jean-Louis Brugues, O.P., formerly secretary of the Congregation for Catholic Education.

Agostino Borromeo (University of Rome "La Sapienza"), David D'Avray (University College London), and Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America) have been reappointed to the Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences for another five-year term. For the first time "correspondents" of the committee have been appointed; among the twelve whose names were announced at the plenary meeting in May are the following four Americans: Paul F. Grendler (emeritus, University of Toronto, and Chapel Hill, NC); John W. O'Malley, S.J. (Georgetown University); Kenneth Pennington (The Catholic

University of America); and Tricia T. Pyne (Associated Archives of St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore).

Amanda Bresie, a doctoral student in Texas Christian University, has been appointed editor of *Texas Catholic Historian*, the newsletter of the Texas Catholic Historical Society.

Alan J. Watt, a minister in the Southwestern Texas Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, was presented with the 2012 Foik Award of the Texas Catholic Historical Society at its annual meeting on March 2 in Houston for his book *Farm Workers and the Churches: The Movement in California and Texas,* which was published by Texas A&M University Press in 2010.

Jared Wicks, S.J., has been appointed senior priest and scholar in residence in the Pontifical College Josephinum in Columbus, Ohio. Besides interacting with the professors and students of theology, Father Wicks will continue the study, writing, and ecumenical work in which he has been engaged since he retired from the Pontifical Gregorian University.

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