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Abbreviations:
b.n.: brief notice
biog.: biography
men.: mentioned
obit.: obituary
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LANFRANC OF BEC'S VERSION OF DECRETALS IN A CANONISTIC CONTEXT

BY

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During the eleventh century canon law collections, generated for different purposes but including the same texts, were used in the reform of the Church. The author presents a comparative study of important texts in collections such as the Collectio Lanfranci, an abridged version of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals used in the reform of the English Church. A close study of the manuscripts provides insight into Lanfranc of Bec's legal thinking and his position as ruler.

Keywords: canonical collections; Collectio Lanfranci; Lanfranc of Bec; Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals

Recent research has emphasized both the extreme importance of canon law during the eleventh century and the complexity of its dissemination. During this period the increasing interest in canon law resulted not only in the creation of new collections but also the wider dissemination of earlier ones.

Among the old collections that were copied in this period, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals have a preeminent place. One of the condensed versions of these decretals, made in the second half of the

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eleventh century and widely disseminated in England during the first thirty years of the twelfth century, is the *Collectio Lanfranci*. The *Collectio* is divided into two parts. The first contains decretals, most of them condensed and corresponding to parts 1 and 3 of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. The second reproduces the councils, mostly in full, but the Greek councils (except Ephesus) are taken from the *Dionysio-Hadriana,* probably via an ancient version related not only to Pseudo-Isidore but also to the *Hispana Gallica* and the *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*.[1]

Two propositions advanced by Zachary Brooke remain unchallenged. First, the process of reform of the Church in England resembled what occurred in the rest of Europe, although it was based on the False Decretals.[2] Second, this was possible because the abridgement of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals made or used by Lanfranc does not omit anything substantial and because the latter provided much of the material used by the collections of the so-called Gregorian Reform or Revolution.[3]

[1]See a complete study in Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, *La "Collectio Lanfranci." Origine e influenza di una collezione della Chiesa Anglo-Normanna* (Milan, 2008). See also Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, "The Greek Councils of the *Collectio Lanfranci," Proceedings of the XIII*[th] *International Congress of Medieval Canon Law,* in press.

[2]"But still it is a fact of the greatest importance that, in the process of reorganising the Church in England and of reviving in it the study of ecclesiastical law, the book that he [Lanfranc] had to his hand for the purpose was a copy of the famous False Decretals, which were deliberately designed to exalt papal authority to the utmost and were the chief source of the new canonical collections on the Continent." Zachary N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, UK, 1931; repr. Cambridge, UK, 1989). See also Mark Philpott, "Lanfranc's Canonical Collection and the *Law of the Church,*" in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI, nel IX centenario della morte (1089–1989)*, ed. Giulio D'Onofrio (Rome, 1993), pp. 131–47. For a general account on the English Church in this period, see Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154. A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London, 1979). For Lanfranc, see also Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978).

[3]"This abridgment, however, so far as I have been able to judge from my study of the manuscript, does not alter in the least the character of the collection. The object of the person who made the abridgment seems to have been to leave out what was otiose or of little importance, so as to retain in a smaller compass the real pith of the collection, all the more important papal decisions." Brooke, *English Church*, p. 61. On the importance of Pseudo-Isidore for the Gregorian Reform, see John Gilchrist, "Gregory VII and the Juristic Sources of His Ideology," *Studia Gratiana,* 12 (1972), 3–37. Regarding the meaning of the term *revolution* as applied to this period, see Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 18–23.

Subsequent research has produced further evidence for the significance of this collection for the English Church after the Norman Conquest, especially in Lanfranc's use of it in government matters. This use is reflected in conciliar records, Lanfranc's letters, the account of the process against Bishop William of Durham, and the marginal notes in what is believed to be Lanfranc's manuscript of the *Collectio*.[4] In addition, there is more support for the view that Lanfranc undertook the work of abridgement himself, probably during his time as prior of Bec.[5] These materials make it easier to approach the question of Lanfranc's conception of canon law in his role as archbishop.

It seems a surprising assertion that a reform based almost exclusively on Pseudo-Isidore had results similar to others that were based on canonical collections that differed from Pseudo-Isidore. The difficulties of the Gregorian reformers with some aspects of Pseudo-Isidore are well known,[6] as are those they had with Burchard's *Decretum*.[7]

Nevertheless, it is true that Burchard and subsequent reformers (including Ivo of Chartres) drew heavily on Pseudo-Isidorian material. It served as a principal source for the *auctoritates* of the first millennium, although each reformer adapted this material according to his

[4]A study of the texts quoted from the *Collectio Lanfranci* in some English Councils can be seen in Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Archbishop Lanfranc, the English Bishops, and the Council of London of 1075," *Studia Gratiana,* 12 (1967), 40–59; on the quotations in his letters, see Lanfranc, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979). On the trial of William of Durham, see Mark Philpott, "The «De iniusta uexacione Willelmi episcopi primi» and Canon Law in Anglo-Norman Durham," in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason (Woodbridge, UK, 1994), pp. 125–37 and Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, "The Enigma of Archbishop Lanfranc," *Haskins Society Journal,* 6 (1995), 129–52. On the "a" marks, see Brooke, *English Church*, pp. 68–72 and Michael Gullick, "Lanfranc and the Oldest Manuscript of the *Collectio Lanfranci*," in *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100. Essays in Honour of Martin Brett*, ed. Bruce C. Brasington and Kathleen G. Cushing (Aldershot, UK, 2008), pp. 79–89.

[5]See also as a summary of the bibliography on the *Collectio's* authorship, Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci*, pp. 60–71.

[6]*Cf.* Horst Fuhrmann, "Uber die Reformgeist de 74-Titel-Sammlung," in *Festschrift für Heinrich Hempel zum 70. Geburstag am 9. September 1971* (Göttingen, 1971–72), II:1101–20 and Peter Landau, "Die Anklangemöchlicheit Untergeordneter vom *Dictatus pape* zum Dekret Gratians," in *Ministerium Iustitiae. Festschrift fur Heribert Heinemann zur Volendung des 60. Lebensjahres*, ed. Andre Gabriels and Heinrich J. F. Reinhardt (Essen, 1985), pp. 373–83.

[7]See Detlev Jasper, "Burchards Dekret in der Sicht der Gregorianer," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms 1000–1025,* ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz, 2000), pp. 167–98.

own interests. A comparison of the use of this common stock in Lanfranc's collection with the use by others of the same material may help to shed light on this mystery. A study of Lanfranc's use of his collection may also offer some clues to the substantial harmony between the reform of the Church in England and that on the Continent.

First, it is necessary to discuss the comparative method used in this article. The use of Pseudo-Isidore in the *Collectio Lanfranci* is compared to that in five canonical collections that differ in structure and method of composition. These are the *Decretum* of Burchard, the collections of Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit, the *Collectio Tripartita A*, and the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres. These five—unlike Lanfranc's collection—rework the *auctoritates* to varying degrees. With the exception of the *Tripartita* all are systematic, redistributing their materials by topic. There are several reasons for choosing these rather than others. All five significantly influenced the legal organization of the Church of their time, just as Lanfranc's did in England. Moreover, they have recently been studied in detail.[8] Burchard's *Decretum* was chosen as an episcopal collection and one of the main, immediate sources for most of the collections of the subsequent period. Anselm of Lucca and Deusdedit are taken as strictly Gregorian collections very close in time to the dissemination and use of the *Collectio Lanfranci* in England.[9] The *Tripartita* is known as the main,

[8]On Burchard's *Decretum*, see Harmut Hoffmann and Rudolf Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms: Textstufen—Frühe Verbreitung—Vorlagen*, [MGH, Hilfsmittel, 12], (Munich, 1991) and Greta Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Aldershot, UK, 2009). On the *Collectio Anselmi Luccensis*, see Kathleen G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998); for its textual tradition, see Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum. Selected Canon Law Collections before 1140*, [MGH Hilfsmittel 21], (Hannover, 2005), pp. 139–48, 157–58. On Deusdedit, see especially Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "History and Tradition in Eleventh-Century Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 79 (1993), 185–96 and Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis*, pp. 160–63. On the *Tripartita*, see Martin Brett, prefatory note to the online provisional edition, http://knowledgeforge.net/ivo/tripartita.html (last entry June 9, 2010) and Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis*, pp. 187–90. On Ivo's *Decretum*, and more generally on his work and the collections closely related to him (including the *Tripartita*), see Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge, UK, 2010). A partial list of the surviving manuscripts of each collection along with a bibliography of critical work on the manuscripts until 1999 can be consulted in Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140)* (Washington, DC, 1999).

[9]According to Stickler's classical classification, both collections should be considered as "strictly gregorian." See Alphons M. Stickler, *Historia Iuris Canonici. I. Historia Fontium* (Rome, 1951), pp. 160–74. A solid objection to the term *Gregorian* for this

formal source of Ivo's *Decretum* together with Burchard and, for that reason, is studied here. Finally, Ivo's *Decretum*, although citing Pseudo-Isidore only as it was transmitted through intermediate collections, is the most original and extensive work of a bishop of the generation after Lanfranc, who had probably been Lanfranc's pupil for some years.[10]

Probably the biggest difference between Lanfranc's collection and most of the others is that the latter takes many Pseudo-Isidorian texts from intermediate sources. Lanfranc, in contrast, draws on them directly. This makes any comparison more difficult, but it still seems worthwhile, as the focus here is on the reformers' selection of passages—that is, those they considered important—and their use of them.

A sample of texts has been selected, based on three criteria: (a) they belong to the first part of Pseudo-Isidore, which is the most original part of the Pseudo-Isidore materials and contains most of the forged decretals; (b) they are texts used significantly by the collections studied here and reflect some substantial aspect of canon law; and (c) they are texts that can be substantiated as used by Lanfranc.

Following these criteria, two different parts of the decretals will be examined. First, the diverse reception of the three epistles of Pseudo-Anacletus and the reception of the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius will be discussed.[11] Whereas Pseudo-Anacletus is of great importance as a synthesis of the main contents of Pseudo-Isidore's ideal vision of the Church, the second letter of Pseudo-Eusebius is the only text in the first part of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals quoted by Lanfranc in his letters.

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movement of reform can be found in Ovidio Capitani, "Esiste un' età gregoriana? Considerazioni sulle tendenze di una storiografia medievistica," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa,* I (1965), 454–81. Anselm's collection is dated, in its earliest surviving form, to 1083 and Deusdedit's to 1087.

[10]A summary of the bibliography on the relationship between Lanfranc and Ivo as well as the influence of Lanfranc on Ivo's conception of canon law can be found in Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci*, pp. 110–11 and Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 90–91; the latter is more skeptical about the relationship between Lanfranc and Ivo.

[11]Locating the Pseudo-Anacletus texts in the different collections has been possible thanks to references given by Karl Schon in his provisional edition of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de [last entry May 27, 2010]). For locating the Pseudo-Eusebius texts Fuhrmann's indexes have been used. See Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen,* [MGH, Schriften, 24/3], (Stuttgart, 1974).

As the *Collectio Lanfranci* has not yet been published, citations are provided from Lanfranc's manuscript.[12] For Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, although the references are made to the printed edition of Hinschius, Karl-Georg Schon's more accurate, online provisional version is used.[13] For Burchard, Anselm, and Deusdedit, the printed editions have been used (although Anselm is only partial)[14] and for the *Tripartita* and Ivo's *Decretum*, the draft editions prepared by Brett and Brasington and accessible online.[15] Not all the editions have the same value and faithfully represent collections with a complicated textual history (such as the defective editions in Anselm's and Deusdedit's collections,[16] as well as those in Burchard, whose work had an extraordinary diffusion in the eleventh century in condensed versions). Nevertheless, it would be an exaggerated criticism to deny any value to the information obtained by such an unequal comparison. Until a complete edition of these important collections can be accomplished, such information should be regarded as valid.

[12]Cambridge University, Library of Trinity College B.16.44 (hereafter referred to as Ca). The reasons for considering Ca as the *Ur-manuskript* can be seen in Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci*, pp. 4–7, 74–76. A paleographical study of the manuscript in Michael Gullick, "The English-Owned Manuscripts of the Collectio Lanfranci (s.xi/xii)," in *The Legacy of M. R. James*, ed. Lynda Dennison (Donington, UK, 2001), pp. 99–117.

[13]See *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (1863; repr. Aalen, 1963) and Schon's provisional edition. A good synthesis of the weaknesses of Hinschius's edition can be seen in Horst Fuhrmann, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries," in *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 153–59.

[14]See Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum Libri XX: editio princeps,* ed. Gerard Fransen and Theo Kölzer (Aalen, 1992). Anselm of Lucca, *Anselmi espiscopi Lucensis Collectio canonum una cum collectione minore*, ed. Friedrich Thaner (1915; repr. Aalen, 1965), a composite edition that should be used with Fowler-Magerl's *Clavis* for the various versions, and the *Incipit-explicit* analysis of the missing books XII and XIII of the A version in Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 179–200. The comparison is made with the earliest form, the so-called A text. Deusdedit, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, ed. Victor Wolf von Glanvell (1905; repr. Aalen, 1967).

[15]See Ivo, *Decretum*, http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/decretum.html (last entry May 27, 2010) and Ivo, *Tripartita*, http://knowledgeforge.net/ivo/tripartita.html (last entry June 9, 2010).

[16]The canonical collection of Anselm of Lucca has such a complicated textual history that it is even difficult to refer to it as a single collection. See, as an example, the direction taken in Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis*, pp. 139–48, 157–58. Regarding Deusdedit, see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "Reflections on the Influence of the *Collectio Canonum* of Cardinal Deusdedit," in *Mélanges en l'honneur d'Anne Lefebvre-Teillard*, ed. Bernard D'Alteroche, Florence Demoulin-Auzary, Olivier Descamps, and Frank Roumy (Paris, 2009), pp. 135–47.

1. The Pseudo-Anacletus Decretals

The three decretals falsely attributed to Pope Anacletus are the second group of papal documents in Pseudo-Isidore, occupying twenty-one pages in Hinschius's edition.[17] These letters contain many of the central arguments for ecclesiastical reform promoted by the forgers.[18] From a doctrinal point of view, there is clarification of the hierarchical structure of the Church, based primarily on the distinction between the priesthood and episcopate, with the importance of the sees (whether metropolitan or primatial) taking second place; also present is the centrality of the Roman See for its divine origin. From the procedural point of view, requirements are established for trials of sacred ministers, aimed at ensuring their immunity, and a procedural hierarchy of instances is consolidated, with the Roman See as the universal and final court of appeal.[19]

On these subjects, the Pseudo-Anacletus *corpus* is an excellent summary of the main themes of this reform, which were of exceptional importance in the later development of canon law.[20] Reflecting on the question of the extent to which these doctrines are traditional or represent a break with previous theology and canon law falls outside the scope of this article. It is enough to state that Hinschius's *apparatus fontium* establishes the traditional character of their main claims. Pseudo-Isidore offers, in this sense, a particular reading of that tradition that provides a more certain and consistent interpretation of

[17]See Hinschius's edition, pp. 66–87.

[18]See Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, "Ein Blick in Pseudosisdors Werkstatt. Studien zum Entstehungsprozess der falschen Dekretalen," *Francia*, 28 (2001), 37–60.

[19]It is now widely accepted that the main object of the Pseudo-Isidorian program was not to exalt the central role of the Roman pontiff; rather, treatment of the pope's role was a means for restoring the autonomy of the diocesan bishops, who were under attack by their immediate superiors or powerful laymen. Nevertheless, it also seems evident that the role of the Roman pontiff takes a more prominent place in this collection than preceding collections, albeit indirectly. On Pseudo-Isidore's doctrine on the institutional structure of the Church, see Agostino Marchetto, *Episcopato e Primato pontificio nelle decretali pseudo-isidoriane. Ricerca storico-giuridica* (Rome, 1971) and Fernando Yarza, *El Obispo en la organización eclesiástica de las Decretales pseudoisidorianas* (Pamplona, 1985).

[20]On the subsequent influence of Pseudo-Isidore, Fuhrmann's work still is the main reference. See Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung*, [MGH, Schriften, 24/1–3], (Stuttgart, 1972–74). On the continuity of Pseudo-Isidorian doctrines in current canon law, see Agostino Marchetto, "Lo Pseudo-Isidoro e il nuovo CIC della Chiesa Latina," in *Chiesa e Papato nella Storia e nel Diritto. 25 anni di studi critici*, ed. Agostino Marchetto (Vatican City, 2002), pp. 92–104.

canon law than others because of its emphasis and systematic approach.

Lanfranc's key actions concerning the text of Pseudo-Isidore fall under four main areas: (a) shortening the text; (b) introducing an original *capitulation;* (c) including original textual variants; and (d) adding marginal annotations, primarily by "a" marks (probable abbreviation of *attende*). Of these four actions, there can be no doubt that the first two are the most significant; in general, the textual variants do not affect the sense of the decretals.

The work of abridgement in the three decretals of Pseudo-Anacletus is extensive and careful. Compared to that conducted in other letters in the collection, it can be observed that there are extensive omissions in mid-text, whereas in many others they only occur at the beginning or end. This suggests that the material was selected with unusually close attention to its relevance.

This impression of careful reading is confirmed by the study of Lanfranc's original *capitulatio*. The summaries are perfectly adapted to the content and their mere enumeration indicates his efforts to capture accurately the major aspects of Pseudo-Isidorian doctrine. Thus, the *prima Pseudo-Anacleti* is divided into four chapters under the following headings: "de iis qui sacerdotes accusant," "ut episcopus Deo sacrificans testes secum habeat," "de peregrinis et provincialibus iudiciis," and "ut oppressus iudicio secularium appellet iudicium sacerdotum et de maioribus causis ad sedem apostolicam referendis." They emphasize the major procedural content of this decretal without ignoring its secondary liturgical character, as reflected in the second *capitulum*.

The *secunda Anacleti* is also divided into four chapters, which summarize its contents as follows: "de ordinationibus episcoporum et omnium clericorum"; "de accusationibus episcoporum"; "quod minus quam a tribus episcopus non debeat ordinari"; and "in quibus civitatibus primates, in quibus metropolitani esse debent." Again, the procedural and liturgical contents of the decretal are emphasized, as well as a central aspect of the Pseudo-Isidore's ecclesiastical organization: the relationship between primates and the rest of the episcopal hierarchy. This *capitulum* will be revisited later.

Finally, Lanfranc divides the *tertia Anacleti* into five chapters, with the following titles: "de bipertito ordine sacerdotum," "de constitutione sive ordinatione episcoporum et presbiterorum," "de discretione

episcoporum et civitatum," "ut difficiliores causae ad sedem apostolicam referantur," and "non admittendos ad accusationem sive ad testimonium qui antea inimici fuerant et de extraneo iudicio." Here Lanfranc underlines the importance of the question of the Church's hierarchical organization as the main content of this decretal, without forgetting its procedural aspect.

The value of the *capitulatio* as a guide to Lanfranc's purpose in the work of abridgement is increased if compared with the quite different *capitulations* found in the Pseudo-Isidore Class A2 manuscripts or in Eton College Manuscript 97, otherwise closely related to the *Collectio Lanfranci*.[21] From this analysis, probably the most striking feature is what might be called Lanfranc's "contextualization for the present." This is particularly evident in the *capitulation* evident in the second and third letters of Anacletus regarding the question of patriarchates and the hierarchy of sees.

It is well known that Pseudo-Isidore identifies the Eastern patriarchs with Western primates, presaging the future Western conception of patriarchates. It seems clear that the patriarchs concerned the Pseudo-Isidorian compilers only to the extent that they are identified with primates.[22] The question of the hierarchy of sees and the primacy of Rome, so important in the history of the Church, was no *quaestio disputata* for Pseudo-Isidore or in the time and the ideological context of Lanfranc. But although the *capitulatio* of the Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts is faithful to their content and incorporates the issue of patriarchates and sees, Lanfranc does not. Thus,

[21]On A2 manuscripts, see Hinschius, *Decretales*, pp. xli–lii. A list with all its *capitula* can be seen in http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/000.htm (last entry May 27, 2010). On the relation between the manuscript Eton College 97 and the *Collectio Lanfranci,* see Álvarez de las Asturias, *La "Collectio Lanfranci,"* pp. 24–30, which includes a description of the Eton manuscript by its *incipit-explicit* (*cf*. Álvarez de las Asturias, *La "Collectio Lanfranci,"* pp. 128–260). Also on this codex, *cf*. Joachim Richter, "Stufen pseudoisidorischer Verfälschung: Untersuchungen zum Konzilsteil der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Kanonistische Abteilung* [hereafter ZRG *Kan. Abt.*], 64 (1978), 1–72 and Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, "On the So-Called Second Version of the Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis," ZRG *Kan. Abt.,* 93 (2007), 34–44.

[22]On this question, see Horst Fuhrmann, "Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate," 1–3, ZRG *Kan. Abt.*, 39 (1953), 1122–76; ZRG *Kan. Abt.*, 40 (1954) 1–84; ZRG *Kan. Abt.*, 41 (1955), 95–183, and more recently, Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, "Patriarca de Occidente: razones históricas para la renuncia a un título," *Revista Española de Teología,* 66 (2006), 431–63, esp. 441–44.

whereas the Class A2 manuscripts headed the second letter of Anacletus "de episcopis, primatibus et patriarchis eorumque ministerio," Lanfranc summarizes the content according to the pressing concerns of his time: "In which cities there should be primates or metropolitans."[23] Also in the third letter, the four chapters of class A2's descriptive content (chapter XXVIIII, "Quod unus sit ordo episcoporum. Item de primatibus et patriarchis, de archiepiscopis et metropolitanis;" chapter XXX, "Quod Romana ecclesia ab ipso domino salvatore nostro primatum obtinuerit, et quod eam beatissimi Petrus et Paulus suo martyrio consecrarunt ideoque et prima sedes dicenda;" chapter XXXI, "De secunda sede Alexandrinae ecclesiae;" chapter XXXII, "De tertia sede Antiochiae ecclesiae") are summarized by Lanfranc into one clearly shaped by his own time and place: "On the difference of bishops and cities."[24] Similarly, the doctrinal statements of chapter XXXIV ("That more difficult cases should be referred to the apex of the Apostolic See, so that they may be determined by an apostolic judgment, by the authority of which See all churches are governed")[25] are reduced in the *Collectio* only to the practically oriented "that more difficult cases are to be referred to the Holy See."[26]

Finally, if the *capitulatio* tells us so much of Prior Lanfranc's interests, the marginal notes provide a further interpretative key to the value of the copied text for him. Only three "a" marks appear in Anacletus's forgeries, one in each decretal. Gullick's precise paleographical study suggests that these early marginalia were inserted in Bec, since they are in the hand of the main scribe.[27] If so, then the annotations should be interpreted as an aspect of Lanfranc's teaching and may have served as a guide for better understanding the main contents of the collection. They would indicate the direction of his thought well before he exercised formal authority in the wider Church. Naturally, when the book was brought to England, these "a" marks also would have been useful, as they called attention to passages that had acquired a new and urgent bearing for Lanfranc as ruler of the Church in England.[28]

[23]"in quibus civitatibus primates, in quibus metropolitani esse debent."

[24]"de discretione episcoporum et civitatum."

[25]"Ut difficiliores causae ad apicem Romanae sedis referantur, ut apostolico terminentur iudicio, cuius sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiae reguntur."

[26]"ut causae ad Sedem difficiliores Apostolicam referantur."

[27]See Gullick, "The Oldest," esp. pp. 79–80, 82n8.

[28]A general account on the role of Lanfanc in the reform of the Church in England can be seen in Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc. Scholar, Monk and Archbishop*

The first marked text refers to the requirements for a legitimate accusation in the Church, one main theme of the *prima Anacleti*, which was to have considerable, if problematic, importance for Lanfranc's actions against bishops Odo of Bayeux and William of St. Carilef and, more generally, for some decisions by English councils regarding the deposition of bishops.[29]

The second and third of the marked texts also are significant. In the *secunda Anacleti*, Lanfranc retained a passage that states the powers of the primates as judges for the bishops of their territory, while safeguarding the prerogatives of the Apostolic See.[30] It seems clear that in quoting this text, Lanfranc underscores an essential element of the Pseudo-Isidorian program, which established primates as a defense for bishops against metropolitans, thus limiting the metropolitans' prerogatives.[31] Similarly close to the purposes of the false decretals is his emphasis in the *tertia Anacleti* on a fragment regarding the foundation of Roman primacy.[32]

From this analysis it can be concluded that Lanfranc's treatment of the three Pseudo-Anacletus decretals is designed to delineate their main contents more clearly, as might be expected of a noted master in the liberal arts.[33] As those aspects also are characteristics of the

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(Oxford, 2003), pp. 120–43. On the importance of the *Collectio* in his activities as archbishop of Canterbury, see also Álvarez de las Asturias, *La "Collectio Lanfranci*," pp. 107–10 and the bibliography therein.

[29]"Accusandi vel testificandi licentia denegetur, his qui christianae religionis et nominis dignitatem et suae legis vel sui propositi normam aut regulariter prohibita neglexerint" (Ca 20).

[30]"Primates tamen, ut praefixum est, et tunc et nunc habere iussae sunt, ad quos post sedem apostolicam summa negotia conveniant, ut ibidem, quibus necesse fuerit, releventur et iuste restituantur, et hi, qui iniuste opprimuntur, iuste reformentur atque fulciantur, episcoporumque causae et summorum negotiorum iudicia salva apostolicae sedis auctoritate iustissime terminentur" (Ca 22).

[31]Nevertheless, on other occasions, texts that Lanfranc signs with "a" also exalt the role of metropolitans. See the conclusión of Philpott, "Lanfranc's Canonical Collection," p. 137, that Lanfranc, in doing so, goes against the original thought of the Pseudo-Isidorians.

[32]"Adhibita est etiam societas in eadem Romana urbe beatissimi apostoli Pauli vasis electionis, qui uno die unoque tempore gloriosa morte cum Petro sub principe Nerone agonizans coronatus est, et ambo sanctam Romanam ecclesiam consecrarunt, aliisque omnibus urbibus in universo mundo eam sua praesentia atque venerando triumpho praetulerunt" (Ca 22).

[33]"Whether or not Lanfranc was himself the compiler, he would have approved of the principles on which it was made: by the elimination of nearly all the pastoral

Pseudo-Isidorian program on the institutional structure of the Church and its procedural guarantees, they also were very useful to Lanfranc when he had to deal with the reform of the English Church.

The three decretals attributed to Anacletus also were widely quoted by other canonical collections of extraordinary importance both in themselves and in the process of evolution of canon law. As previously mentioned, four of the five collections studied are systematic in nature. It is interesting, therefore, not only to count the number of times they quoted a text but also to note the context in which it is quoted and the real weight that the citation has in the construction of the typical "thinking" of each collection.[34] It also is interesting to see the extent to which the quotation of texts in these collections corresponds to the themes reflected in the *Collectio Lanfranci*.

Burchard's *Decretum* is chronologically earlier than the abridgement of Lanfranc. It includes eleven fragments from Pseudo-Anacletus. Of these, six are in book I (the ecclesiastical hierarchy), two in book II (the life of the sacred ministers), two in book III (liturgical matters), and one in book XI (criminal matters). The preponderance of texts referring to the question of the Church's institutional structure is obvious.

Five of these eleven texts cannot be found in the *Collectio Lanfranci*; two other texts are only partial versions.[35] The first obvious conclusion is that Burchard found other topics in Pseudo-Anacletus that interested him more than they would Lanfranc, with Lanfranc possibly regarding them as secondary to the central theme of these decretals or as more developed in other parts of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. For instance, Burchard II.154 concerns the obligation for priests to teach (I Anacletus), and II.5 is an exegetical explanation on the term *priest* (II Anacletus)—subjects that were ignored by Lanfranc.

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material in the Decretals Pseudo-Isidore has been greatly reduced in bulk without loss of the legal essentials. We seem to see the hand that cut down those unmanageable Carolingian commentaries on the Pauline Epistles." Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec,* p. 139.

[34]Obviously, the question of "ideology" will be answered differently in each collection. Whereas there is a clear intention behind the choices of Burchard, Anselm, and Deusdedit, the *Tripartita* seems to be only a repository of texts, and Ivo's *Decretum* is best interpreted as a witness of "as many as possible solutions for each single case" (*cf.* Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 301–02).

[35]See appendices A, B, and C.

In other cases, the texts omitted by Lanfranc and quoted by Burchard relate to topics of interest for both. In that sense, it is initially surprising that the text from Anacletus that Burchard placed at the beginning of book I was omitted in Lanfranc's abridgement. However, almost identical statements to those in Burchard I.1 can be found in the *Tertia Anacleti* and marked with a sign "a" in the *Collectio Lanfranci*.[36] Similarly, the prohibition of the faithful correcting bishops for moral failings, quoted in Burchard I.136 and I.138 under the title "Episcopos a suis ovibus non reprehendendos nisi a fide erraverit" that is taken from the *Tertia Anacleti*, is not found in Lanfranc, but its sense is preserved in similar statements taken from the first two Pseudo-Anacletus decretals and even more clearly in the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius.

Finally, in some texts Burchard departs from Pseudo-Isidore considerably, usually by following his intermediate sources.[37]

The work of Anselm of Lucca on the twenty texts taken from Pseudo-Anacletus shares some characteristics with Burchard (abridgement and minor changes), but adds another very important element: chapter summaries for his texts, which are certainly original in books I and II.[38] Moreover, these fragments are distributed across books I (3), II (2), III (7), IV (1), VI (7), and VII (3). Of these, seven are not in Lanfranc,[39] and not all of them were taken directly from Pseudo-Isidore.[40]

The distribution of the Pseudo-Anacletus fragments in Anselm's collection is not surprising if the reader looks beyond the titles of the thirteen books into which the collection is divided. Indeed, Cushing has discussed how books I to III, not just book I, are essential for understanding the bishop of Lucca's vision of the Roman primacy.[41] If the

[36]See n32.

[37]These departures can be seen in appendices A, C, and D: in the modifications in I.152, at the beginning of III.71, in the additions to III.77 and XI.27, and in the reworking of XI.18. Of all of these, only the addition to XI.27 seems to have its origin in Burchard. At least, its origin cannot be definitively traced. See Hoffmann and Pokorny, *Das Dekret*, p. 220.

[38]See Cushing, *Papacy*, p. 68.

[39]See appendices A, B, and C.

[40]Anselm takes many Pseudo-Isidorian texts from the Collection in Seventy-Four Titles and from Burchard's *Decretum* (see Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 72–74). Appendices A, B, and C list some similarities in the textual transmission of *auctoritates* between Burchard and Anselm.

[41]See Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 73–74.

twelve fragments contained in the first three books are added to the seven of book VI (on bishops), it is clear that Anselm exploited the essentials of these three decretals throughout his canonical collection.

Cushing has analyzed the way in which Anselm took some of the Pseudo-Isidorian texts out of context to fit them into his distinctive ideology. Thus, the text of Pseudo-Anacletus cited as canon 4 of book II is isolated from the preceding paragraphs in which the forgers present earlier procedural steps for *causae maiores* (metropolitans and primates), thus leaving the Apostolic See as the single and unique instance.[42]

The collection of Cardinal Deusdedit includes twelve texts of Pseudo-Anacletus. Of these, three are contained in book I (*Privilegium auctoritatis eiusdem Romanae Ecclesiae*), four in book II (*De Romano clero*), two in book III (*De rebus ecclesiae*), and three in book IV (*De libertate ecclesiae et cleri et rerum eius*).

Four of the twelve texts used by Deusdedit do not appear in the *Collectio Lanfranci*, and a fifth only appears in part. These are the same passages as in Burchard (except Burchard I.1, which does not appear in Deusdedit), although some are condensed (as Deusdedit IV.305).[43]

Regarding the texts used for the foundation of Roman primacy, Deusdedit omits that copied by Burchard at the head of his book I, but added another from the *Tertia Anacleti*, the same one that Lanfranc signed with an "a" mark. He likely did so because of the continued references in this *auctoritas* to the Church of Rome, which was vital to Deusdedit's reformist ideology.[44]

The compiler of the *Collectio Tripartita* incorporates twenty-five texts from the three decretals of Anacletus. The *capitulatio* present in the manuscripts of the "second version" omits one for the text 22A, according to Brett's numeration. Of these twenty-five, only five cannot be found in Lanfranc's collection, and five others are only partial versions. At least six of the twenty-five have been reworked or abridged,

[42]See Cushing, *Papacy*, p. 150. Something similar could be said about the reworking of I.2 and I.66.

[43]See appendices A, B, and C.

[44]See Blumenthal, "History and Tradition," which deals with this question.

not necessarily by the compiler, as some recently discovered intermediate sources have revealed.[45]

As the *Tripartita* is a chronological collection, a comprehensive statement about its ideology may be impossible. Nor is the prologue of much help in this regard, since it was most probably written for another collection.[46] Nevertheless, it makes an interesting general statement regarding the importance of primitive (that is, forged) papal decretals as the first source of canon law.[47]

Finally, the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres incorporates fourteen texts of Anacletus decretals taken from Burchard or *Tripartita* A. Of these, ten are in book V (the Roman primacy and the hierarchical structure of the Church). Of the remaining four, three are in book VI (clerics) and one in book XIV (penal law). Ivo significantly begins book V with two *auctoritates* of Pseudo-Anacletus. With both of them, he seeks to show how the institutional structure of the Church is wider than the Roman primacy. In fact, by combining texts of the second and the third letter, he presents the role of the pope in the classical frame of the hierarchy of sees. Only after this general frame is presented does Ivo deal with the role of the Roman pontiff as universal judge.[48]

Of the fourteen, seven are passages entirely omitted by Lanfranc, and two others appear only partially in Ivo's version. As can be seen by the figures alone, Ivo found much more significant material in the Pseudo-Anacletus than Lanfranc, especially for the composition of the part relating to the Church's institutional structure that also includes *auctoritates* relating to procedural issues.

A number of these Pseudo-Isidorian texts in Ivo are therefore considerably condensed, as they were already present in his sources.[49]

[45]See appendices A, B, and C, as well as Martin Brett, "Urban II and the Collections Attributed to Ivo of Chartres," in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: San Diego, 21–27 August 1988*, ed. Stanley Chodorow, [Monumenta Iurisi Canonici, Subsidia 9], (Vatican City, 1992), pp. 27–46, esp. pp. 40–41 for the *Collectio Brugensis*.

[46]See Rolker, *Canon Law,* p. 102.

[47]An English translation of the prologue can be found in Robert Somerville and Bruce C. Brasington, *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity. Selected Translations, 500–1245* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 131–32.

[48]As Rolker has pointed out, Ivo, even in his way of quoting the second letter, shows his different conception of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, when compared, for instance, with that of Burchard. See Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 193–94.

[49]See especially the abridgement made in V.239, as seen in TrA.1.2.22A–24 from a long text of the *tertia Anacleti.* For this and other cases, see appendices A, B, and C.

Finally, Ivo sometimes assembles passages from several excerpts of the *Tripartita* A in a single canon.

A comparison between the use of the Pseudo-Anacletus decretals by Lanfranc and the rest of the collections yields two conclusions. First, the use of texts is more varied and comprehensive in the other canonical collections than in Lanfranc's. In this sense, it seems that the canonical or stylistic concerns of the prior of Bec led him to bypass the wealth that was hidden inside the long sections omitted. Second, the other collections made similar use of these decretals, unlike Lanfranc's version. In this sense, Lanfranc's collection appears to stand apart in the circulation of texts over the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[50]

2. The Second Decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius

Pseudo-Isidore attributed three decretals to Pope Eusebius, of which only the second appears in the *Collectio Lanfranci*, where it is drastically condensed.[51] Its main argument concerns the procedural guarantees to be observed in the trial of bishops. It shares with the *secunda Anacleti* the view that, in principle, the bishop should be prosecuted only for matters of faith, leaving the rest to God. The dec-

[50]Although a detailed study on the relations among these collections falls outside the scope of this article, it is necessary to remember that Burchard is considered one of the formal sources of the other collections discussed here, with the exception of the *Tripartita* (but see the four appendices for a possible qualification). On the relations between Burchard's and Anselm's collections, see Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 73, 86; between those of Burchard and Deusdedit, see Stickler, *Historia*, p. 173; between Burchard's collection and Ivo's *Decretum*, see Rolker, *Canon Law,* pp. 109–12. On relations between Anselm of Lucca and Deusdedit, see Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 95–102. Finally, it seems that Burchard is the origin of one relatively early addition to Lanfranc's manuscript Ca, the text *Quoniam quidam metropolitanorum fidem suam secundum-sui iudicio cedat* (with the inscription *Unde supra* in Ca 83), that corresponds to Burchard I.25. See Michael Gullick, "Lanfranc and the Oldest Manuscript of the *Collectio Lanfranci*," in *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100. Essays in Honour of Martin Brett*, ed. Bruce C. Brasington and Kathleen G. Cushing (Aldershot, UK, 2008), pp. 79–90, here p. 85.

[51]The three Pseudo-Eusebius decretals can be seen in Hinschius's edition, pp. 230–42, the second one on pp. 233–38. Lanfranc copies only the initial greeting and the last section of this decretal (pp. 237–38), which correspond with the *capitula* XI–XIV, according to class A2 manuscripts: "XI Quod oves suo pastori commissae non possint eum accusare; XII Quod exspoliatus vel expulsus non possit convocari ad causam nec diiudicari; XIII Quod in antiquis ecclesiae statutis decretum sit, ut, qui aliena invadit, omnia restituat cum multiplicatione; XIIII Quod in legibus saeculi cautum sit, ut, qui rem subripit alienam, in undecuplum restituat."

retal also adds necessary elements to ensure the fairness of the trial: mainly, restoration to his see and restitution of his patrimony before the start of the trial. It also establishes the need to punish those who expel or steal from bishops before the latter are legitimately judged. The concerns of the decretal are obviously crucial to the interests of Pseudo-Isidore.

In the case of this decretal Lanfranc's abridgement appears truly successful, for its essential contents are preserved, as summarized in the single *capitulum*: "That sheep should neither reprimand nor accuse their shepherd and the bishops who have been deprived of their goods or expelled from a see and about those who invade others' property."[52]

This decretal was marginally annotated, probably at Bec, with an "a" mark that highlights one of its final statements on the need to punish those who steal from bishops. Years later, this underlined statement was useful to Lanfranc, as he mentioned it in his first letter to Bishop Herfast of Thetford, along with other *auctoritates* included in his collection.[53]

The great collections before and after Lanfranc's collection cited the Pseudo-Eusebius second decretal.[54] As they did with Pseudo-Anacletus, they attach importance here to some passages omitted by Lanfranc.

Burchard quotes three texts from this decretal, two in his book XI (sanctions) and one in the first (primacy and institutional structure of the Church). Book XI.27 included a last sentence omitted by Lanfranc.[55]

Anselm of Lucca uses the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius on three occasions. In the first two (III.34 and III.50), he has done a

[52]"quod oves pastorem suum nec reprehendere debeant nec accusare et de episcopis rebus expolatis aut a sede pulsis et de his qui aliena invadunt."

[53]"Est etiam in antiquis ecclesiae statutis decretum, ut, qui aliena invadit, non exeat impunitus, sed cum multiplicatione omnia restituat" (Ca 53). The quotation in Lanfranc's letter is not textual. See Lanfranc, *The Letters*, p. 108: "Qui aliena invadit non exibit impunitus."

[54]See all texts in appendices A, B, C, and D.

[55]The sentence omitted reads: "pacem et non damnum aut iniustitiam alicuius sectamini in invicem et in omnes." As previously stated, the origin of this sentence remains mysterious as Hoffman and Pokorny could not trace its provenance (see Hoffmann and Pokorny, *Das Dekret*, p. 220).

remarkable job of abridgement. The third (V.37) is most likely taken from Burchard. Finally, much of III.34 does not appear in Lanfranc's collection.

The collection of Cardinal Deusdedit includes only two texts of this decretal, both in book IV. The first of these (IV.38) quotes a text omitted by Lanfranc. The second is a notable abridgement of its Pseudo-Isidorian original.

The *Tripartita* only includes one passage from the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius, which has also been considerably abridged. Its entire content, with the exception of the last sentence, can be found in Lanfranc's condensed version.

Finally, Ivo uses in his *Decretum* three pieces of this decretal, one in book XIII (here from Burchard XI.27) and two in book V. Taken together, the content of these three fragments practically coincides with that contained in the condensed version made by Lanfranc (except the last sentence of XIII.37).[56]

In considering the use of the Pseudo-Eusebius second decretal across these collections, the most striking element is its inclusion of a sentence that is absent from all reported early Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts. Burchard first reports it, and it may have passed from there to more recent Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts and thus to Anselm of Lucca and the *Tripartita.* However, Ivo omits the sentence from his *Decretum*.[57]

The more uniform character of the argument of the *secunda Eusebii* is the most likely reason that the collections, including that of Lanfranc, made similar use of it. Yet here, too, it is clear that the *Collectio Lanfranci* is distinctive in the treatment of the text.

Conclusions

Some provisional conclusions can be drawn from the comparative analysis of the treatment of the three Pseudo-Anacletus decretals and of the second of Pseudo-Eusebius in the *Collectio Lanfranci* and five other canonical collections.

[56]See appendices for all the texts in the different collections and a comparison with the *Collectio Lanfranci.*

[57]See details in appendix D.

The first is that Brooke's conclusion regarding the relative insignificance of the texts omitted by Lanfranc is acceptable. Indeed, although it has been shown that texts omitted in the *Collectio Lanfranci* are quoted by several canonical collections, sometimes in significant places, the ultimate meaning of the texts omitted by Lanfranc is found elsewhere via other Pseudo-Isidorian fragments in his *Collectio*. In this regard, it continues to be acceptable to claim that nothing of the essential substance of the Pseudo-Isidore program was deliberately omitted from the abridgement made by the prior of Bec.

Second, the comparison between the different collections shows the different uses of the same texts in every age and in each collection. As previously noted, the basic literature for understanding the concept of canon law is present in the collections studied. In Lanfranc's case, it seems clear that the *Collectio Lanfranci* remains faithful to the original meaning of the Pseudo-Isidorian program. This is understandable if it is assumed that the canonical collection is a product of Lanfranc's method of teaching and editing texts while he was prior of Bec. His aim would have been to provide a text for study, not to compile a practical handbook for reforming the Church. Thus he intended to produce a more accessible summary of the entire content and purpose of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

Third, Lanfranc's work on his Pseudo-Isidorian original can only be understood from this perspective. In the light of the decretals studied, mere textual variants are not significant for understanding the mind of the author of the condensed version. But a different situation presents itself when both the work of abridgement and its original *capitulation* are considered.

In the decretals analyzed, it is clear that the version offered by Lanfranc is more coherent and unified than its Pseudo-Isidorian original. Indeed, the removed elements are repetitions, long scriptural excursus, and material collateral to the main theme of the decretal. These issues are nevertheless preserved in the *Collectio Lanfranci* because they appear more specifically in other decretals.

In comparing the *capitulatio* in Lanfranc's version with those found in some manuscripts of Pseudo-Isidore and Anselm of Lucca, Lanfranc's uniqueness can be seen very clearly. His aim is to highlight the "real" interest of the transmitted texts according to the scope of the Pseudo-Isidorian program. Therefore, Lanfranc's version omits the description of the content of the canons of tangential interest (e.g.,

issues related to the hierarchy in the East), but does not mold the texts into a reformist framework, as Anselm of Lucca does.

Fourth, Lanfranc's use of the decretals is unsurprising. The explicit citation of the second letter of Pseudo-Eusebius, together with similar statements from other decretals, shows his deep knowledge of the collection and his use of it as a source of legal maxims that underlie his legal reasoning. Certainly, there are no traces of original or creative reworking of Pseudo-Isidorian sources, but there are some indications of its use to sustain positions contrary to the original thrust of the decretals when he applies them to specific cases. The previously mentioned case against William of Durham is the most striking example. Here could be the clue for understanding the similar results of the reform in England and on the Continent. How the texts were used is more important than what texts were selected. In this sense a study of the "a" marks in Ca offers precious information on how Lanfranc exploited an abridged Pseudo-Isidore so textually faithful to its original.

Finally, the study reinforces the importance of Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in the Gregorian Reform of the late-eleventh century. The work of the Pseudo Isidore appears once again, thanks to the *Collectio Lanfranci*, as a repository of texts to be used in programs of reform as diverse as those of Anselm, Deusdedit, Ivo, and Lanfranc, the latter using Pseudo-Isidorian materials as a basis for reform in the Church in England.

These uses of Pseudo-Isidore on the eve of the legal renaissance of the twelfth century shed light on the efforts of bishops and others to govern the Church with justice and equity—that is, as good shepherds.

THE CATHOLIC SALEM: HOW THE DEVIL DESTROYED A SAINT'S PARISH (MATTAINCOURT, 1627–31)

BY

WILLIAM MONTER*

A virulent witch panic driven by many diabolically possessed parishioners of Mattaincourt in Lorraine caused about fifty deaths for witchcraft between 1627 and 1631. Sixty years before Salem, this episode constitutes the largest such tragedy yet found in Catholic Europe, where episodes of collective demonic possession were usually confined within female convents. Mattaincourt's parish curé, St. Pierre Fourier, was then supervising the approval for two reformed religious orders at Rome and was unable to control events in Mattaincourt; a wealthy benefactor was among those burned. Fourier resigned his benefice when the outbreak subsided. This episode was apparently unknown to Catholic authorities during the modern procedures for Fourier's beatification and canonization.

Keywords: demonic possession; Lorraine; St. Pierre Fourier; witchcraft executions

The all-too-well known story of witchcraft in Salem Village had a direct ancestor a generation earlier, one acknowledged as such by authorities in Massachusetts, in the Swedish witch-panic that erupted at Mora in 1668 and continued for six years. The relatively recent Swedish experience was important in Massachusetts. Both outbreaks were fueled by accusations from large numbers of demonically afflicted children and adolescents testifying about the diabolical activities of their elders.[1] But since both Massachusetts and Sweden were solidly

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[1]William Monter, "Scandinavian Witchcraft in Anglo-American Perspective," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford, 1990), pp. 425–34.

Protestant states, is it reasonable to consider that such major outbreaks of witch-hunting fueled by collective diabolical possession were specifically Protestant phenomena in this heavily confessional era?

At first glance, the history of collective demonic possession in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe supports this interpretation, for two main reasons. First, this history seems very different in the Catholic parts of western Europe and those in central Europe. Second, even in those parts of Catholic Europe where episodes of collective demonic possession coincide chronologically with statistical peaks of witch-hunting, there seem to be no direct links between these phenomena because of rigid social segregation between demonically afflicted groups of nuns and village peasants.

Such episodes seem most frequent during the first half of the seventeenth century and were certainly most highly publicized in various cloistered female religious communities scattered throughout western Europe, from modern Belgium to Spain and Italy. Both then and now, those in baroque France were the most famous. Some useful information about the last such French case can be found in Fumiaki Nakanishi's recent thesis on Louviers, but the trial and death of Urbain Grandier at Loudun in the early 1630s remains the best-known paradigmatic example.[2] However, Catholicism in Germanophone central Europe seems not to have shared in this phenomenon. Erik Midelfort has pointed out that the spread and prevalence of recorded instances of demonic possession in Germany from 1490 to 1650 is centered in northern Lutheran regions and involved men about as often as women. As Midelfort remarks, this "is not a picture that is congruent with the history of witch-hunting, the most severe outbreaks of which occurred . . . especially in Catholic ecclesiastical territories." Moreover, he notes that "only a tiny number [of episodes of demonic possession] were published concerning outbreaks in the great lands of the Counter-Reformation, Bavaria and Austria."[3]

Even in Catholic parts of western Europe such well-publicized episodes of collective demonic possession in convents had no direct

[2]Fumiaki Nakanishi, *L'afaire de Louviers: Sorcières et possédées au milieu du XVII^e siècle* (Lille, 2007); on Grandier, see the useful introduction and bibliography by Robert Rapley, "Loudun Nuns," in *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, ed. Richard Golden, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA, 2006), III:669–72.

[3]H. C. Erik Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 59–66, here pp. 61–62.

connection to witch hunts. Although their chronology overlays with the statistical peak of witch trials in the villages of rural Europe, a radical disjunct separates the former from the latter. After Trent, cloistered nuns were completely segregated both literally and socially from peasant communities, and their spectacular urban episodes of collective demonic possession never triggered any local witch hunts. Most public exorcisms, especially those in Francophone Europe, targeted only one or two prominent male scapegoats, usually but not always clerical.

The combination of these reasons—the vast confessional differences between western and central Europe and the rigid claustration of communities of demonically possessed nuns—explains why no one has yet discovered a Catholic parallel to such later seventeenth-century Protestant communities as Mora or Salem Village—some place where collective demonic possession among ordinary Catholic children and adolescents drove a major seventeenth-century witch hunt. Nevertheless, well before these Protestant examples, exactly this type of regional witch panic, driven by demonically possessed youthful accusers and fanned by local exorcists uninterested in publishing their exploits, erupted between 1627 and 1631 in the heart of an almost solidly Catholic state straddling western and central Europe: the Duchy of Lorraine, predominantly Francophone but with a sizable Germanophone eastern region and a buffer state between the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Extremely capable experts, from Étienne Delcambre to Robin Briggs, have studied village-level witchcraft in Lorraine, including a high-profile demonic *possédée,* Elisabeth de Ranfaing, whose exploits formed the prelude to events in Mattaincourt.[4] They provide an excellent account of her public exorcisms, which began in Nancy, Lorraine's capital, in 1618 and soon targeted Cyprien Rouyer, the Franciscan Minim provincial of Champagne. The embattled friar fled to safety in France, which in this instance became the locus of clerical skepticism about the diabolically possessed: in 1621, Claude Pithoys, his Franciscan defender (who later converted to Protestantism), published an attack on the validity of Ranfaing's exor-

[4]Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 82–83, based on Étienne Delcambre and Jean Lhermitte, *Elisabeth de Ranfaing, l'énergumène de Nancy, fondatrice de l'ordre du Refuge, un cas énigmatque de possession diabolique en Lorraine au XVII^e siècle* (Nancy, 1956). See also the brief discussion in Robert Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1968), pp. 246–51.

cisms, provoking a far longer defense from a physician that was printed in Lorraine's capital in 1622. Ranfaing's exorcisms, directed mostly by Jesuits, continued until 1625 and led to the execution of two locally prominent men as witches. After they ended, she made an extensive pilgrimage before founding a new female religious order in 1631, originally for herself and her three daughters. In Lorraine, high-profile demonic possession may not have begun in a female convent, but it ended in the creation of a new order of nuns.

Lorraine was divided both linguistically and politically between France and Germany, and Ranfaing's notorious case had repercussions in both directions. In Germanophone Lorraine, largely neglected by both Delcambre and Briggs, a copycat demonic possession erupted shortly after Ranfaing's public exorcisms began. In the sizable district of Sierck along the Moselle that formed the northwestern corner of Lorraine's *Bailliage d'Allemagne*, a demonically possessed servant girl was exorcised in December 1618 and began "vomiting all sorts of unnatural objects" while accusing six people of bewitching her. This sizable district had recorded only one witchcraft execution in twenty-four scattered years between 1580 and 1618 while confiscating assets from ten other witches who had been executed nearby.[5] In winter 1619–20, local officials at Sierck began arresting suspects, By May 1620, ten people had been burned; four of them were men, including a village *maire,* whereas one woman withstood torture and was released. Sierck's *possédée* also accused her husband, who retracted his confession before dying in prison, thus permitting his children to inherit his property. It was the only known outbreak in Germanophone Lorraine that originated with exorcisms of a diabolically possessed woman, and it was probably the largest witch hunt of this type recorded anywhere in Lorraine until 1627.[6]

Two years after Ranfaing's public exorcisms finally ended, a much larger and deadlier outbreak began in 1627 near the center of

[5]Archives Departmentales Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy [hereafter ADMM], B9417-9444 *passim;* (the one execution from 1594, in B9428, fols. 133v–35, 137). On December 6, 1618, a servant woman in a nearby village, "laquelle on disoit estre ensorcellé, rendante par le vomissement toutes sortes de choses non naturelles" provoked the first arrest. See ADMM, B 9445, fol. 145.

[6]ADMM, B9445, fols. 144v–52, 155–62v. Afterward, the next two fiscal reports surviving from Sierck, covering 1622 and 1627, mention fresh executions for witchcraft, whereas problems collecting assets from witches who were executed in 1620 reappear in every subsequent report through 1633.

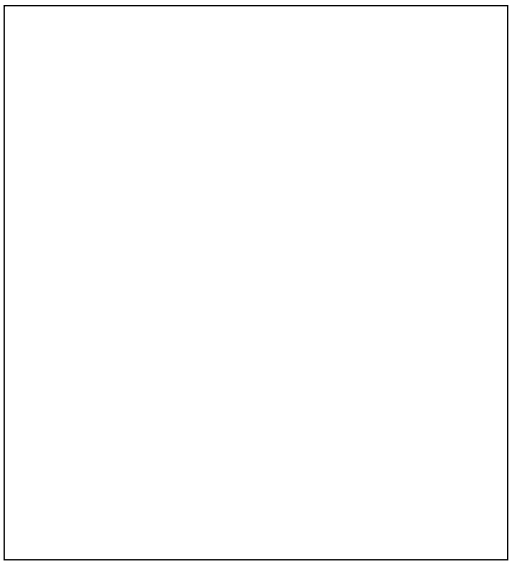

FIGURE 1. Illustration of St. Pierre Fourier from Alfred de Besancenet, *Le Bienheureux Pierre Fourier et la Lorraine, Étude Historique—XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ Siècle* (Paris, 1864), frontispiece.

Francophone Lorraine. Not only did the large village of Mattaincourt contain no known Protestants; its *curé* was the future saint Pierre Fourier (see figure 1). His parish, Mattaincourt, provides a Catholic prototype and direct ancestor for the Puritans of Salem Village. This collective panic lasted longer and claimed many more lives than the subsequent Puritan version, and it finally drove its baffled, saintly *curé* to resign his post in 1632. Remarkably, the episode seems to have failed to attract the attention of the Vatican committees investigating Fourier's beatification and, much later, his canonization. The dimensions and dynamics of Mattaincourt's witch panic have remained largely invisible to historians, even in Lorraine, and its current residents remain unaware that their village holds an important but unenviable place in the history of European witchcraft.

If the witch panic that began in Mattaincourt in 1627 was briefer and much less extensive geographically than the outbreak of 1668–74 in northern Sweden, it lasted far longer and cost many more lives than the one that began in Salem Village. In Puritan Massachusetts, accusations by demonically possessed residents, often children, that local

witches were causing their afflictions eventually led to about sixty arrests and twenty deaths. In the panic that began at Mattaincourt two generations earlier and similarly fanned out into neighboring districts, about as many suspected witches were arrested as in Massachusetts but more than twice as many died. The Mattaincourt panic was no isolated incident like the Salem witch trials, but it was the single most extensive and deadliest witch hunt in a duchy that experienced a great many smaller ones.[7] As in Lutheran Sweden forty years later, Mattaincourt's panic proved extremely difficult to bring to an end. After four years. Mattaincourt's authorities tried quarantining eight juvenile witches in a "safe house," but this solution soon broke down. Only the even greater horrors of the Thirty Years' War finally extinguished its flames.

The Mattaincourt debacle was not the future saint's first brush with a witchcraft execution emanating from accusations made at exorcisms, but it was by far the most important. Before then, Fourier had attended some of Ranfaing's exorcisms in 1622 without recording either approval or disapproval, and his recorded association with Lorraine's most blatantly political witch-burning—the secret arrest, torture, and execution of André Desbordes, a prominent adviser of Lorraine's recently deceased duke Henri II, in winter 1624–25—was minimal. Nevertheless, the episode reflects unfavorably on him, and it apparently remained unknown to Roman investigators. A careful, locally published study of 1857 that was based on Lorraine's treasury records reveals that *le père Mattaincourt* (already a close adviser to the new duke) was among the clerics accompanying Desbordes at his execution and also participated in the banquet afterward. Thirty months later, the circumstances—and Fourier's role in them—were very different.[8]

[7]Lorraine, the home of the well-known demonologist Nicolas Remy, recorded more than a thousand executions for witchcraft between 1570 and 1635; Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine,* pp. 29–58, provides a useful overview.

[8]William Monter, *A Bewitched Duchy: Lorraine and Its Dukes, 1477–1736* (Geneva, 2007), pp. 107–09. The execution of a witch was seen as a victory over a servant of Satan, an enemy of God, and perpetrator of serious harm (misfortunes, disease, even death) to one's neighbor. The punishment of a witch or heretic (seen as an enemy of the Faith) was often an occasion for celebration. In Spain where witches were punished relatively infrequently by the Inquisition, their execution at a public *auto de fe* at Logroño in 1610 was carried out with great pomp, attracting large crowds. To this day in England the execution of Guy Fawkes (1570–1606), an enemy of the Protestant regime, is commemorated with popular celebrations. See Keith V. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), pp. 435–501; and Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 204–13, 270–76, 280–82.

Why has the Mattaincourt panic remained unknown? How has it been possible to discover a previously unknown episode of such proportions and such potential interest to historians of witchcraft? The explanation is simple. From Delcambre to Briggs, the standard accounts of witchcraft prosecutions in Lorraine have relied primarily on fragmentary transcripts from witchcraft trials, and none of these survive from Mattaincourt and its surrounding districts for these years. Absent such material, the account that follows is based primarily on the annual financial reports from the district of Mirecourt, which included Mattaincourt; they shed considerable if indirect light on the main outlines of these events.[9] They have been supplemented by three other sources. First, the recent scholarly edition of Fourier's correspondence[10]; second, the parallel financial records from the district of Dompaire/Valfroicourt, immediately south of Mirecourt[11]; and finally by an isolated but fascinating document—the interrogation of an exorcist under torture, a truly exceptional type of historical record—preserved in ecclesiastical records at Epinal.[12] All four sources interlink satisfactorily to provide a coherent outline of events from late 1627 until Fourier's resignation after the release of Mattaincourt's child-witches from their group home.

A notable outbreak of demonic possession apparently struck Mattaincourt in late autumn 1627. The first information about it comes from Eric Cordier, the veteran *receveur* (ducal treasurer) for the district of Mirecourt. His official annual report for 1627 noted that the *procureur-général* or ducal attorney for the *bailliage* of Vosges (one of three major administrative subdivisions of the Duchy of Lorraine, whose capital was Mirecourt)

> warned that many specters and phantoms were appearing at night in the village of Mattaincourt, who were attacking and offending those who

[9]Mirecourt's financial records from 1627–31 are in ADMM, B7138–7147.

[10]Volumes 2 and 3 of Hélène Derréal and Madeleine Cord'homme, eds., *Pierre Fourier: Sa Correspondance 1598–1640*, 5 vols. (Nancy, 1986–91) [hereafter *PF Corr*], cover 1625–33.

[11]See especially ADMM, B5570–72, covering 1629–30.

[12]Archives Departementales des Vosges [hereafter ADV], G710, no. 16 (April 26, 1631). First published in a bowdlerized edition, replete with misspellings, by Francis de Chanteau, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire du Chapitre de Saint-Dié: les sorciers à Saint-Dié et dans le val de Galilée* (Nancy, 1877), this key document was then translated into English by Rossell H. Robbins in *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York, 1959), pp. 229–32; it was briefly mentioned by Briggs, *Witches & Neighbors*, p. 208, who first noticed the exorcist's sexual misconduct.

> encountered them, and that a large number of people from that village were possessed by the Evil Spirit, and still others were afflicted by extraordinary illnesses. Such things could only happen through the deeds of some people residing there, who were greatly suspected of the crime of witchcraft and magic.[13]

Cordier's report named four prime suspects, adding vaguely that others were probably involved. Because the village was in his jurisdiction, Cordier had taken the highly unusual step of bypassing the duke's official prosecutor and conducting much of the Mattaincourt investigation himself, during which these four had been arrested. When he submitted his annual report early in the following year, three cases had already been concluded, and one suspect remained in prison. These details are known because the vigilante *receveur* expected to be reimbursed for his zeal: he, his clerk, and the local constable had already spent a total of 156 francs taking testimony from forty-seven witnesses, many of whom had been confronted with the prisoners.

Cordier reported no offsetting receipts from any confiscated assets, although a widow had confessed and been burned as a witch after thirty-two days of imprisonment. Another woman withstood torture and had been released after forty days in prison. A third woman, Marie DuBois, the pregnant wife of a cloth-dyer, was truly a tragic case. She attempted to kill herself by leaping from the top of her prison, but broke her leg instead. The surgeon who set it also helped baptize the child that she then aborted. Two other women were summoned to help this prisoner during childbirth, but she died only twelve days after her arrest, long before the formalities of her trial could be completed. The other suspect was a man, rearrested in November after a previous trial in 1623; he had not yet been judged.

Meanwhile, the extensive correspondence of Fourier, Mattaincourt's well-known and respected parish priest, first mentions these incidents around Christmas 1627. A letter informed him that Charles IV, duke of Lorraine, had told a high-ranking cleric that he wanted to

[13]ADMM, B7138, pp. 184–85: "Le Sr. Procuruer-général des Vosges, adverty que plusieurs spectres et fantosmes apparoissent nuictamment au village de Mathaincourt, qui attaquoient et offensaient ceulx qui leur tenoient de rencontre, et qu'un grand nombre de personnes dudit lieu estoient possedées du maling esprit, et autres affligés de maladies extraord.res. Cela ne pouvoit arriver que par le faict de quelques personnes y residentes grandement suspectes du crime de sortilege et magie. . ." (four names follow).

see Fourier "more often in Mattaincourt, or else put that benefice into the hands of some good and learned person who could find a way to relieve the sufferings of the fourteen or fifteen diabolically possessed people in that village."[14] (This letter provides the first information about the number of Mattaincourt's original *posédées*). His correspondence also reveals that Fourier had already arranged to send two Jesuits to Mattaincourt, presumably to conduct exorcisms, and that he was reluctant about personal engagement in such cases—an attitude that reflected his stance during Ranfaing's public exorcisms a few years earlier. Answering this letter, "Father Mattaincourt" (as his name appears in the records) admitted that he had been unable or unwilling to follow these events closely enough to know "if what the Duke had been told at Mirecourt about the number of demonically-possessed people is true or not"; if they were true, he continued, "things have gotten a lot worse there over the past three months or so."[15]

* * *

Some background information on the area may be useful here. Mattaincourt, located only two miles south of Mirecourt, was a very large village that averaged almost ninety baptisms a year in the early 1620s (including children of both married women who were arrested in 1627).[16] It was a relatively bustling clothmaking center that contained five licensed taverns in the mid-1620s, almost as many as Mirecourt. Its famous *curé*, then sixty-two years old, had held this position since 1597. When the crisis of demonic possession erupted, he was rarely in residence there, his place usually taken by a vicar. At this time Fourier was not only a significant political adviser to the young duke Charles IV, who had ruled Lorraine for only a few years. When reports about Mattaincourt's outbreak of demonically possessed parishioners reached Charles IV late in 1627, Fourier was totally preoccupied with steering two separate sets of reformed

[14]The canons of Lunéville informed Fourier on December 16 that "S.A. [His Highness, Duke Charles IV] desiroit quil [Fourier] fut plus souvent à Matincourt, ou rémit le benefice entre les mains de quelque bon et docte personnage qui donnât ordre pour soulager quatorze ou quinze personnes possedées en ce village." *PF Corr.*, II:473–74.

[15]On December 24, Fourier replied to the Lunéville canons that he had been unable to "scavoir si ce que l'on a fait entendre à Son Altesse à Mirecour touchant le nombre des possédées est veritable ou non." *PF Corr.*, II:487–88.

[16]See ADV, E Dpt 297/GG 1 (Mattaincourt baptisms, starting 1619, only a few done by Fourier in person)—a daughter of Marie DuBois baptized in December 1619 and a son of Jeannon Gourdet baptized February 1621.

monastic rules, one for a male community and the other for a female community, through the labyrinth of Pope Urban VIII's Rome. He finally managed to accomplish this feat in 1628.[17]

The history of local witch-hunting during Fourier's long tenure as *curé* of Mattaincourt also is notable. Witches had been burned at Mirecourt, the district capital and Fourier's birthplace, since at least 1540.[18] In 1598, one year after Fourier first took charge of Mattaincourt, a woman from Hymont (a suburb south of Mattaincourt, annexed to its parish) was burned for witchcraft; significantly, her trial was initiated by Mirecourt's *receveur*, a much younger Eric Cordier.[19] Amazingly, however, during Fourier's tenure at Mattaincourt no witches were reported to have been burned anywhere in the Mirecourt district for more than twenty years after 1600, although Cordier's complete annual financial reports survive for every year and provide evidence about at least fourteen witch trials against four men and ten women. These suspects were tortured, but none of them confessed—a unique record among the more than twenty districts that composed Lorraine's Francophone *bailliages* of Nancy and Vosges. Several of Mirecourt's accused witches—a man and a woman in 1605, a man and two women in 1608—were Fourier's parishioners, which is not surprising given Mattaincourt's size.[20]

The Mirecourt district recorded five witch trials in 1623 and three more in 1624; one prisoner, Marguerite Poirson, was executed for witchcraft at Mirecourt in 1624. Cordier sent most of their relevant trial records to ducal auditors at Nancy as justification for his expenses.[21] These trials, especially the 1624 cases, form a prelude to

[17]The best of Fourier's many biographies is by the subsequent editor of his correspondence, Hélène Derréal: *Un missionnaire de la Contre-Réforme: saint Pierre Fourier et l'institution de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Paris, 1965).

[18]ADMM, B7009, fols. 37, 41. There were other witch trials at Mirecourt in 1550 and 1551: B7014, fols. 29v, 32v; B7015, fols. 29, 33v.

[19]Cordier noted that he had personally arrested Marie L'Huillier; see ADMM, B7063, fols. 82–82v.

[20]ADMM, B7069–7136 provide an unbroken series of annual financial reports for Mirecourt from 1600 through 1626. The Mattaincourt witches can be found in B7084, fol. 130v (a widow and her son, "so heavily charged that they were put to the torture a second time," both banished but without confiscation of their property because they had not confessed) and in B7092, fols. 88v, 134 (two married women and one of their husbands).

[21]ADMM, B7130, fols. 115–16 (two widows, the sister of one of them, and Jean Geoffroy). The lone person executed, Marguerite Poirson, died in 1624 (B7133, fol. 116;

the fatal wave of demonic possession that struck Mattaincourt in 1627, during which Cordier stopped sending trial records to justify his expenses. More ominously, they coincide with the final phase of Ranfaing's notorious exorcisms at Nancy and record copycat signs of using exorcisms to settle private grievances by eliciting names of people who had caused such spectacular symptoms of demonic possession. In particular, the 1624 trial of Annon Bougignotte in the district of Mirecourt reveals the manipulations of a village *curé* at Vomécourt (about six miles north of Mattaincourt along the Madon river), whom she blamed for her arrest. He had orchestrated the symptoms of "some other women of Vomécourt, to whom [Annon] was suspected of giving the spells that afflicted them"; these women, a witness reported, "threw themselves about so violently that several people could not hold them down."[22] This *curé*, Dominic Gordet, was present at both the beginning and the end of Mattaincourt's tragedy, but in very different roles; seven years later, he would undergo torture as a suspected witch.

Because of these arrests, Cordier and other officials at Mirecourt knew exactly where to look for the "usual suspects" when a serious outbreak of demonic possession struck Mattaincourt while its famous *curé* was preoccupied with affairs in Rome. Three of the four people they arrested first, including the only one who confessed and was burned, had been arrested previously in 1623 or 1624.[23] The lone man among them, Jean Geoffroy alias Marlier, had been tried in 1623 not only for witchcraft but also for "several execrable blasphemies against God, his mother the Virgin Mary, and the saints." Although Geoffroy withstood torture and was released on the charges of witchcraft, he was convicted of blasphemy, fined the hefty sum of fifty francs, and obliged to perform a solemn public apology at Mirecourt.[24] He seems the closest approximation to the proverbial "village atheist" living in Fourier's model parish, someone whose anticlerical and irreligious

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Cordier sent an account of her trial, now preserved among his *acquits* or receipts in B7134). It also is worth noting that in 1623 eleven of Fourier's parishioners, including two of Mattaincourt's five tavern keepers, were convicted of "clipping" coins and suffered partial confiscations.

[22]Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, p. 187.

[23]Only one defendant who had been tortured for witchcraft and released in 1624, Jacquet Petit Jacquot of Hymont (B7133, fol. 115), does not reappear among the victims a few years later.

[24]ADMM, B7130, fol. 115.

attitudes had been sharpened by decades of intensive indoctrination from a master of Tridentine persuasion. When Cordier sent his official report from 1627, Geoffroy's second trial had not yet been concluded; however, after three months in prison and unknown amounts of testimony and torture, he was convicted and burned for witchcraft in February 1628.

Mattaincourt's epidemic of demonic possession continued unabated after Marlier's death. In midsummer 1628, the settling of old local scores accelerated into a full-blown witch panic after another man, Jean Vosgien, was arrested. Duke Charles, clearly worried about what he saw as Fourier's failure to quell this scandal, deputized two judges from the appellate court at St. Mihiel to hear the case. Vosgien was released thirty-eight days later after withstanding torture,[25] but the collective outburst of demonic possession gained momentum while he sat in prison. As Fourier told a correspondent on August 18:

> in the parish of Mattaincourt are four or five or six possessed girls and women, and perhaps fifty or sixty children and adults who are bewitched and tormented in various ways, or so it is reported. For the past month, a Franciscan monk, vicar of his convent at Toul, has been conducting exorcisms there, but without any positive results. I expect to go visit this poor parish (where I have not been for a year) on September 15, taking along a few additional clergy in order to hear the parishioners' confessions.[26]

Fourier found two Jesuits to accompany him, "in order to console the poor afflicted people of Mattaincourt."

However, judging by Fourier's report after reaching Mattaincourt, the devil more than held his own against both the future saint and his Jesuit colleagues. Writing to Father Nicolas Guinet, his Jesuit agent in Rome, he reported on September 22:

[25]ADMM, B7140, fols. 115v, 184v.

[26]Fourier's correspondence first mentions "les pauvres possédez et les autres maléficez de la paroisse de Mataincourt" on December 16, 1627; see *PF Corr.*, III:95. He first discusses the situation in a letter to Father Nicolas Guinet on August 25, 1628: "En la paroisse de Mataincourt sont quatre ou cinq ou six filles et femmes possédées, et bien cinquante ou soixante tant enfans que grandes personnes maleficiées et tourmentées de diverses sortes, à ce que l'on tient. Il y a depuis un mois un F. Cordelier, vicaire du couvent de Toul, qui les exorcize, sans que néanmoins on y voie point d'exploit. Je pretends aller voir cette pauvre paroisse (ou je n'ay été depuis un an) huit jours avant le St.-Eire [September 15] et y mener quelques hommes d'Eglise . . . pour ouir les confessions des paroissiens." *PF Corr.,* III:106.

> in this parish of Mattaincourt, where I have been for eight days, there are at least eighty-five people either possessed by the Devil (*l'ennemi*) or tormented by various other kinds of bewitchments. Some of them grunt like pigs, others bark like dogs, and all of them are unable to function normally. Nearly all of them are young girls and a few women; I know of only one man and one or two boys. When they are all together in the church for Mass, they make such strange noises that it is impossible to hear any music, any sermon, any other voices than theirs, which terrify those in attendance. And when they are commanded by the Vicar of the Franciscans from Toul (who has been working with them for five or six weeks), those who can speak do nothing but shout, slander, curse, blaspheme, screaming that such-and-such a one (whom they name by their full names) has sent them there, and that she must be burned before they will leave the poor creature. The whole business is extremely pitiful.

Fourier asked his friend in Rome if he had ever seen such things and what methods might possibly work in such circumstances.[27] He repeated this request in another letter a week later, and in early November he was still in Mattaincourt, struggling to make his voice heard over the din of his diabolically possessed parishioners.

The most important result of Mattaincourt's stepped-up exorcisms in 1628 had been to exacerbate the situation and multiply the number of accused witches. This process in turn generated a far greater degree of direct intervention at the highest levels of ducal government in 1629, escalating a method for settling old grievances into a full-scale witch panic. The duchy of Lorraine had no proper appellate court; but Charles IV now dispatched four special commissioners from his appellate court for the duchy of Bar at St. Mihiel, led by an ambitious zealot named Charles Sarasin, to resolve Mattaincourt's crisis. Throughout 1629, as Fourier faded into the background, these com-

[27]Fourier's dramatic report was sent to both Guinet in Rome and a colleague at Lunéville on September 22, 1628: "En cette paroisse de Mataincourt (ou je suis dès le 14 de ce mois) sont 85 tant possédez de l'ennemi que tourmentés de diverses autres sortes de maléfices. Les uns grondent comme des pourceaux, autres abboyent commes des chiens, et tous tellement inquietez qu'ils ne peuvent travailler. . . . Ce sont presque toutes jeunes filles et quelques femmes. Je n'y connais qu'un homme et un garcon ou deux. Quand ils se retrouvent en l'eglise durant l'office, ils menoient le plus étrange bruit que l'on ne peut entendre ny chant, ny sermon, ny autre voix que les leurs qui épouvantaient les assistants. Et quand ils sont adjurez (par le P. Vicaire des Cordeliers de Toul qui a été cinq ou six semaines à l'entour d'eux), ceux qui parlent, crient constamment en hurlant, détestant, malgréant, blasphément, que ça fait une telle (qu'ils nomment par nom et surnom) qui les a envoyé là, et qu'il la faut brûler et ne sortiront de la créature que cela ne soit fait. C'est une extreme pitié." *PF Corr.*, III:127–28.

missioners conducted a reign of terror that relied on what would later become fractional testimony in Sweden (a child's testimony calibrated as a fraction of an adult's) and became "spectral evidence" at Salem Village. In 1630 Sarasin would be paid 10 francs per diem for 116 days spent "working on the preparation of criminal trials against several persons from Mattaincourt charged with the crime of witchcraft" (Sarasin also collected 216 francs for his travel expenses). His two principal associates billed the duke for 71 days at the same rate, and a lawyer from Nancy collected 690 francs for 115 days of work on these cases.[28]

Their harvest was abundant. Nine people from Mattaincourt or Hymont were burned as witches in 1629, two others died in prison, and only two suspects were released after managing to survive torture.[29] The 1629 executions continued to settle local scores; they included Jeanette Gourdot and Jean Vosgien, the only local suspects to survive torture in 1627 and 1628 (see appendix A). At the same time, like later panics at Mora and Salem, this disturbance now began radiating out from its base at Mattaincourt. In 1629, at least ten other people were arrested for witchcraft in other parts of the Mirecourt district. The five women who were burned included a midwife and a well-off widow of Mirecourt. The miller who accused the latter collected 50 francs, whereas her assets netted Cordier 792 francs.[30]

However, the most important person among Mattaincourt's 1629 victims was a man. From Nancy, Fourier reported to Guinet on July 8 that his servant, Julien, had brought news from Mattaincourt that "P" would be sentenced today, one day after the woman of Mirecourt. It was extremely upsetting news. Fourier continued:

> It seems to me that it is our duty to do everything possible (without making too much noise on behalf of this poor man), both from respect of his generosity in the past and from consideration for our Brother Aubry [P's grandson]. If the opinion of the chief magistrate in Lunéville is correct, almost nothing has been proved against him.

[28]"Charles Sarasin, advocat à St. Mihiel, pour ses peines et vacations de 116 jours employés a la confection des proces criminels de plusrs. Personnes de Mathaincourt prevenus du crime de sortilege," received 1160 francs, plus another 180 francs for 18 additional days. ADMM, B7143, fols. 198–99v.

[29]ADMM, B7142 (*acquit*s for 1629); see esp. fols. 28v–32v of the synopsis.

[30]ADMM, B7143, fols. 123–23v, 200v.

In the end, however, all he could do was order that Aubry be warned and ask for special prayers that this prisoner be saved.[31] Fourier's "P" was Didier Parpignant, a former magistrate at Mattaincourt and an extremely wealthy man. The first fiscal harvest from his extensive confiscated property netted Cordier 2130 francs in 1629—more than enough to pay the expenses of the special commissioners and their staff. However, Parpignant's children had brought a lawsuit over the bulk of his estate, which was spread over at least three districts, before the highest civil court in Lorraine.The stakes were indeed very high; Parpignant was so wealthy that confiscating his entire estate would eventually enable the duke's officials to make a sizable profit from the whole witch-hunting operation.

Parpignant also owned large amounts of property south of Mattaincourt in the neighboring district of Dompaire/Valfroicourt—it cost Dompaire's officials 63 francs just to compile an inventory of them. This information provides the most direct link about how Mattaincourt's panic spilled over into a contiguous jurisdiction.[32] Like Mirecourt, this district had an unusually low number of recorded witch trials in the recent past; only five such arrests had been recorded here during the previous twenty years. But the ripple effect was extremely strong here. During the eight months after Parpignant's arrest and execution, the overall numbers of arrests and executions from this district were only slightly smaller than those from Mirecourt. Between early July 1629 and March 1630, four men and eleven women were hanged, and their corpses burned, for witchcraft at Valfroicourt and Dompaire. Among those who managed to withstand torture without confessing, two men and two women were banished; only one man and one woman were released.[33]

Meanwhile, in Mirecourt, more suspects were arrested that winter, and the special commissioners continued their bloody task in 1630. Cordier collected another 3050 francs by selling part of Parpignant's

[31]From Nancy, Fourier reported to Guinet on July 8, 1629, that "son homme" Julien reported from Mattaincourt, "que P. sera jugé aujoud'huy." Fourier noted that "Il me semble que c'est notre devoir de faire tout ce qui nous sera possible (sans bruit néanmoins pour ce pauvre homme) tant pour les respect de ses bienfaits passés, que pour considération de notre frère Aubry [a grandson of Didier Parpagnant] et qu'aussy, si véritable est l'opinion de M. la Maître Echevin de Lunéville, à peine y ait rien suffisament prouvé contre luy." *PF Corr.,* III:184–85.

[32]ADMM, B5570, fol. 41.

[33]ADMM, B5570, fols. 8–10, 20–21; abridged sentences among the *acquits* in B5571.

lands, most of which went to pay the commissioners' expenses.[34] Duke Charles assisted by ordering the remainder of Parpignant's estate sold for 7000 francs. Fourier spent more time in his parish and reported optimistically to Guinet in February that the situation at Mattaincourt was finally improving. "It's pretty good, in comparison with the recent past," he claimed. Except for a few who continued to squirm and wriggle during Mass, he remarked, "these so-called bewitched people (*prétendus maléficiées*) are now silent in church, saying almost nothing. Besides," he added, "they are extremely poor people."[35] Nevertheless, Sarasin and his colleagues continued to burn witches in 1630: four more men and four more women from Fourier's parish, plus a woman from another village who had been tried and released back in 1624.[36]

In 1629 and 1630, the witch hunt in the districts of Mirecourt and Dompaire/Valfroicourt accounted for a minimum of forty recorded deaths; in 1629, a man also was burned for witchcraft in Vaudémont, the district immediately north of Mirecourt and another place where Parpignant also owned some property.[37] The statistical impact of this outburst can be measured. In 1629–30, Mirecourt and Dompaire—two districts with unusually low numbers of recorded witch trials in recent decades—accounted for almost 60 percent of all witchcraft executions recorded throughout nineteen Francophone districts in Lorraine's *bailliages* of Nancy and Vosges Lorraine. Apart from a major panic in Lorraine's traditional witch-hunting capital of St. Dié, where eight men and twelve women were executed and at least six other people were put on trial in 1629–30,[38] relatively few trials and executions were recorded in these years. Only six of the sixteen other Lorraine districts with usable records put a total of eight people on trial for witchcraft in 1629, and only four of these were executed.

[34]ADMM, B7143, fols. 118v–19 (Parpignant assets), 198–201 (legal expenses: 1160 francs for Sarasin, plus 216 francs for his travel expenses, 710 francs for each of his two associates, and 150 francs each for two junior colleagues).

[35]On February 19, 1630, Fourier told Guinet that "les pauvres malades et autres affligez de ce lieu en tirent journellement de la consolation tout plein en diverses manières." He considered that these "pauvres gens" were behaving "assez bien . . . en comparison du passé. Ces prétendues maleficiées se taisent maintenant à l'église sans y presque rien dire." *PF Corr.,* III:227.

[36]ADMM, B7145, pp. 120–21v, 124.

[37]ADMM, B9929, fol. 46v.

[38]See ADMM, B8742, fols. 106v–124 and B8744, n.pag. Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, pp. 258–93, provides an excellent introduction to the peculiarities of this region.

These totals were almost identical in 1630: seven trials and four deaths for witchcraft recorded in sixteen districts. Thus, aside from the exceptionally witch-ridden district of St. Dié in the southeastern corner of Lorraine, the panic originating with Fourier's demonically possessed parishioners—fanned by prolonged exorcisms and exploited by ducal officials such as Cordier and Sarasin—accounted for all but a handful of witchcraft executions in Francophone Lorraine at the end of this decade. The rate of executions to recorded witch trials also is telling: 84 percent executed at Mattaincourt in 1629, 71 percent executed at Dompaire/Valfroicourt in 1629–30, 60 percent executed at St. Dié in the same period, and barely 50 percent executed elsewhere in Lorraine at that time.

By November 1630 the final phase of Mattaincourt's drama began. In a letter to the nuns of his new order installed at St. Mihiel, Fourier enclosed another document, which he asked them to give to Sarasin:

> It is a commission from the Duke to open a trial against a daughter of Jean Vosgien who has recently returned . . . after being chased away from Mattaincourt by force. She had confessed, and still does, that she is as wretched as her father and her brother and her sister who were all executed as witches at the time of our greatest alarms. She is a real burden, and one can scarcely prevent her trial from taking place, although she is only twelve or thirteen years old.

He asked the nuns to pry some kind of answer from Sarasin and send it to him immediately. "You cannot believe," he concluded, "how afraid we are of the expenses over here, we are extremely poor in our village."[39] No reply from Sarasin has been preserved, although the outcome is known: Cordier's accounts for 1630 include a reference to "Anne, daughter of Jean Vosgien, executed this year for the crime of witchcraft by sentence of M. Sarasin," leaving no assets to be confiscated.[40] One more execution from Mattaincourt was directly connected to this panic. Jennon Parpignant, Didier's widowed sister, had

[39]On November 20, 1630, Fourier wrote to the nuns of St. Mihiel, "Voilà une lettre cijoint que je vous prie faire passer chez Monsieur Sarazin. C'est une commission de S.A. pour faire les procès à la fille de Jean Vosgien, dernièrement retournée . . . ou l'on avoit chassée de ce leiu comme par force . . . elle qui confessoit (comme elle fait encor) d'estre misérable comme son père et son frère et sa soeur qui furent executés par icy pour faict de sortilège du temps de nos grosses alarmes. On se tient extremement chargé d'elle, et ne peut-on presque attendre que le procez s'en fasse; elle est seulement aagée de douze à treize ans." *PF Corr.*, III:306–07.

[40]ADMM, B7143, fol. 124.

been "arrested for the second time on Sarasin's orders" in February 1631, and her house was sold in June after her execution.[41]

Later in 1630 Dompaire also recorded one final trial and execution involving witchcraft that was exceptionally scandalous and had unexpected consequences. It is unknown why Claude, daughter of Demenge Cathelinotte of Vomécourt (northeast of Mirecourt), was arrested and burned at the stake, not in her own district but at Dompaire, on charges of "parricide, incest, and witchcraft."[42] However, the first two capital charges against her should probably be translated as infanticide and incest with her spiritual "father." She provides a vital link in the chain of accusations against the final defendant directly connected to the Mattaincourt panic, as he was Cathelinotte's parish priest and apparently the father of her bastard child. In April 1631 this veteran exorcist, active well before events in Mattaincourt ignited in 1627, underwent torture at Toul, seat of his local bishopric, on vehement suspicion of witchcraft.

The account of Father Gordet's interrogation under torture reveals that it was supervised by Cardinal Nicolas-François of Lorraine (vicar-general of the titular bishop of Toul and the younger brother of Duke Charles IV). The transcript explains that Gordet had been accused of attending the Witches' Sabbath by seven people, all of whom had maintained their accusations in personal confrontations with him. One was Anne, wife of Didier Goulart of Bethencourt (only two kilometers from Vomécourt), She had blamed Gordet for arranging her first arrest back in 1624 before she was rearrested, convicted, and burned at Mirecourt in 1630.[43] His second accuser was Claude Cathelinotte, who can be identified as his mistress, since Gordet admitted under torture that he had made love to her at least twice, although he claimed he was drunk at the time. His other five accusers, however, cannot be traced among the numerous people executed for witchcraft at either Mirecourt or Dompaire, although all of them are identified in Gordet's indictment as "convicted of witchcraft"

[41]Jennon Parpignant, arrested on February 28 "pour une seconde fois pour le cas de sortilege sur ordre de M. Sarasin," was sentenced to death on June 17. B7147 (*acquits* for 1631, n.pag.).

[42]ADMM, B5572, fols. 20–20v.

[43]B7145, fol. 121v. On her previous trial, see B7133, fol. 115. Her first *procès* (in B7134) was used by Briggs, *Witches & Neighbors*, p. 208, although he failed to note that the woman had accused Gordet in personal confrontation before she was executed as a witch.

when they were confronted with him in Mirecourt. Three of them (Bastien, Claude, and Mengeotte) are identified as children of Claude Pelletier of Hymont; the other two (Toussaint and Jean) as children of Jean Noel of Mattaincourt.

They were indeed children in April 1631, which explains why all five had been convicted of witchcraft but not executed. The baptismal records of the prolific Pelletier household at Mattaincourt show that Claude (a girl) was born in October 1619, Bastien in March 1621, and Mengeotte in April 1624 (which makes the latter barely seven years old when she was confronted with Gordet).[44] Noel's children were slightly older—Toussaint was fourteen and Jean eleven; their older sister, Nicolle, had been executed along with their father in 1630, and both boys claimed that their five-year-old brother had accompanied the rest of their family to the Witches' Sabbath. But even Sarasin, who had signed Anne Vosgien's death warrant a few months earlier, was unwilling to put every juvenile witch in Mattaincourt to death, let alone children of seven or five. Ever since May 1630, Mattaincourt's child-witches had been kept under official surveillance by a series of public guardians (it is unclear if this was Fourier's idea, as it is not reflected in his correspondence). Their upkeep cost more than 500 francs—almost as much as Sarasin's fees for fifty days of work.[45] By 1631, a more permanent solution was found.

The treasurer's receipts from Mirecourt for 1631 include a petition signed by many residents of Mattaincourt, outlining the deplorable situation caused by these underaged witches, all orphaned devil's spawn whose parents had been burned.[46] Moreover, there were two sisters, Anne and Françoise DuBois, aged fourteen and twelve, "born of a witch mother and accused by many other witches," who steadfastly refused to confess their guilt (recall that their pregnant mother, Marie, had been among the first people arrested in 1627 and had attempted suicide in prison). The petitioners opened by bemoaning the "diminution or loss of their health through the spells, maleficia and diabolical possessions which a number of recently executed witches had caused," which had led the duke to send Sarasin to chastise the guilty

[44]ADV, E Dpt 297/GG 1 (October 9, 1619; March 23, 1621; April 26, 1624); another sibling, Pierre, was baptized on October 29, 1622, but probably died before 1630.

[45]ADMM, 7145, pp. 182, 185.

[46]ADMM, B7147 (*acquits*).

"for the greater glory of God." They then pointed out that there seemed little chance that these children would "return to God and change for the better, being too weak too resist such a powerful enemy as the Evil Spirit, being destitute of all human assistance." Instead of allowing them to roam around the village begging, the petitioners asked the duke to shoulder the entire burden of their upkeep.

On May 16, Duke Charles accordingly ordered these underaged witches to be placed under the watchful eye of a "good matron" and lodged in a house confiscated from an executed witch. The duke also "summoned the *curé* of Mattaincourt to care for their spiritual education, as his situation requires" and prohibited these children from mingling with the other children of Mattaincourt. One day later, Sarasin signed an order placing the two DuBois sisters in the same house with the self-confessed witches. It cost a great deal to keep so many wards of the state under proper surveillance. Three different guardians held this post over the next ten months at a net cost of about 100 francs per month. This sum represented only one-third of Sarasin's per-diem salary, but became a serious burden on an impoverished community, especially when an outbreak of plague also struck this district. Mirecourt's law courts remained closed from summer 1631 until late 1632, whereas Mattaincourt's baptisms fell sharply in 1631 and 1632 to barely half of their average numbers in the 1620s.

Even if Cordier was still paying 700 francs of Sarasin's fees in 1633, the whole business had begun to wind down in 1632. Fourier resigned his benefice. His order of reformed Augustinians bought Jeanne Parpignant's house at Mattaincourt. Sarasin had been promoted to one of the three *Echevins* (aldermen) of Nancy, Lorraine's highest judicial body. Unfortunately, his departure did not end witch-hunting in Mirecourt. Further trials were held at Remoncourt in 1632, while in 1633 a man from Mirecourt was burned for witchcraft and his wife was banished.[47]

Some loose ends remain. For example, Gordet's fate after he left the torture chamber is uncertain. He obviously was cleared of witchcraft charges, but he had probably admitted enough serious misconduct, including Cathelinotte's pregnancy and unspecified "excesses" committed with his "wives" (*épouses*) while performing exorcisms, to lose

[47]ADMM, B7148, fols. 120–21v, 191–93; B7151, fols. 122v–23, 191–92.

his benefice at Vomécourt.[48] The fate of his accusers, Mattaincourt's juvenile witches, is unknown after March 1632, when recorded payments for their guardians stops. But their chances of survival seem slim, given subsequent events.

By 1634 Cardinal Richelieu's armies had invaded Lorraine, plunging Mattaincourt and the rest of the region into the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Charles IV fled his duchy and would not govern it again for nearly thirty years. His adviser Fourier also had to flee Lorraine, dying in exile in 1640. Nicolas-François, the duke's younger brother who oversaw Gordet's trial and torture, resigned as cardinal and prince-bishop of Toul minutes before marrying his sister-in-law and first cousin. Like other places across Lorraine, Mattaincourt was devastated. Its baptisms plummeted from almost ninety per year in the 1620s to fewer than twenty-five per year between 1636 and 1650.

* * *

Statistically, the "Catholic Salem" episode that began at Mattaincourt in 1627 took more than twice as many lives as its later, better-known New England counterpart. Beyond the forty-five executions in 1629 and 1630 in the districts of Mirecourt and Dompaire, earlier and later deaths at Mirecourt bring the total to fifty between 1627 and 1632. Afterward, the survivors faced a future vastly more bleak than the Massachusetts colonists, who soon repudiated their credulity about "spectral evidence." Mattaincourt was devastated far more thoroughly by the Thirty Years' War than by its demoniacs and has never regained its population levels from the time when Fourier was its *curé*.[49] It also seems significant that whereas the richest and most prominent witchcraft suspects at Salem Village either fled or otherwise evaded arrest, Mattaincourt's richest suspect, Dominic Parpignant, was caught, tried, and executed. His estate sufficed to subsidize the entire affair, including the special commissioners led by Sarasin. But Mattaincourt's prosperity probably died with Parpignant, even before plague and warfare engulfed it.

Enormous differences in the publicity given to their painful collective experiences with youthful demoniacs also separate Salem

[48]Jean-Claude Diedler, *Démons et Sorcières en Lorraine* (Paris, 1996), p. 112, noticed the use of the plural term *épouses* and Gordet's seduction of Cathelinotte, but was unaware of her fate.

[49]Mattaincourt's population in 1999 was under 1000.

Village from Mattaincourt. One seems overexposed, and the other unaware of their essentially similar distinction. Salem boasts a tourist museum commemorating its macabre fame in the history of witchcraft and selling numerous books about the events of 1692, whereas Mattaincourt's history between 1627 and 1632 remains virtually unexplored.[50] Those events were immediately erased by the greater horrors of a prolonged war, and very few traces of them have been preserved in Lorraine's archives. After 1627, neither Cordier at Mirecourt nor his colleague at Dompaire enclosed any original trial records with their annual fiscal reports to their auditors in Nancy, although Cordier had done so only a few years earlier, and the panic left major fiscal traces in both districts in 1629 and 1630.

The silence of the existing record on the events of the "Catholic Salem" would seem to indicate discomfort with the subject. When the clerical beneficiaries of Fourier's reforms pressed for his beatification a century later, the whole unfortunate business was never mentioned, nor was it discussed during his canonization process in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some clues lie buried in the footnotes to the fine recent critical edition of Fourier's vast correspondence, but it is likely that few have wished to portray one of Lorraine's few genuinely popular heroes in an embarrassing and powerless posture—first silenced in his own pulpit by dozens of screaming demoniacs, then unable to avert a drastic witch hunt that destroyed Parpignant, a prominent parishioner whom he liked. Moreover, Briggs observes that the saint's description of the plight of a helpless girl, Anne Vosgien, "leaves a very nasty taste in the mouth."[51] Fourier may have triumphed at Rome in 1628, but he was thoroughly defeated in his home parish by the devil.

[50]A bit of the veil has been lifted recently by Jean Paul Claudel, "La sorcellerie à Mattaincourt au temps de Saint Pierre Fourier," *Revue Lorraine Populaire*, 194 (2007), 26–29.

[51]Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, p. 85. Another glimpse into Fourier's extremely cautious attitude toward suspected witches comes from a letter of March 1628 concerning a male candidate for his new order. He was related by marriage to Lorraine's chief civil judge, but his aunt had been tortured twice on suspicion of witchcraft, without confessing anything. Fourier advised against admitting him. See *PF Corr.,* II:569–70.

APPENDIX A: Executions for Witchcraft at Mattaincourt, 1627–31

1627: Claudette, widow of Jean Noel, executed
Marie, wife of François du Bois, shearer, died in prison
Jeanette, wife of Claude Gourdot, survived torture
1628: Jean Geoffroy alias Marlier, executed after second trial
Jean Vosgien, survived torture
1629: Jean Vosgien retried, executed with daughter Jeannon and son Nicolas
Didière, wife of Antoine Picard, executed
Claudon and Anne Pelletier (Hymont), both burned
Poirson Grand Colas (Hymont), died in prison (not condemned)
Hellevix, widow of Jean Chrestien, died in prison (not condemned)
Claudatte, widow of Jean Maljean, executed
Marie, wife of Claude de Rue, executed
Jeanotte, wife of Claude Gourdot, rearrested and executed
Françoise, wife of Jean Plant, executed
Didier Parpignant, executed
Didier Toiry, survived torture
Jeannon Parpignant, widow of Jean Mathié, survived torture
1630: Anne, daughter of Jean Vosgien, executed
Pierrot Pelletier and son Claudon (Hymont) executed (three nephews/nieces arrested)
Didirer François, executed
Marguerite, wife of Claudon François, executed
Marie, wife of Jean Boudin, executed
Jean Noel and daughter Nicole, executed (three children arrested)
1631: Jennon Parpignant rearrested and executed June 17

Also in the District of Mirecourt:

1629: Mengeotte, wife of Demenge Noirtin of Remoncourt, executed (three unnamed women arrested with her, all released)
Mengeotte, widow of Jean Rotey of Pont-sur-Madon, executed
Thienette (midwife), widow of Nicolas Ragon of Mirecourt, executed
Jean Gaudelle of Vittel, died in prison June 1629 (widow countersues successfully)
Jannon, widow of Florentin Bonnier of Parey-sous-Montfort, executed April 13 at Remoncourt
Margot, wife of Jean George of Parey-sous-Montfort, executed April 13 at Remoncourt (both accused February 1629 by three other women of same village, all executées)
Catherine, widow of Claudot Demenge of Roserotte, survived torture; released August 27
1630: Annon Bougignotte, wife of Didier Gaulloy of Bettoncourt [arrested 1624] executed.

In the District of Dompaire/Valfroicourt, at Dompaire:

1629: Jean Mercier of Aheuville, survived torture, released August 2
Yvotte, wife of Nicolas Pierrefitte of La Rue sous Harol, executed October 3
Catherine, wife of Jean Collotte of Escles, executed October 3
Mengeotte, wife of Nicolas Gros Dider, shepherd, executed October 3
Claudotte, widow of Jean de Bresy of Escles, survived torture; released October 29
1630: Claude, daughter of Demenge Cathelinotte of Vomécourt, burned for incest and witchcraft

Executed at Valfroicourt (July 1629–February 1630):

1629: Catherine, widow of Pierre LePeu of Rancourt, executed July 13
Martin Ory of Rancourt, executed July 19
Marie, widow of Didier Jean Ougier of Bainville, executed August 25
Barbe, wife of Demenge Jean Georgeot of Bainville, executed September 24
Jennon, wife of Jean Demengeot of Bainville, executed October 13
Claudatte, widow of Caludot DuHault of Fresnois, executed December 24
Her son, Claude DuHault of Fresnois, executed December 24
Jean Grand Henry of Fresnois, executed January 17, 1630
Georgin Georgin of Pont, executed February 12
His daughter, Claudotte Georgin of Pont, banished March 11
Françoise, wife of Jean Georgin of Pont, banished on March 11
Nicolas Thiebault of Valfroicourt, banished March 15

(Note: Everyone tried twice was executed—Jeanette Gourdon, Jean Geoffrey, Jean Vosgien, Jennon Parpignant, and Annon Bougignotte).

THE RELATIONS OF BEAUMONT COLLEGE (OLD WINDSOR, ENGLAND) WITH THE BRITISH MONARCHY (1861–1908)

BY

BERNARDO RODRÍGUEZ CAPARRINI*

Beaumont College, a Jesuit boarding school for boys from well-to-do families, was established in 1861 near Windsor, in the south of England. The college had been permitted to present loyal addresses to Queen Victoria in 1882, 1887, and 1897. Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1854–1933), the ninth rector, sought to strengthen the ties between the college and the British monarchy after Edward VII came to the throne in 1901, but met with only qualified success.

Keywords: Bampton, Joseph M., S.J.; Beaumont College; King Edward VII; Queen Victoria; Society of Jesus

> The opening of a College of the Society in the neighbourhood of London is the realization of a long felt desire on the part of those of the Catholics of England who wish to give their children the benefit of the education of the Society, without sending them so far to the North as to Stonyhurst. There is every reason to hope for success in the undertaking, as the position is convenient with respect to London, easily accessible, (being within half-an-hour's drive of stations on three railroads,) the situation healthy and elevated, and climate excellent, to say nothing of the beautiful grounds and shrubberies, and magnificent ambulacrum, all of which must be a great attraction to parents.[1]

St. Stanislaus's College, better known as Beaumont College, opened at Old Windsor (Berkshire, England) in October 1861 as a boarding school for Catholic boys aged seven to fourteen who came from the

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[1]"St. Stanislaus's College. Beaumont Lodge," *Letters and Notices*, 1 (1862), 18–21, here 18–19. Since 1862, *Letters and Notices* has been the private, internal publication of the English (now British) Province of the Society of Jesus.

upper classes. It previously had served as the residence of Warren Hastings (1732–1818), a governor-general of India, and as the novitiate of the English Province of the Society of Jesus for seven years. This foundation on the banks of the Thames near Windsor Castle completed the trio of boarding schools run by the Jesuits on English soil. The two others were Stonyhurst College, established in rural Lancashire in 1794, and Mount St. Mary's College, opened in 1842 at Spinkhill near Sheffield (Derbyshire). The English Province also had been operating St. Francis Xavier's College, a day school for middle-class children in Liverpool, since 1842.

Stonyhurst College represented the long-standing Jesuit tradition in education. It had been founded in exile at Saint-Omer in the Spanish Netherlands in 1593 by Robert Persons, S.J. (1546–1610), to educate young laymen who could not obtain an education in their native country because of the Elizabethan penal laws against Catholics in England and Wales. In 1762 the college, threatened with sequestration,[2] moved to Bruges until the general suppression of the Society of Jesus in August 1773, then re-formed in Liège as the Académie anglaise. The advance of the French revolutionary armies in 1794 required a move to England. After the penal laws were eased, the suppressed English Jesuits settled at Stonyhurst, occupying a mansion provided by Thomas Weld (1750–1810) of Lulworth (Dorset), a former scholar of the Bruges period and heir of the Shireburns:[3] "Here, and for long after, new generations of Jesuits were recruited, trained and sent out to found schools, parishes and missions all over Victoria's empire."[4]

A board of studies' conference at Stonyhurst College in early September 1857 recommended the establishment of a new Jesuit

[2]The Society of Jesus in France was formally dissolved by the Paris Parlement on August 6, 1762. All Jesuits within its jurisdiction had to sign an oath declaring the Society to be impious or leave the country: "Though the violently anti-Jesuit Paris *parlement* did not have jurisdiction outside its own territory, its recommendations were followed to the letter by the *parlement* of Artois, within whose jurisdiction St. Omers College, in the *Département du Pas-de-Calais*, lay." Maurice Whitehead, "'In the Sincerest Intentions of Studying':The Educational Legacy of Thomas Weld (1750–1810), Founder of Stonyhurst College," *Recusant History*, 26 (2002), 169–93, here 172.

[3]For an outline history of Stonyhurst College in the period 1773–94, see Maurice Whitehead, "Jesuit Secondary Education Revolutionized: the *Académie anglaise*, Liège, 1773–1794," *Paedagogica Historica*, 40 (2004), 33–44; and Maurice Whitehead, "'To provide for the edifice of learning': Researching 450 Years of Jesuit Educational and Cultural History, with Particular Reference to the British Jesuits," *History of Education*, 36 (2007), 109–43, here 122–28.

[4]T. E. Muir, *Stonyhurst College 1593–1993* (London, 1992), p. 9.

college in or near London. The eight meeting attendees, three of them converts from the Oxford Movement, were all Jesuits concerned with education.[5] In a report prepared by Peter Gallwey, S.J. (1820–1906), they argued that a well-situated college would avoid the geographical and cultural issues encountered by the two rural boarding schools belonging to the Order: "Some communication with the learned men of the country is quite requisite for those who aim at taking a lead in education. The Metropolis is the resort of the learned: in our present position we are isolated from them."[6] The opening of Beaumont College near London in 1861—like the foundation of the Oratory School in Birmingham by a distinguished convert, Blessed John Henry Newman (1801–90), only two years before—must be seen as an effort to accommodate the children of those upper-class new Catholics who had converted from Protestantism at the time of the Oxford Movement and who were "used to sending their sons to Eton and Oxford."[7]

Beaumont College, 1861–1900, and the Three Visits of Queen Victoria

Despite early struggles with inadequate facilities, Beaumont College prospered quickly. The school year 1862–63 opened with forty boys. Peter Beckx, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, made Beaumont a fully fledged college in 1864. New buildings were added to the original "Old House," so that 100 pupils could be accommodated by October 1865. The first rector was James Eccles, S.J. (1822–71), whose term lasted until November 1867. His successor, Francis Clough, S.J. (1810–91), had served as rector of Stonyhurst College (1848–61) and St. Francis Xavier's College (1861–65) before he moved to Beaumont. When Clough retired in October 1871, the number of boys had risen to about 135.

[5]See Ian D. Roberts, *A Harvest of Hope. Jesuit Collegiate Education in England, 1794–1914* (St. Louis, MO, 1996), pp. 55, 176; Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini, "Alumnos españoles en el internado jesuita de Beaumont (Old Windsor, Inglaterra), 1861–1868," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 76 (2007), 3–37, here 6–7.

[6]"Fr. Gallwey's report. A report containing suggestions concerning our Colleges and the studies pursued in them. Stonyhurst, Sept. 7th, 1857," London, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu (ABSI), CE/4-15; qtd. in Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini, "*El Eton católico": el internado jesuita de Beaumont (Old Windsor, Inglaterra) durante el rectorado del Padre Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1901–1908)* (Cádiz, 2004), p. 505.

[7]Meriol Trevor, *Newman. Light in Winter* (London, 1962), p. 178; qtd. in Roberts, *Harvest of Hope*, p. 176.

During its first ten years, Beaumont College intended "to provide a school which would give Catholics all that is good in the Public School life of England."[8] This meant that there was more of an effort to imitate the Protestant public schools[9] while preserving the essential Jesuit methods and traditions as exemplified by the Stonyhurst approach. Priests and scholastics, known as *prefects of discipline*, strictly supervised the pupils. Newman had spoken in 1865 of the example of the Oratory School "in making the other schools, even the Jesuit schools, less continental in their ways and more English, as in trusting boys and giving up *espionage*."[10] However, Thomas Welsby, S.J. (1831–96)—rector from 1871 to 1877—introduced a very different atmosphere into Beaumont College: "There was a tightening of liberties and a shortening of bounds. There was, so to speak, a halt in the efforts of the college to find its own self expression and establish its own traditions."[11] Despite this environment, the Beaumont Union, an association of former students, held its first annual dinner at the Criterion restaurant in London in July 1877. Under Welsby's stewardship, the community wing was built, the accommodation space for boarders was increased, and the "Old House" was converted into a preparatory school where the youngest boys lived.

In September 1877 Francis Cassidy (1845–1915) replaced Welsby as rector, with a marked difference in approach signaled by the nickname he acquired—"the gentle Cassidy." On October 21, Julián de Olivares Ballivián—a twelve-year-old Spaniard born in Bolivia—arrived at Beaumont College as the 150th boy on the roll.[12] In 1879 George Renorden Kingdon, S.J. (1821–93), a classical scholar with an Anglican background who had served as prefect of studies at Stonyhurst College, became prefect of studies at Beaumont, serving in this role until 1887 and working to systematize the curriculum. As was the case at other schools, the Matriculation Examination of the

[8]A. S. Barnes, *The Catholic Schools of England* (London, 1926), p. 180.

[9]The term *public schools* in the United Kingdom refers to elite institutions such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Winchester, "independent, fee-paying and mainly boarding schools at the height of their power and prestige in the late Victorian era." Gary McCulloch, "Secondary Education," in *A Century of Education*, ed. Richard Aldrich (London, 2002), pp. 31–53, here p. 33.

[10]*The Life and Letters of Dean Church*, ed. M. C. Church (London, 1894), p. 170; qtd. in Paul Shrimpton, *A Catholic Eton? Newman's Oratory School* (Leominster, UK, 2005), p. 244. Emphasis in original.

[11][Wilfrid Bowring], "Reminiscences of Beaumont," ABSI, PQ/4, galley proofs, *ca.* 1930, 9 columns, here column 2.

[12]See "Minister's Journal, 1868–1882," October 21, 1877, ABSI, 5/1/7.

University of London was the goal to which the ordinary school course—consisting of seven years—was directed. Beaumont had been sending candidates for this exam since 1868, but it was not until June 1883 that it placed one boy—Francis Hannan—at the head of the list, whereas another schoolfellow—Thomas Woodlock—secured fourth place (out of 932 candidates; 554 passed).[13]

A major event in the history of Beaumont College was the first visit of Queen Victoria on Thursday, March 9, 1882. Accompanied by a retinue that included her youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice, the queen drove from Windsor Castle to the front of the elaborately decorated college. Four boys—including two sons of Sir Evelyn Wood, a major-general (1838–1919)—offered bouquets to the queen, who accepted them with pleasure. Charles Edmund de Trafford—in the absence of his brother, Humphrey, the senior boy—read an address on behalf of the approximately 153 Beaumont boys and the Jesuit community that congratulated the queen on a thwarted assassination attempt. Roderick Maclean had fired a gun at Victoria outside Windsor railway station on March 2 and missed; two Eton boys prevented a second shot by striking Maclean's arm with their umbrellas. Three days later, 900 Etonians were invited to the castle, where an address of congratulation was presented, and the queen thanked the young heroes.[14] Several Beaumont boys also had been present when the attempt was made, "and they were among the first to rush upon Maclean."[15] Although they could not demonstrate their loyalty as emphatically as the Eton boys had done, the royal visit was "the first

[13]See "London University Examinations," *Letters and Notices*, 17 (1884), 71–73, here 72–73. In 1868 Kingdon expressed his dissatisfaction with the London Matriculation Examination. He favored competition with the great public schools of England, although the latter's candidates were prepared primarily for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge rather than the University of London. Catholics could sit for degree examinations for Oxford and Cambridge, but only on condition of previous residence—a contingency that the English hierarchy discouraged. Kingdon summarized the situation between the Catholic institutions and the University of London: "First, we are not brought into competition with the class of schools we desire to compete with. Secondly, the examinations are not such as suit our studies: classics are too little made of, and many other matters are made too much of. If there are schools which are suited by them, they are schools of a lower class, and with a lower style of education. Unfortunately, these are at present the only examinations open to us on terms that Catholics can admit." [George R. Kingdon, S.J.], "The Catholic Colleges and the University of London," *The Month*, 9 (1868), 1–16, here 15.

[14]See Eric Parker, *Eton in the 'Eighties* (London, 1914), p. 168.

[15]"The Queen and Beaumont," *The Beaumont Review*, spec. no. (1897), 6–10, here 7.

personal recognition of a Catholic school by the sovereign . . . since Henry VIII as a young man confirmed the privileges of Eton."[16] *Letters and Notices* observed that not only Beaumont was honored by the compliment of the queen but also the Society of Jesus and Catholics in England generally.[17] The queen's visit received wide publicity. The conservative *Whitehall Review* preferred to emphasize that Victoria did not drive into the college itself, but stopped her carriage at the lodge gates "where a large square of red cloth had been rather causelessly laid down."[18] By the queen's command, an extension of the Easter holidays was granted by the rector, who had been presented to the queen during her visit; the event concluded with the "National Anthem . . . sung by the whole of the college with great precision and enthusiasm."[19] A few months later, the queen sent Beaumont College a large signed portrait of herself, which was unveiled in the refectory in the presence of the whole house.

On August 1, 1884, Frederick O'Hare, S.J. (1850–1925), became rector. He set about building a preparatory school located near the college and engaged architect John Francis Bentley (1839–1902), a convert to Catholicism who later designed Westminster Cathedral in London. The foundation stone of St. John's Preparatory School—dedicated to St. John Berchmans—was laid on October 21, 1886, by the sportsman and horse-breeder Humphrey Francis de Trafford of Trafford Park (Manchester), a baronet and former Beaumont boy. By coincidence, the silver jubilee of the college was celebrated at the same time.

On the occasion of the golden jubilee of her ascension to the throne, Victoria visited Beaumont College again, accompanied by Princess Beatrice and Princess Irene of Hesse, her granddaughter. This second visit took place the evening of Monday, June 27, 1887. In front of the college gates, where the Jesuits and their charges had assembled, O'Hare presented an address to the queen ("our own particular tribute of loyalty and affection"[20]). Victoria bowed and spoke a few words of thanks. The *Times* recorded:

[16]Peter Levi, S.J., *Beaumont (1861–1961)* (London, 1961), p. 19.

[17]See "Beaumont," *Letters and Notices*, 15 (1882), 118–25, here 118.

[18]Newspaper cutting from the *Whitehall Review*, March 16, 1882, pasted into "Minister's Journal, 1868–1882," March 9, 1882, ABSI, 5/1/7.

[19]Newspaper cutting from the *Daily News*, March 10, 1882, pasted into "Minister's Journal, 1868–1882," March 9, 1882, ABSI, 5/1/7.

[20]"The Queen at Beaumont," *Letters and Notices*, 19 (1887), 154–56, here 156.

> Her Majesty, . . . on leaving Frogmore [Royal Mausoleum], first visited the Royal Tapestry works. . . . The Royal party then drove on to Beaumont College, where three cheers were given for the Queen as soon as Her Majesty came in sight, the students also singing the National Anthem. . . . The Queen having thanked the presenter of the address, Her Majesty and the Princesses were presented with very beautiful bouquets by Charles Wood (son of Sir Evelyn Wood), Francis Piggot, and Charles Stonor, after which the pupils sang a verse of their school song, "Carmen Beaumontanum." The Queen left the college immediately afterwards and continued her evening drive.[21]

According to the conservative *St. James Budget*, this visit of the queen to Beaumont College "created a flutter in some ultra-Protestant hearts, who pretended to see in it a proof of what they had long suspected—that her Majesty was a Catholic at heart!"[22] Although this is a somewhat extreme conclusion to draw concerning the queen's visit, it must be conceded that some of the queen's religious practices in her later years accorded with the Catholic faith:

> In defiance of conventional Church of England teaching, she prayed for the dead. Her attitude toward the afterlife possessed a concreteness that her other doctrinal views lacked; in her widowhood, the church services that meant most to her were funerals and memorial services.[23]

St. John's, the new preparatory school, was formally opened in September 1888. Before the end of the year it had enrolled fifty-eight boys aged eight to twelve, with an additional 142 at the college.[24]

In September 1891, O'Hare was succeeded by William Arthur Heathcote, S.J. (1853–1924), the eldest son of mid-Victorian convert William Perceval Heathcote, sixth baronet, of Hursley Park (Hampshire). Heathcote had been on staff for nine years, serving for seven as prefect of discipline, and was the first Beaumont boy to be appointed rector. With the exception of the prefect of studies, Daniel Considine, S.J. (1849–1922), the majority of the personnel was new to Beaumont College at the start of Heathcote's term of office. His

[21] "The Queen's Jubilee," *The Times*, June 28, 1887, 10.

[22] "A Catholic Eton. Beaumont College, Old Windsor," *St. James's Budget*, October 19, 1894, 20–22, here 22.

[23] Walter L. Arnstein, "Queen Victoria and the Challenge of Roman Catholicism," *The Historian*, 58 (1996), 295–314, here 309–10.

[24] See *The History of St. Stanislaus' College, Beaumont. A Record of Fifty Years 1861–1911*, ed. Francis Devas (Old Windsor, UK, 1911), p. 52. The number of boys at St. John's was limited to sixty.

attempts to increase the liberty of the pupils were frustrated by those under him who opposed any changes in the traditional Jesuit approach.

Several distinguished persons visited the college during Heathcote's term as rector. The college hosted Luis Martín, S.J. (1846–1906), the newly elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in December 1892. On June 17, 1893, Sir John Stuart Knill (1824–98), lord mayor of London, distributed the athletic prizes at Beaumont, where his son, John—who accompanied him—had been educated. On July 6, 1893, Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, archbishop of Westminster (1832–1903), drove to the college from Llanvair (Ascot) with Henrietta Pelham-Clinton, dowager duchess of Newcastle. On the same date, Beaumont held a festival to celebrate the wedding of George, duke of York, and Princess Victoria Mary of Teck (later King George V and Queen Mary).[25]

After three years, Heathcote's rectorate ended. He was succeeded by John Lynch, S.J. (1848–1926), in September 1894. Lynch had attended Beaumont College in its earliest days, enrolling in September 1862. He had headed the preparatory department since 1880 and served as principal of St. John's since 1888.[26] The school magazine *The Beaumont Review* and the Beaumont Boating Club were established in 1894 and 1895 respectively, at the instigation of John O'Fallon Pope, S.J. (1850–1934), a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford.[27]

Beaumont College cut its connection with the University of London in 1896, one year after the lifting by Rome of the warning against Catholics' attendance at Oxford and Cambridge. The Higher Certificate Examination of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was then substituted for the London Matriculation. The English Province of the Society of Jesus considered the new substitute more satisfactory as an

[25]On the visit of Martín, see *Letters and Notices*, 22 (1893), 9–14. The visits of Knill and Cardinal Vaughan are chronicled in *Letters and Notices*, 22 (1893), 193–95.

[26]When Lynch's rectorate ended in December 1897, he was appointed superior at the preparatory school and served in that position for five years.

[27]On March 4, 1897, O'Fallon Pope received Basil W. Maturin (1847–1915) into the Church at Beaumont; a year later, Cardinal Vaughan ordained Maturin. Maturin, a famed preacher and spiritual writer, was returning from a U.S. preaching mission on the *Lusitania* when it was torpedoed on May 7, 1915. See *The Catholic Who's Who & Year-Book 1909,* ed. F. C. Burnand (London, 1909), p. 332; *The History of St. Stanislaus' College,* p. 52.

outgoing test, since the spirit of Jesuit training "should be that of thoroughness in one or two great points, rather than that of spreading the powers of our students over too wide an area—depth rather than space, solidity rather than glitter, quality rather than quantity."[28] This criterion derived from the traditional Ignatian concern with a basic and profound formation rather than with the quantity of course material covered (*Non multa, sed multum*).

During Lynch's term as rector, the surveillance system reached its zenith. En route from the recreation rooms to the chapel, the boys had to pass four prefects of discipline posted at different corners: "There was little loyalty to the College authorities, and the *regime* they worked. There was friendship with the individual but definite antagonism to the system he represented."[29] Lynch received Queen Victoria during her third and last visit to Beaumont College on July 5, 1897, that coincided with her diamond jubilee. As in 1882 and 1887, the ceremony took place in front of the college gates, with the queen accompanied by Princess Beatrice, as well as by Princesses Irene and Victoria of Hesse. The senior boy, Malcolm McDonald, read an address of congratulation. Charles Aston Clifford, another pupil, presented the queen with a copy of the jubilee number of *The Beaumont Review*, bound in a crimson, gold-embossed cover. In remembrance of this visit, Victoria conferred a double favor on the college "by presenting the Rector with the Jubilee Medal, and commanding a special extension of the holidays for the boys."[30]

Prior to the queen's visit, the Jesuit Joseph Rickaby (1845–1932) preached an eloquent sermon in the college chapel on June 20, 1897, speaking of the progress that the Catholic Church had made in England during Victoria's reign: "A million and a half of Catholics now against 400,000 in 1837. Two thousand six hundred priests now against 508 in 1837; and other figures in proportion."[31] In fact, the proportion of Catholics in the total population of England during the

[28]"The New Oxford Movement," *Letters and Notices*, 23 (1896), 369–75, here 375.

[29][Wilfrid Bowring], "Reminiscences of Beaumont," column 5. Emphasis in original.

[30]*The Beaumont Review*, 13 (1897), 162.

[31]Joseph Rickaby, "The Growth of Sixty Years," *The Beaumont Review*, spec. no. (1897), 14. Stewart J. Brown claims that by the mid-1890s, the number of Roman Catholics in England and Wales was 1.5 million. The number of priests amounted to 3000, with 1500 Catholic churches and 1000 Catholic schools. See Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815–1914* (London, 2008), p. 410.

second half on the nineteenth century was around 5 percent, a ratio that remained fairly constant until 1914.[32] The legal and social emancipation of the British Catholic minority took place gradually in the nineteenth century. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed the bulk of the remaining anti-Catholic legislation. Catholics recovered most of their civil rights and were allowed to serve in Parliament. Several clauses in this act made it very difficult for Jesuits—singled out by name—and members of other Catholic religious orders to work legally in the United Kingdom, but they were not enforced: "From the first, however, these provisions were a dead letter, included mainly as a sop to the Protestant prejudices of that age."[33] In 1850 the English Catholic community comprised three main groupings. First were the old Catholics, descendants of recusant aristocratic families such as the Howards (who included the dukes of Norfolk) and landed gentry who had survived long years of persecution. Second were Irish Catholic immigrants who favored an "Ultramontane" devotion to the papacy. Members of the third group were the influential Oxford Movement converts, who "impressed by their social elevation and their intellectual ability rather than their numbers."[34] Pope Pius IX's re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales (with an archbishop of Westminster, bishops, and dioceses) in September 1850 was a landmark for Catholics, but nearly all Protestants referred to it as an act of "papal aggression." The Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851, which forbade anyone outside the Church of England to hold territorial titles in the United Kingdom, was hardly ever applied and would be repealed in 1871: "While popular Protestantism and anti-Catholicism remained strong, there was no real support for a renewal of penal laws."[35] The Universities Tests Act (1871) challenged the Anglican monopoly at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham by abolishing the mandatory religious tests for degrees (except in theology) and for most fellowships. From the mid-1870s, sectarian riots against Catholics tended to die

[32]See Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (Basingstoke, UK, 1996), pp. 12, 173.

[33]Francis Edwards, *The Jesuits in England: From 1580 to the Present Day* (Tunbridge Wells, UK, 1985), p. 173.

[34]Ian Machin, "British Catholics," in *The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants. Minorities and the Nation State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and Stephan Wendehorst (New York, 1999), pp. 11–32, here p. 18. However, the number of converts was not negligible, consisting of about 82,000 individuals in the years up to 1901. See Machin, "British Catholics," p. 18.

[35]Brown, *Providence and Empire*, p. 186.

down in Britain: "Catholics in Britain were gradually ceasing to be a beleaguered, barely tolerated body and were becoming more settled and confident."[36] However, as Ian Machin has observed,[37] there were still some important legal inequalities for British Catholics at the end of the century—they could not serve in the offices of lord lieutenant of Ireland and lord chancellor of England, nor could they hold the position of monarch (the latter prohibition remains in force today). In addition, an obsolete statute prohibited the outdoor performance of Catholic ceremonies and the wearing of religious vestments in public.

On December 23, 1897, Gerald Tarleton, S.J. (1849–1927), was installed as rector of Beaumont College. Forty-three new pupils entered the college in 1898. During the Boer War (1899–1902), 106 Beaumont boys served.[38] The number of new pupils further decreased to thirty-one in 1899 and to seventeen in 1900.[39] On October 6, 1900, Henry Parker, S.J., the prefect of discipline, noted that there were seventy-nine boarders at the college and twenty-one at the preparatory school.[40] According to Wilfrid Bowring:

> I remember it was rumoured in London that the College might be disbanded as its future was considered so very problematical. The number of boys was now extremely small and the finances were in proportion difficult. A decision to close the College must have hung over Fr. Tarleton's head like a sword, and somehow his Rectorship reminds one of a caretaker marking time. His *rôle* of office must not be taken too seriously. He was probably not expected to take heroic measures to re-organise the College and his position gradually drifted into a sort of *locum tenens*, biding the time when some decision as to the future would be taken.[41]

Relations between Joseph M. Bampton, S.J., and the British Monarchy (1901–08)

> From the first moment of Father Bampton's arrival at Beaumont one hears, so to speak, the sound of trumpets. He was Rector of Farm Street, a melodiously thunderous and famous preacher, a great light of the English Jesuits and an authoritative leader adept at handling the new Edwardian world.[42]

[36]Machin, "British Catholics," p. 28.

[37]Machin, "British Catholics," p. 31.

[38]Of these, five were killed, seven received the Distinguished Service Order, and forty-three were mentioned in dispatches. See *The History of St. Stanislaus' College,* p. 61.

[39]See "Beaumont Lists 1861–1911," ABSI, 5/2/3.

[40]See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," October 6, 1900, ABSI, 5/1/6.

[41][Wilfrid Bowring], "Reminiscences of Beaumont," column 6.

[42]Levi, *Beaumont*, p. 30.

Joseph Maurice Bampton was born in Exeter (Devon) on October 28, 1854. His brother, Henry, who was born four years later, also became a Jesuit. Like many other Jesuits of the English Province, the elder Bampton was educated at Stonyhurst College, which he entered in September 1863. At school he excelled as an orator gifted with a "musical voice and perfect enunciation."[43] After admission to the Society of Jesus, Bampton was sent in September 1871 to Manresa House, Roehampton (Greater London), for his novitiate. He returned to Stonyhurst in 1875 for a three-year philosophy course. Regency, his next period of formation (1878–84), was spent at Mount St. Mary's College (Derbyshire), where he taught the highest form in the school for the last four of these years. After his ordination on September 25, 1887, and the conclusion of theological studies at St. Beuno's College (North Wales), Bampton undertook a further ten-month period of spiritual renewal, or tertianship (1888–89). He was placed at the Holy Name Church (Manchester) in 1889. There, under Bernard Vaughan, S.J. (1847–1922), a renowned preacher of the English Province, Bampton devoted himself to learning the theory and practice of pulpit oratory. In 1890 he was transferred to Farm Street (London) and was appointed rector on April 19, 1894. His term at the London residence formally ended in February 1898, but, contrary to custom, Bampton remained until January 1901, when he was posted to Beaumont College.

Bampton took office at 2 pm on January 16, 1901, initially as vice-rector.[44] A few days later, on the evening of January 22, Queen Victoria died at Osborne House, her residence on the Isle of Wight. Bampton sent a telegram of condolence in which he, the masters, and the boys of Beaumont College offered Victoria's successor, King Edward VII (1841–1910), "their most respectful and heartfelt sympathy and assurance of their loyal homage."[45] On Saturday, January 26, the prefect of discipline, Henry Parker, urged the pupils to make General Communion for the repose of the late queen, and the rector issued an order that boys were to prepare mourning dress for the funeral procession, which was scheduled for the following Saturday at Windsor.[46] Thanks to Bampton's efforts, the pupils of both Beaumont College and

[43]"Fr. Joseph Bampton," *Letters and Notices*, 48 (1933), 227–35, here 227–28.

[44]See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," January 16, 1901, ABSI, 5/1/6. Bampton became rector on September 19, 1901.

[45]*The Tablet*, January 26, 1901, 126. The college received a telegram of thanks in reply.

[46]See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," January 26, 1901, ABSI, 5/1/6.

St. John's Preparatory School viewed the procession from a special stand erected for them within the precincts of Windsor Castle. Because this was a privilege only granted to the mayor and corporation of Windsor, it caused the Beaumont boys to be mistaken for Etonians, who were actually situated on a different part of the route.[47] The boys returned to the college as soon as the crowds would permit and were very tired at the end of the day. The ceremony at Windsor had been "most impressive and memorable."[48]

But this taste of royalty left Bampton far from satisfied. Victoria's three visits to the Jesuit college and the rector's obsession with "the heady excellences of Eton and the drabness and recent miseries of Beaumont and of Catholic schools as a whole"[49] spurred him to write to Sir Francis Knollys (1837–1924)—private secretary to the king—on March 5, 1901, requesting that the king personally receive an address from the students of Beaumont College. Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Davidson (1856–1922)—equerry and assistant secretary to the king—replied four days later from Marlborough House (London) on behalf of Knollys, explaining why the request could not be granted:

> As the personal presentation of Addresses is limited to certain named, privileged Universities and Towns; and if an exception were made in the case of Beaumont College, it would create a precedent which would be difficult to limit, and which would have necessarily to be extended in the case of other Colleges.[50]

Bampton sought to improve his chances of a royal acceptance through the network of families connected to the English Province of the Society of Jesus. He contacted the Catholic Rudolph Feilding (1859–1939), the ninth earl of Denbigh and a member of the king's household.[51] In his March 12 reply to Bampton, Denbigh reiterated

[47]Bampton had previously obtained permission to present a funeral wreath that bore the college crest—a horseshoe with three daggerets. See "Beaumont College and the Queen's Funeral," *The Tablet*, February 9, 1901, 229.

[48]"Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," February 2, 1901, ABSI, 5/1/6. For the rituals following the death of Queen Victoria, see John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 238–39.

[49]Levi, *Beaumont*, p. 30.

[50]Davidson to Bampton, March 9, 1901, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3; qtd. in Rodríguez Caparrini, "*El Eton católico*," p. 387.

[51]Denbigh had not received his education from the Jesuits, but had attended Oscott College in Birmingham. However, three brothers of his mother, Mary Berkeley, had studied at Beaumont College: Robert in 1865–73, Maurice in 1866–76, and Thomas in

that Edward could not make an exception for Beaumont College, as no schools were presenting addresses. The earl suggested that the rector should forward the address to Knollys, who would present it to the king.[52] But Bampton was undeterred. On April 9 he corresponded again with Knollys about the address. Knollys replied discouragingly from Windsor Castle that Edward appreciated very highly the loyal feelings expressed by the Beaumont boys, "but he is sure you will understand how difficult it would be for him to allow your College to be the only Educational Institution in the Kingdom to present, 'in person', an address to him."[53]

Bampton's correspondence fell silent on the matter for the remainder of 1901. Nonetheless, the school magazine for December of that year stated that Edward and his son, the prince of Wales, had enjoyed some excellent shooting in the Great Park during their stay at Windsor Castle in November and added: "His Majesty did not forget to forward a present of game to the Rector of Beaumont."[54] This sentiment was in keeping with the patriotism pervading Beaumont College at the time. Michael King, S.J. (1853–1931), editor of *The Beaumont Review* for eleven years (1901–12), was an enthusiastic supporter of the British army. In March 1902, just two months before the end of the Boer War, the magazine published a list of "Beaumont Boys in the King's Service," including the names of those who were then serving or who died in the war.[55] When the news about the signing of the peace treaty reached the college late on Sunday, June 1, a half-holiday was granted on Monday, and the *Te Deum* was sung at Benediction in the evening.[56]

The coronation of Edward scheduled for June 26, 1902, had to be postponed, since the king required an operation for appendicitis. All

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1872–76. The Stonyhurst College lists include the seventh, eighth, and ninth barons Clifford of Chudleigh, who were, respectively, grandfather, father, and brother of Denbigh's first wife, Cecilia Mary Clifford. Another brother-in-law, Joseph Clifford (the tenth baron), also had attended Beaumont (1872–74). See Rodríguez Caparrini, *"El Eton católico,"* p. 388.

[52]Denbigh to Bampton, March 12, 1901, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3.

[53]Knollys to Bampton, April 11, 1901, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3; qtd. in Rodríguez Caparrini, "*El Eton católico*," pp. 388–89.

[54]*The Beaumont Review*, 30 (1901), 191.

[55]See "Beaumont Boys in the King's Service," *The Beaumont Review*, 31 (1902), 262–67. Another list in the subsequent issue of the magazine brought the total number of Beaumont boys in the Boer War to 106. See *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 312.

[56]See *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 306.

scheduled festivities were cancelled at Beaumont College. In the evening of June 24, the rector addressed the boys. He spoke of the anxiety that existed throughout the empire on account of the king's sudden illness and reminded the pupils of the several occasions in which the king had shown his interest in them. They had now an opportunity to demonstrate gratitude for this interest:

> An opportunity which was denied to so many other school boys throughout the country who were no less devoted to the King than they were: for they could pray for him during Benediction, before the Real Presence of Our Lord, that God might prolong his life and comfort him in the trouble which had fallen on him.[57]

When Benediction was over, the antiphon "Domine, salvum fac" was sung together with the prayer for the king and the royal family. The prayers continued every day after the boys' Mass until July 5, when Edward was officially declared to be out of danger.

Beaumont College shared in the general disappointment at the postponement of the coronation. In the last issue of the school year 1901–02, *The Beaumont Review* printed the article "How Beaumont Would Have Celebrated the Coronation of the King." Apart from the *Te Deum* on Coronation Day, the celebrations would have included sports events, a grand banquet in the college refectory, a huge bonfire in the playground, and a display of fireworks. What the students did receive, by the king's command, was an extra week's holiday that would be added to the summer vacation: "And we here take the opportunity of tendering our thanks to His Majesty for thus bearing in mind a not unimportant section of his loyal subjects."[58]

The school magazine confirms that Bampton had not lost hope that the king might eventually pay a formal visit to Beaumont College: "Though the King has not yet found it possible to visit Beaumont, he is no stranger to us, and when he resides at the Castle one of his favourite drives takes him past the College gates."[59]

Thanks to Edward's rapid recovery, the coronation service was held at Westminster Abbey on the morning of August 9, 1902. At least

[57] *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 306.

[58] "How Beaumont Would Have Celebrated the Coronation of the King," *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 316–17, here 316.

[59] "How Beaumont Would Have Celebrated the Coronation of the King," p. 316.

one Beaumont boy was in attendance—sixteen-year-old Edric Wolseley, who acted as page in waiting to his relative, field marshal Garnet Wolseley (1st viscount Wolseley, 1833–1913).[60] King Edward and Queen Alexandra went in procession through the main streets of south London on Saturday, October 25, 1902. Dressed in Eton jackets, seventy-five of the 103 Beaumont students watched the royal progress from a stand erected for their exclusive use on the roof of the presbytery attached to St. George's Cathedral, Southwark.[61] At 6:30 pm, staff and students of the college and the preparatory school sat down to the "Banquet of the Coronation" at the refectory of Beaumont College. The hall was profusely decorated with escutcheons and flags of the empire. The rector proposed the toast to the king and queen, telling the boys that "when he called upon them to drink to the King's health they could feel that they were honouring a Sovereign who took a personal interest in them and in their School."[62] Francis Patmore, the captain of the school,[63] then made a short speech, in a similar patriotic tone. All stood for the singing of "God Save the King," with the prefect of studies—Charles Blount, S.J. (1855–1931)—singing each verse solo and the rest repeating it to the accompaniment of the orchestra. The rector read the telegram of congratulation sent to Buckingham Palace that wished the king and queen "a long and glorious reign."[64] At about 8:30 pm, the company adjourned to view the illuminated college façade. Bampton lit the bonfire erected for the original Coronation Day, and a display of fireworks concluded the evening.

On October 27 Beaumont College received a telegram of thanks from Edward, which Bampton possibly interpreted as encourage-

[60]See Edric Wolseley, "The Coronation. By One Who Was Present," *The Beaumont Review*, 33 (1902), 371–73.

[61]The boys from St. John's Preparatory School remained behind. See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," October 25, 1902, ABSI, 5/1/6.

[62]"Coronation Festivities, October 25th, 1902," *The Beaumont Review*, 33 (1902), 392–95, here 393.

[63]The most important innovation during Bampton's rectorate was his introduction of a system of discipline—the "captain" system—based on the principle of enlisting the cooperation of boys with masters in the government of the school. See Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini, "A Catholic Public School in the Making: Beaumont College during the Rectorate of the Reverend Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1901–1908). His Implementation of the 'Captain' System of Discipline," *Paedagogica Historica*, 39 (2003), 737–57, here 748–53; and Rodríguez Caparrini, *"El Eton católico,"* pp. 274–308.

[64]"Coronation Festivities, October 25th, 1902," *The Beaumont Review*, 33 (1902), 392–95, here 393.

ment. He wrote again to Denbigh. The earl's reply from Sandringham on November 8 regarding the matter of the Beaumont address was not encouraging:

> The matter has been considered already, and His Majesty does not feel disposed to accede, but solely on the reason that he does not like making an exception in favour of any particular school. Fortunately, none but extremists or fanatics doubt the loyalty of English Catholics.[65]

Perhaps trying to compensate for his refusal, Edward sent Bampton a present of game birds from Windsor Castle. These were obtained in the second fortnight of November 1902 at the battues that the British monarch held in the royal preserves with King Carlos I of Portugal (1863–1908), who was then visiting England.[66] At the end of January of the following year, some students from St. John's Preparatory School caught sight of Edward shooting in the park. The king invited them to stand by his carriage.[67]

Bampton had further plans to demonstrate the loyalty of Beaumont College to the monarchy—namely, by laying a wreath on the tomb of Queen Victoria at Frogmore on the Windsor estate, although permission to enter the mausoleum was seldom granted to anyone outside the royal family.[68] But the rector had an advantage. Princes Alfonso de Orleans Borbón (1886–1975) and Luis Fernando de Orleans Borbón (1888–1945)—first cousins of King Alfonso XIII of Spain (1886–1941)—were attending Beaumont. Bampton duly applied for permission on the princes' behalf, and Edward, through Knollys, authorized the two princes and the rector to pay a private visit to the mausoleum on October 13, 1903.[69] Accompanying the wreath was a card tied with a ribbon in the school colors that bore the inscription "In token of loyal and loving remembrance from the boys of Beaumont."[70]

[65]Denbigh to Bampton, November 8, 1902, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3; qtd. in Rodríguez Caparrini, *"El Eton católico,"* p. 393.

[66]See *The Beaumont Review*, 34 (1902), 1. The presents of game, usually pheasants, were made to the college for many years.

[67]See C. J. Harter, "Notes from St. John's," *The Beaumont Review*, 35 (1903), 56–59, here 58.

[68]See Tony Rennell, *Last Days of Glory. The Death of Queen Victoria* (Harmondsworth, UK, 2000), p. 27.

[69]See Knollys to Bampton, October 6 and 12, 1903, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3.

[70]*The Beaumont Review*, 37 (1903), 165.

In 1905 the rector directed his efforts toward securing the presence of the Spanish monarch at the school. Alfonso XIII arrived in England on June 5, 1905, on a five-day state visit that involved both strategic and dynastic components. Some months before, Bampton had contacted former Beaumont boy Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart (1878–1953), duke of Alba, asking him to invite the king to visit the college. The crowded schedule only permitted the rector and eight Spanish students from the college to pay their respects to Alfonso at Windsor station on June 9. The young king engaged in friendly conversation with Bampton and boys, "while—*The Windsor and Eton Express* reported—King Edward stood smiling, and looking on, evidently much amused at the unconventional character of the proceedings."[71] However, it is significant to note that the two monarchs made the time to stop briefly at Eton College later in the day and were welcomed with enthusiastic cheers by the 1000-odd boys. The headmaster and the provost were presented to Alfonso in the gateway of the famous institution.[72] The Beaumont boys were granted a holiday in honor of the Spanish king's visit to Windsor, which was "some slight solace for the disappointment which all felt in not being able to welcome the King within the College grounds."[73]

Beaumont College received recognition as a public school in February 1906 with the admission of its rector to the Headmasters' Conference. This achievement reflected the distinctive values promulgated in public school education that the Jesuit boarding school shared in some measure with its Protestant counterparts: formation of character, athleticism, scholarship, Oxford and Cambridge links, leadership, aspirations to advance the gentry, military spirit, and relationship with royalty.[74] Bampton's prestige in the final years of his term as rector was such that he received an invitation to attend the king's afternoon garden party at Windsor Castle on Saturday, June 22, 1907. The more than 8000 guests included nearly all the British royal family; Rama V, king of Siam; and American author Mark Twain. Bampton believed the most enduring impression of the day was "that of the strength and still more of the warmth of the ties, not only of loyalty

[71]Qtd. in "The King of Spain and Beaumont," *The Beaumont Review*, 44 (1905), 199–200, here 200.

[72]See *The Slough, Eton & Windsor Observer*, June 17, 1905, 3.

[73]"The King of Spain and Beaumont," *The Beaumont Review*, 44 (1905), 199–200, here 199.

[74]See Rodríguez Caparrini, "A Catholic Public School," p. 755.

but of friendship and affection, which bind the British throne to the British people."[75]

Bampton achieved a return visit of King Alfonso late in 1907. Alfonso—now married to Princess Victoria Eugenia of Battenberg, niece of Edward VII—paid a 90-minute visit on December 2, 1907, accompanied by the duke of Alba. The rector and community received them at the main entrance and conducted them to the theater, where eight Spanish students were presented to the king. The king then inspected the facilities, including the armory, swimming pool, the recreation rooms, and gymnasium: "He was much struck with the evidence of self-government which he saw in the various departments of the College, and asked the Duke of Alba whether it would not be possible to introduce the same system in Spain."[76] In honor of Alfonso's visit, the rector granted a holiday on December 7, and the college Cadet Corps of about 100 boys held a sham fight on the school grounds.

In June 1908, close to the end of Bampton's term as rector of Beaumont College, the combined number of boys at the college and St. John's Preparatory School had reached nearly 200.[77] He concluded his service as rector on August 27, 1908. After Bampton's death in April 1933, he was described as the person who "steered the College safely and successfully through a time of transition and consequent uncertainty to final triumph and assured stability."[78]

Conclusion

Despite the proximity of Beaumont College to Windsor Castle, it took more than twenty years after the founding of this Jesuit educational institution for Queen Victoria to personally recognize it by receiving an address of congratulation from the schoolboys at the college gates. The queen's fluctuating attitude toward her Catholic subjects at Beaumont College closely follows the pattern that she adopted with regard to Catholicism, which Walter L. Arnstein has summarized as follows:

[75]"Some Impressions of the Royal Garden Party at Windsor Castle (by One Who Was There)," *The Beaumont Review*, 52 (1907), 187–88, here 188.

[76]*The Beaumont Review*, 54 (1908), 319.

[77]See *The Beaumont Review*, 55 (1908), 382.

[78]"Editorial," *The Beaumont Review*, 138 (1933), 145.

> During her years as princess and as youthful monarch, Victoria was indeed the public and the private champion of both "Catholic Emancipation" and broad religious toleration. In the aftermath of the "Papal Aggression" controversy of 1850–51, her views hardened. By the early 1870s she had become privately if not publicly, a Protestant crusader who candidly described herself as "very anti-Catholic." In her final years, however, those attitudes underwent a second significant transformation. Not only in her private practice but also in her public actions, Queen Victoria became a philo-Catholic.[79]

Moreover, it may have been difficult for the queen to ignore a boarding school with many pupils of a high social class. According to the available evidence, 17.3 percent of the students who attended Beaumont College in the period 1872–76 belonged to the gentry, with another 27.7 percent pursuing careers in military and civil service after graduation. The percentages for the period 1892–96 are comparable in the two categories: 19.1 percent and 25.7 percent, respectively.[80]

As rector of this institution, Bampton emulated the tactics of the great Protestant public schools of the country to generate interest in his own. As intimacy with royalty was a social advantage offered to attendees of these major schools, the preoccupation of the rector with securing the presence of Edward (and Alfonso) at the college can be better understood. At the seventh Conference of Catholic Colleges, held at Ampleforth Abbey (Yorkshire) on May 13–14, 1902, Bampton gave an alarming account of the increasing number of Catholic children who frequented Eton and other public schools. From his dealings with the parents of these boys, he learned that

> although the education given in Catholic schools was admitted to be not inferior in point of efficiency to that of the public schools, it is the question of social advantages that influences Catholic parents to desert their own Catholic colleges for non-Catholic schools.[81]

A formal visit by Edward would have meant valuable publicity for the college. However, Bampton overestimated the feasibility of such an

[79]Arnstein, "Queen Victoria and the Challenge of Roman Catholicism," pp. 296–97.

[80]At Harrow, one of the elite Protestant public schools, the percentage of pupils belonging to the gentry was much lower than at Beaumont College in the two periods studied—9.6 percent in 1872–76 and 6.7 percent in 1892–96. See Roberts, *Harvest of Hope*, pp. 184–88.

[81]"The Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges," *The Tablet*, May 24, 1902, 819–20, here 819.

event taking place, although he may have been encouraged by Queen Victoria's past calls at Beaumont College as well as Edward's unostentatious Anglicanism and "relatively friendly attitude towards Roman Catholics and Jews."[82] In fact, the British monarch's favorite Catholic priest was the Jesuit Bernard Vaughan, Bampton's mentor in the Manchester days. In 1898, as prince of Wales, Edward heard Vaughan preach at two churches in Cannes (France). He asked for the notes to one sermon, and Vaughan wrote the entire sermon out for him. After this, invitations to Marlborough House and Buckingham Palace were frequent.[83] The Irish ex-Jesuit E. Boyd Barrett has written that "when Edward VII was on the throne, they [the Jesuits] exercised power over him through Fr. Bernard Vaughan."[84] It was Vaughan who received Sir Ernest Cassel, the Jewish financier, into the Catholic Church, and Cassel was the most representative of Edward's intimate friends.

Given this treatment of Vaughan, the refusal of Edward to receive an address from Beaumont College must have been surprising to Bampton who, as rector of a respected boarding school for the elite and a well-regarded orator, may have considered his credentials to be on the level of his confrere Vaughan and thus deserving of royal favor.

The reason cited by Edward for refusing the personal presentation of an address by the boys of Beaumont College at the beginning of his reign is perfectly valid—an acceptance would have established a precedent for other colleges. But Edward showed many marks of favor to Protestant public schools, visiting Eton College in 1904 and 1908, Harrow in 1905, University College School in 1907, and Rugby in 1909. He also was a frequent visitor to Wellington College and attended its jubilee in June 1909.[85] However, certain events during Edward's reign provide some insight into his choice of position toward Beaumont College.

On February 8, 1908, the king, with Queen Alexandra and other members of the royal family, attended a Requiem Mass at St. James's Roman Catholic Church (London) for Carlos I, the murdered king of Portugal. This provoked the protests of the Protestant Alliance, which vehemently opposed Anglican ritualism and wished to restrict the

[82]Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (Basingstoke, UK, 1996), p. 22.

[83]See C. C. Martindale, *Bernard Vaughan, S.J.* (London, 1923), pp. 63–64.

[84]E. Boyd Barrett, *The Jesuit Enigma* (New York, 1927), p. 220.

[85]See Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII. A Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1925–27), 2:399.

expansion of Catholicism in Great Britain. The council of the Protestant Alliance passed a resolution that implied that "by attending the mass Edward VII had endangered his claim to the British throne."[86] Although the king ignored the protests on this occasion, his attitude toward a major Catholic event later in the year was of a very different kind. Shortly before the nineteenth Roman Catholic International Eucharistic Congress convened in London on September 9, 1908, militant Protestants petitioned the king and Parliament to prohibit a major event of the congress—a procession of the Blessed Sacrament that would pass by the Catholic Westminster Cathedral. They argued that this procession would be illegal under the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and would cause a breach of the peace. A cipher telegram sent to Prime Minister Herbert H. Asquith on September 11 pointed out that the king was anxious about the inability of the government to stop the procession and added that the public conviction "that the King sympathizes with the procession . . . is the exact reverse of the fact."[87] The procession did occur, but on advice from government officials, the Host was not carried, and the prelates wore court dress instead of vestments. Thomas Horwood summarizes how the event was perceived at the time:

> The opposition to the 1908 Eucharistic Congress was the last great anti-Catholic controversy. It came as a surprise to the Catholic organisers who had not experienced such an outburst for a generation, and who believed that the opinion of English society was more tolerant and liberal. . . . Although, in retrospect, there was widespread support for the abandoning of the Blessed Sacrament procession, it was the extreme Protestant groups that fared the worst. Opinion was almost universally in favour of "religious liberty", and against intolerance. Catholics received widespread sympathy, whereas the "Pugnacious Protestant" was caricatured as narrow-minded and ignorant: "a good Protestant, but a bad Christian."[88]

The reaction to Edward's attendance at the 1908 Requiem Mass for Carlos I, the controversy over the procession in the Eucharistic Congress of that year, and the king's refusal to visit Beaumont College

[86]Carol A. Devlin, "The Eucharistic Procession of 1908: The Dilemma of the Liberal Government," *Church History*, 63 (1994), 407–25, here 415.

[87]Arthur Davidson to Asquith, September 11, 1908; qtd. in G. I. T. Machin, "The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34 (1983), 559–83, here 570.

[88]Thomas Horwood, "Public Opinion and the 1908 Eucharistic Congress," *Recusant History*, 25 (2000), 120–32, here 130–31. Horwood's brief quotations are from the weekly periodical *Truth*, September 23, 1908, 702–03.

support the conclusion that there was still considerable hostility to Roman Catholicism in Great Britain during the Edwardian era. Although sectarian violence against Catholics had diminished by 1900 and the small Catholic community was more integrated into British society than in former years, anti-Catholic attitudes and prejudices endured. As Machin has put it, British Catholics "remained socially inferior in both a formal and an informal sense."[89]

[89]Machin, "British Catholics," p. 31.

LEOCADIO LOBO: THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS VIEWED BY A PRIEST EXILED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

JOSÉ L. GONZÁLEZ GULLÓN*

The Catholic priest Leocadio Lobo (1887–1959) is an icon of the Spanish Civil War, but his life has never been submitted to rigorous study. His exile in the United States from 1939 to 1959 is essential to an understanding of his life. His Republican ideology, contrary to that of the regime of General Francisco Franco, was the reason for his exile. Lobo believed that it was possible to be Catholic without supporting the Franco regime, but he was unable to offer an adequate response to the religious persecution that occurred in the Republican zone during the Civil War. In the United States, he underwent rehabilitation as a Catholic priest and developed an extraordinary pastoral ministry in New York City, primarily to the Hispanic community.

Keywords: Eijo Garay, Leopoldo, Bishop; Lobo, Leocadio; National Catholic Welfare Conference; Spanish Civil War

From the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 to its end in April 1939, the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) followed the course of the war attentively. It received firsthand reports about the war through correspondence with Spanish bishops, especially Cardinal Isidro Gomá, the archbishop of Toledo and the leader of Spanish Catholics since 1936. The NCWC criticized the attitude of Spain's Republican government after receiving irrefutable news of the murders for religious reasons of Catholics, especially priests and members of religious congregations.[1]

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[1]José M. Sánchez, "Suspended Priests and Suspect Catholics: Visitors from Loyalist Spain to America," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 78 (1992), 207–16, here 208.

From the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, various Catholic associations sprang up, offering political and economic aid to Catholics in the Nationalist zone controlled by General Francisco Franco. The most important of these was the American Spanish Relief Fund (ASRF), which was directed by the Jesuit Francis X. Talbot, literary editor of the magazine *America*. The ASRF organized conferences for the purpose of explaining the Spanish situation and ultimately raised close to $100,000 between 1937 and 1940. This money was sent periodically to Gomá, who was charged with distributing it among the Spanish Catholics in greatest need.[2]

North American Catholics also were informed of developments in the war and invited to provide economic aid to the Republican zone during the war. The Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (NAC) was the organization that devoted the greatest effort to addressing the economic necessities of the Spanish Republic during the war. The NAC, a communist-controlled group in the United States,[3] was formed by the association of two entities—the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. The former group "enjoyed the support of some sixty local chapters and of at least fifteen affiliated groups" such as the Communist Party, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Socialist Party, the American Student Union, and the American League against War and Fascism.[4] The latter group provided medical services to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of U.S. volunteers serving in the war. Unlike the ASRF, the NAC was viewed with suspicion by U.S. bishops, especially since the NAC tried to demonstrate that it was possible to have communists in the government, as was the case with the Spanish Republican government.

The NAC was not a religious organization, but it organized and funded U.S. tours with both Republican and Catholic speakers on the Spanish Civil War.[5] Invited speakers included individuals who had a problematic relationship with the Church such as an apostate

[2]The correspondence can be found in Box 38, Folder 14 (America Spanish Relief Fund—Organization), *America* Magazine Archives, Special Collections Research Center (hereafter SCRC), Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

[3]Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York, 1977), p. 194.

[4]Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1988), p. 396.

[5]This documentation is found in Part B (General Office Files), Box 9 (Delegation from Spain), Spanish Refugee Relief Organization Files 1935–1957 (hereafter SRROF), Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York.

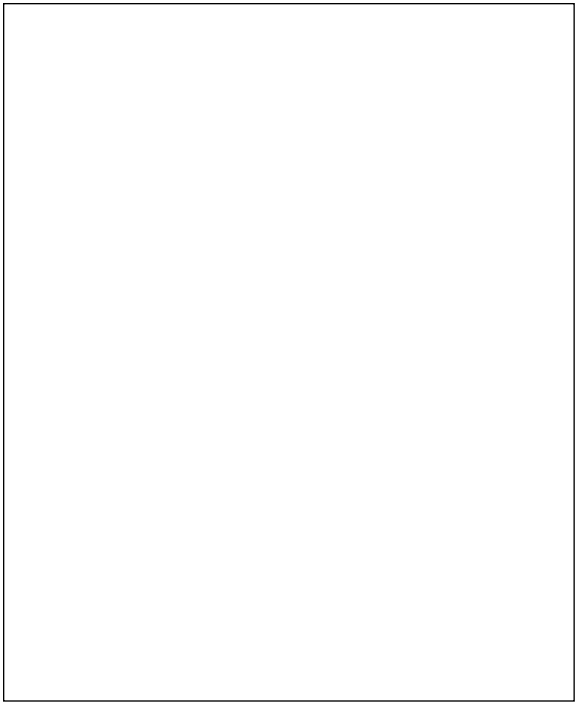

FIGURE 1. Father Leocadio Lobo, *c.* 1955. Photo courtesy of the Lloret Lobo family.

Franciscan, Luis Sarasola, for a fall 1936 tour; Michael O'Flannagan, an Irish priest who had been suspended *a divinis*, for a spring 1937 tour; José Bergamín, an editor critical of the Spanish bishops, for a summer 1937 tour; and Leocadio Lobo, a priest who also had been suspended, for a spring 1939 tour (see figure 1).[6]

Lobo's journey was a unique one. On April 1, 1939, Franco signed the final dispatch announcing the end of the conflict—the start of an authoritarian regime that was to last for thirty-six years. Lobo was forced into exile, as a return to Spain most likely would mean his execution by firing squad for his defense of the Republic against Franco's government. As was the case with so many Spanish exiles, it was the start of a new and difficult life in the United States for Lobo.

[6]Sánchez, "Suspended Priests," p. 210. An *a divinis* suspension carried with it a prohibition from preaching and celebrating the sacraments.

This article analyzes the life and thought of Lobo, a priest who spoke on behalf of the Spanish Republic, an attitude exceedingly rare among the Catholic clergy during the Spanish conflict. His experience sheds light on the actions of the Spanish clergy in the period between the two world wars, the perceptions of the Spanish Civil War by U.S. Catholics, and the attitude of the American bishops at the end of World War II toward individuals exiled by the Spanish Civil War.

From Peace to War

Leocadio José Lobo Canónigo was born on November 9, 1887, in Batres, a small village located twenty-three miles southwest of Madrid.[7] He was the oldest of seventeen children (four died shortly after birth) in a family with modest economic resources. At the age of fourteen he expressed his desire to become a priest because he believed he had a vocation and, in October 1901, entered the Seminary of Madrid.

Between 1901 and 1911, Lobo studied philosophy and theology at the seminary. He earned high marks and distinguished himself as a speaker at the seminary's literary evenings. Years later it would become common for Lobo to be invited to preach in churches or to speak on the radio because of his reputation as an "eloquent orator."[8] Throughout Lobo's life he was a man of sincere faith. He received his cultural education, especially with regard to his understanding of society and the role of the Church within it, from his professors in the Seminary of Madrid who were versed in traditional, antimodernist Catholic thought. In their desire to distance themselves from liberal thought, they defended the confessional nature of the Spanish state and the role of the priest as a leader in society.[9]

Upon completion of his studies, Lobo was ordained a priest of the Diocese of Madrid-Alcalá on December 20, 1913,[10] and for the next five years was a professor of apologetics, catechesis, and sacred his-

[7]Archivo Histórico de la Diócesis de Madrid (hereafter AHDM), Madrid, *Certificado de Bautismo*, May 12, 1912, in Expedientes de Órdenes Sagradas, 1913, "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo."

[8]*ABC* (Madrid), June 12, 1921.

[9]Primitivo Tineo, "La formación teológica en los seminarios españoles (1890–1925)," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia,* 2 (1993), 45–96, here 94.

[10]*Boletín Oficial del Obispado de Madrid-Alcalá,* 1035 (Madrid, 1914), 28.

tory in the Seminary of Madrid.[11] Motivated by a desire to assist in the professional and economic development of the most disadvantaged social groups, Lobo participated in the Catholic labor movement—from 1917 to 1923 he was a member of the Agricultural Labor Union of the Sacred Heart in Batres.[12]

From 1918 to 1936, Lobo dedicated himself to intensive pastoral activity in three parishes in Madrid—San José, San Pedro el Real, and San Ginés. The parish registers of San Ginés, saved from arsonists by Lobo, bear witness to his evangelizing efforts. In 1931 he officiated at 162 funerals, seventy-four weddings, and five baptisms. The figures in later years were similar, with a slight decrease in activity due to the anticlerical environment of the Second Spanish Republic. Thus, in 1935, Lobo officiated at 116 funerals, sixty-four weddings, and three baptisms.[13] Performing a funeral every three days is significant because it presupposes the preparation of each service and is evidence of the close relationship between Lobo and the families of the parish, whom he strove to comfort in the difficult times of sorrow and death.

In the 1920s and 1930s Lobo received a little more than 3800 pesetas per year (approximately $342 at the time). These funds came mainly from monies received for his services at daily Mass, funerals, and baptisms. This income provided more than adequate support at that time, particularly for someone without dependents.

From spring 1929 to summer 1930, Lobo was a regular contributor to *Las Migajas*, the newsletter of the parish of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias in Madrid, and it was there that he explained his ideas about faith and its cultural expression for the first time. His articles demonstrated concern for the Catholic faithful in the most disadvantaged urban areas. Faced with the indifference and weariness of the faithful, Lobo favored a change in the liturgy, translating the texts from Latin to Spanish and avoiding formal constructions that said nothing "to many people, who look upon them with indifference and boredom."[14]

[11]*Anuario Eclesiástico* (Barcelona, 1918), pp. 151–52.

[12]Leocadio Lobo to Antonio García, n.d., in Box 23, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," Personal Antiguo, AHDM. García was the general vicar of the Diocese of Madrid-Alcalá.

[13]Archivo de la Parroquia de San Ginés, Madrid, *Libro de Bautismos*, no. 63 (1928–1936); *Libro de Defunciones*, no. 31 (1930–1936); *Libro de Matrimonios*, no. 27 (1929–1936).

[14]"*a muchos que con el alma fría e indiferente las contemplan*": Leocadio Lobo Canónigo, "Sección de Liturgia," *Las Migajas,* 113 (1929), 8.

At the same time, he emphasized the role of the parish priest as the leader of the Catholic people in the local community.[15]

On April 14, 1931, the Second Spanish Republic was peacefully proclaimed. Politicians from outside the Catholic faith were the main supporters of the Republic. Because many of them were freemasons and anticlerical extremists, priests in general greeted the Republic's arrival with suspicion, although they complied with the Vatican's directives to accept the legitimately constituted powers in their public declarations. Their feelings changed to outright opposition when more than 100 convents and churches throughout Spain were destroyed on May 11–17, 1931, and the government did nothing to stop the violence. Their attitude hardened when the Society of Jesus was dissolved in Spain, and a law prohibiting members of religious orders from teaching was incorporated into the Republican Constitution in December 1931. As a result, the majority of the Catholic clergy defended right-wing Catholic political parties unaligned with the Republic. This stance reflected the tensions that existed throughout Spain and the growing polarization of the populace, with fragmentation on each side of the divide.[16]

Unlike most of his colleagues, Lobo proclaimed in a sermon his "liberal spirit and Republican convictions."[17] At that time, Republican Catholics were a minority that was very influential in politics and tried to reconcile traditional faith with modern culture. One axiom was the acceptance of the secular state that had been so quickly implanted by the Second Republic. The danger for these Catholics was that their faith would degenerate into heterodox or syncretistic points of view. In the case of Lobo, his humble background, pastoral experience with families in need, and contact with liberal Catholics shaped his perspective. But Lobo did not accept the underlying postulates of the Republic such as the freedom of conscience and the changing culture of modernity; he adhered to the concept he had

[15]Lobo, "Sección de Liturgia," *Las Migajas,* 110 (1929), 8.

[16]Stanley Payne, "¿Por qué no se consolida la Segunda República?," in *La República y la Guerra Civil. Setenta años después*, ed. Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza and Luis E. Togores (Madrid, 2008), pp. 15–26, here p. 16.

[17]"*espíritu liberal y convicción republicana*": Box 23, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," Personal Antiguo, AHDM. These declarations appeared in publication in *El Siglo Futuro*, a fundamentalist newspaper that, as a reaction to liberalism, looked to the Christian faith to provide a clear response to modern social questions.

learned in the seminary in which unity in the Faith necessarily implied a unity of thought in response to cultural questions.[18]

Lobo became a member of the Republican Left, which was the party of Manuel Azaña, the prime minister for three terms and later the president of the Republic. Because Azaña applied the constitutional articles that many Catholics regarded as anticlerical, many of Lobo's fellow priests distanced themselves from him.[19]

The Political Activities of a Priest

The Spanish Civil War began on July 17, 1936, and the country was split in two. The Republican government authorized the arming of the popular militias as a defense against antigovernment troops, but the measure sparked a social revolution in Madrid staged by labor unions, workers' parties, and anarchist paramilitary groups. The elimination of notable Catholics, especially the clergy, began in earnest. Twelve bishops, 4184 diocesan priests and seminarians, 2365 male religious, and 283 female religious were murdered during the Civil War.[20] Of the 2000 Catholic priests residing in Madrid, 704 were assassinated, with 95 percent killed in the second half of 1936.[21] Given these events, many Catholics in Spain and elsewhere supported the regime established by Franco or accepted it as the lesser of two evils.

There also were Catholics who publicly supported the Republic because they understood that their faith and the Vatican teaching on respect for legitimately constituted governments obliged them to remain faithful to the regime that had been established in Spain. These Catholics (especially priests) faced a crucial question—their support for a regime that had allowed, or left uncondemned, religious persecution.

[18]Gonzalo Redondo, *Historia de la Iglesia en España. 1931–1939*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1993), 1:358.

[19]Redondo, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 2:366.

[20]Antonio Montero Moreno, *Historia de la persecución religiosa en España. 1936–1939*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1999), p. 762. As is well known, there also were twelve Basque priests murdered in the Nationalist zone for political causes.

[21]Data has been obtained by consulting 721 personal files of priests living in Madrid in 1936 in the AHDM and the Central Archive of the Curia of the Archdiocese of Madrid (hereafter ACCAM), as well as referring to José Luis Alfaya, *Como un río de fuego. Madrid, 1936*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1998), pp. 104–05.

It was known in Madrid that Lobo was a supporter of the Republican government. He spoke on the Communist Party's September 20 radio broadcast. Emphasizing that he was not a communist, he wished to communicate "that all of their [the party's] legitimate and just aspirations were Christian ones."[22] He noted that he was a priest in full possession of ecclesiastical faculties, that he was in contact with the ecclesiastical authority, and that he was obligated to remain faithful to the legitimately constituted government of Spain. He did not speak of the religious persecution, but instead affirmed that the war had begun because of social reasons and the disinterest of the members of "respectable society" toward the needs of the poor.

Lobo and two other priests with Republican sympathies published a manifesto on October 12 that collected, without additional commentaries, the texts of various popes and Spanish bishops declaring that rebellion against the legitimate government was illicit, that profound social reforms were necessary, and that the Catholic Faith could not be identified with any political party.[23] Their position attracted the attention of the minister of state, Julio Álvarez del Vayo, who financed a tour of Europe for Lobo and another priest, José Manuel Gallegos Rocafull, so that they might explain the causes of the war. The two priests were away from November 1936 to April 1937. They used Paris as their base of operations, traveling from there to Belgium, Holland, and Great Britain. They encountered difficulties in every country except France, because Franco's ambassadors and representatives charged with his foreign business interests had alerted the civil authorities in each nation about their activities. Their dealings with the ecclesiastical authorities were no less complicated—Gomá had written to the bishops everywhere the two priests sought to stay in an effort to thwart their activities.[24]

Lobo's speeches in foreign countries were political in nature and extremely controversial. The best known was his November 7 speech

[22]"*que todas sus legítimas y justas aspiraciones son cristianas*." The speech was printed in the newspaper *El Cantábrico* on September 24, 1936, p. 2. It appeared in partially reprinted form in works such as *Catholics and the Civil War in Spain* (London, 1936), pp. 6–9.

[23]This is reproduced in José Manuel Gallegos Rocafull, *La pequeña grey. Testimonio religioso sobre la Guerra Civil española* (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 211–17.

[24]Isidro Gomá to Eugenio Pacelli, November 27, 1936, in *Archivo Gomá: documentos de la guerra civil*, ed. José Andrés-Gallego and Antón M. Pazos (Madrid, 2001), pp. 363–65.

at the Casa de España in Brussels, which addressed the military rebellion from the Republican point of view. Lobo blamed Franco and his allies for everything that was happening in Spain, since "those who should have been her protectors have become her executioners."[25] By contrast, he thought that the communists had generally conducted themselves "with a remarkable sense of responsibility and prudence."[26]

Monsignor Leopoldo Eijo Garay, bishop of Madrid, had fled the capital at the start of the war and was living in his native city of Vigo, which was under the control of Franco's troops. On December 5, 1936, Eijo signed a decree of suspension of Lobo's priestly faculties *a divinis*, meaning that he was prohibited from celebrating the sacraments. In his decree the bishop declared that he was suspending Lobo because of the priest's scandalous public behavior in giving support in his radio appearances and writings "to the enemies of the Church and of the fatherland."[27] As Lobo was out of the country at the time and not in communication with his bishop, he did not learn of the suspension until his arrival in the United States two years later.

Coinciding with his return to Spain in April 1937, Lobo published *Primate and Priest,* a 16-page tract.[28] In it, he confronted Gomá's declarations about the "spirit of genuine Crusade" that had Catholic Spain locked in confrontation with atheistic Russia. First, in Lobo's view, the military rebellion could not be justified because it had risen up against the legitimate government of the nation and because it was affiliated with fascism and the Falange. The Church could not support either side in the conflict, especially the rebels. The Spanish bishops should express "words of love and pardon, words of generosity and anxiety, cries torn from the Christian soul to call down curses on the war and to sow peace among the combats."[29]

Second, according to Lobo, the Spanish Civil War had nothing in common with the wars of religion from the centuries before the French

[25]"*ceux qui, au lieu d'être ses gardiens, se sont fait ses borreaux*": Lobo and José M. Gallegos Rocafull, *Deux prêtres espagnols parlent de la Tragédie de l'Espagne* (Anderlecht, 1936), p. 3. See also José María Semprún Guerra, "La question d'Espagne inconnue," *Esprit. Revue Internationale,* 50 (1936), 291–319.

[26]"*avec un sens remarquable de la responsabilité et de la prudence*" : Lobo and Gallegos, *Deux prêtres espagnols*, p. 9.

[27]"*a los enemigos de la Iglesia y de la Patria*": Decree of Leopoldo Eijo Garay, December 5, 1936, in XV,A 1 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

[28]Lobo, *Primate and Priest* (London, 1937).

[29]Lobo, *Primate*, p. 8.

Revolution. It was "essentially a human, political, and social" war. The clergy, stated Lobo, should have exercised greater influence years earlier: "If, instead of political activity in defense of anti-Christian capitalism, we had carried out a social program, approved and blessed by our hierarchy, the fate of Spain today would have been very different."[30]

Third, said Lobo, it was not possible to speak of the martyrdom of priests and religious without first recalling that there also had been clerical victims in the Nationalist zone and that many clerics, "confusing politics and religion, have written and spoken, and permitted at the doors of their churches the sale of newspapers and reviews directed against the régime, and have patronized organizations which were hated by the people."[31]

Fourth, Lobo stated his wish to stand beside the people, preaching the Gospel to the poor. Despite the murders that had occurred, he expressed

> [his] gratitude to the Militia and to the people for the noble way in which they have treated numbers of priests, religious and nuns in Madrid. I publicly thank all those who accompanied me . . . during the first three months of the rebellion.[32]

Finally, Lobo called on the pope to pronounce words of love and peace to end the conflict:

> I condemn all the crimes and the horrors of the war, I weep for the death of prelates, priests and religious, and I weep even more bitterly for the death of so many innocents, above all of the women and children.[33]

After his return to Spain on April 3, 1937, Lobo met with the only Catholic in the Republican government, the Basque minister Manuel de Irujo. The minister named him the delegate of the Board for the Protection of Artistic Treasures that was charged with saving the nation's ecclesiastical patrimony. In this capacity, Lobo managed to recover or place under his protection twenty-two archives of the thirty parishes in Madrid.[34]

[30]Lobo, *Primate*, p. 16.
[31]Lobo, *Primate*, p. 10.
[32]Lobo, *Primate*, p. 16.
[33]Lobo, *Primate*, p. 15.
[34]Lobo, "Cómo respetó el pueblo el tesoro artístico eclesiástico," *El Catolicismo en la España leal y en la zona facciosa* (Madrid-Valencia, 1937), p. 8.

Lobo was named to a second post at the beginning of August—Jefe de la Sección de Confesiones y Congregaciones religiosas (head of the Department of Creeds and Religious Congregations). Since the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the churches in the Republican zone had been closed, and no public acts of religious worship had taken place. There were more than 100 clandestine altars in Madrid apartments where Catholics lived their faith. The government knew of the existence of some of them, but generally did not take action to remove them. Irujo wanted to provide a legal framework for these acts of worship, although he faced opposition from other government officials. He secured verbal authorization for the re-establishment of privately celebrated acts of Catholic worship, opening a few chapels in each city.[35]

Irujo asked for Lobo's assistance in carrying out his plans in Madrid.[36] Lobo met with priests, attempting to secure their signatures on a declaration of acceptance of the government in exchange for permission to celebrate Mass privately. He obtained only fifteen signatures, because the priests had demanded that he obtain Eijo's authorization and that religious worship be universal, with access that extended beyond a few chapels.[37]

To obtain the names of the priests of the Diocese of Madrid, Lobo asked the government for access to Eijo's archives, which had been confiscated at the start of the Civil War. Lobo took from the archives a file containing the names of the priests, some documents with the notation "secrets of conscience," and letters from several prominent Catholics in Madrid requesting that the bishop grant permission to cloistered nuns to leave their convents so they could vote in the 1933 parliamentary elections.[38]

Because Eijo was at that time in the Nationalist zone, Lobo tried to obtain the support of the Vatican. He wrote to the Holy See requesting "standards to be followed in the present circumstances consistent

[35]Manuel de Irujo, *Un vasco en el Ministerio de Justicia*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1978), 2:32.

[36]Regarding Irujo's plans and his difficulties in carrying them out, see José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame, 1987), pp. 132–39.

[37]Evidence of Albino Jiménez Fernández, June 16, 1939, in XV,A l 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

[38]Evidence of Albino Jiménez Fernández, ACCAM.

with that of the Red Zone."[39] Word of his request reached Gomá, who urged Monsignor Hildebrando Antoniutti, the recently named chargé d'affaires of the Holy See to Nationalist Spain, to inform Rome.[40] Antoniutti wrote Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, the Vatican secretary of state, to warn him that Lobo's maneuvers "appear to be a movement with political tendencies."[41] Lobo never received the approval of the Holy See.[42]

During this period, Lobo cooperated with Republican propaganda efforts. On August 15, the international press reported that Lobo had been filmed celebrating a Mass in his former parish of San Ginés.[43]

Events in 1938 turned the tide in favor of the Nationalists. In May 1938 the Vatican named Gaetano Cicognani as its nuncio to the government of Franco. In summer and autumn 1938 the victory by Franco's troops at the Battle of the Ebro marked a decisive point in the war. In September the International Brigades, including the Abraham Lincoln Brigade with some 2500 men from the United States, began to withdraw from Spain.[44] The Republican government, then headquartered in Barcelona, continued to encourage its combatants through propaganda.

In July 1938, Lobo sent a letter to the editor of the *Times* "to reply to Father George Burns of the Society of Jesus" and other Catholics who had criticized the religious persecution in the Republican zone in the newspaper.[45] Although the letter was never published, it sheds

[39]"*Normes à suivre dans les circonstances actuelles et conformes au milieu rouge*": Max-Alfonso Áriz to Silvio Sericano, September 14, 1937, in fol. 43, Box 902, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City. The complete text of these standards was published by Vicente Cárcel Ortí, "La Nunciatura de Madrid durante la Guerra Civil (1936–1939)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 46 (2008), 163–356, here 280–88.

[40]During the Spanish Civil War, the "Lobo affair" was one of several issues on the agenda of Gomá. See Andrés-Gallego and Pazos, eds., *Archivo Gomá*.

[41]"*hanno la parvenza di un movimento tendencialmente politico*": Hildebrando Antoniutti to Eugenio Pacelli, October 18, 1937, in fols. 402–403, Box 972, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City.

[42]The documentation regarding the different intents of Lobo to establish relationship with the Holy See was covered by Ortí, "La Nunciatura," pp. 233–35, 279–87, 339–43.

[43]"Mass Is Celebrated Openly in Valencia," *New York Times*, August 16, 1937, 7.

[44]Antony Beevor, *La Guerra Civil Española* (Barcelona, 2005), p. 549.

[45]Lobo, "Open Letter to the Editor of the *Times*," June 1938, in Coll Misc 0091/38, London School of Economics Archives, London.

light on Lobo's position. In it, he made three assertions: first, that politics, not religious persecution, had motivated the murders of priests in Spain. He wrote, "Nearly every priest who has fallen in this horrible battle . . . has fallen as a politician." Lobo declared that thousands of priests had been members of political parties, preached political ideas in the churches, permitted newspapers attacking the government and the people to be sold at the entrances of parish churches, and kept weapons in churches. No doubt drawing on the documentation he had removed from the chancery offices of Madrid, he reminded them of the many Catholics that had petitioned for allowing cloistered nuns to vote.

Second, Lobo claimed that the Republican government had not encouraged the political persecution of the clergy:

> At the beginning of the rebellion, no doubt, feelings were uncontrolled, and ignorant or wicked people took personal advantage of that horrible opportunity. Yet nobody can seriously assert that the authorities issued orders for persecution, or that they ever prohibited freedom of worship.

As a result, he continued, if there had not been religious worship it was because Catholics—bishops, priests, and the faithful—had not wanted it:

> Whose fault is it if religious worship in our territory is irregular? The confession is painful, but necessary. The fault is ours and only ours. We have not expressed a word of gratitude or a sign of appreciation for the good treatment we have received. Why? Simply because we do not wish to do it. It is convenient to go on and far more profitable for Franco's cause, and for that of the Spanish Bishops who still desire to keep in the background, to talk of catacombs and persecution, and to use the word martyrology.

Finally, Lobo believed that by using the term *crusade*, the Spanish bishops had shifted an economic, social, and political conflict to the religious sphere. This shift—which he deemed stupid—was as reprehensible as the support given by the bishops to Franco's rebellion against the legitimately constituted government of Spain. As a result, Lobo charged that the Spanish Church was equally responsible for the catastrophe: "The military rebellion would never have reached such great importance or, perhaps started at all without the assistance of the Church. If there have been innocent victims, the military rebels, the phalangists, the Bishops, priests and monks are responsible." He deplored what he saw as the Church's abandonment of its obligation

to evangelize in response to social problems, contenting itself instead with external devotional practices. He contrasted this attitude with the one adopted by the Holy See, which was inclined to listen to voices on both sides of the war:

> We shall have normal religious life as soon as we say to the Spanish Government and people: As Ministers of the Catholic Faith we declare that we have nothing in common with politics. Our only desire is freedom of Religion and Worship.[46]

As the attempt to re-establish public worship in the areas controlled by Republican forces had failed, the government attempted to save face on December 9, 1938, by creating the so-called Commissary for Religious Worship to ensure that religious worship was free and public in Spain. Although the commissary's work was only conducted for a short time, as Barcelona fell under Franco's control in January 1939 and the Civil War ended in April, Lobo once more took part in propaganda efforts.[47] A reporter interviewed him at his home in Madrid; Lobo showed him the oratory in which he celebrated Mass every Sunday and stated that he was preparing to open three more churches.[48]

It was during this time that Lobo received an invitation from the NAC to travel to the United States and speak about the Spanish Civil War for a minimum of three months. Lobo weighed the invitation carefully; if he accepted, he would be leaving Spain at a time when the future was more uncertain than ever for the Republicans. Lobo accepted the invitation, leaving Madrid on January 29, 1939. He traveled first to Paris, where he visited Sulpician Cardinal Jean Verdier and Spanish Republicans such as Bergamín, and from there departed for America. His ship docked in New York City on February 27.

From War to Priestly Ministry

In the Communist newspaper the *Daily Worker* Lobo said that he had come to the United States seeking "bread and understanding"—that is, to raise funds for the needy in Spain and to attempt to explain

[46]Lobo, "Open Letter."

[47]"Franco 'Greets' Madrid; Shells Former Capital, but Fails to Halt Mass in City," *New York Times*, January 2, 1939, 7.

[48]*ABC*, December 10, 1938, 4.

the reasons behind the Spanish Civil War.[49] On March 2, with the aid of an interpreter, he gave a speech at a conference in the Hotel Center in New York City, with more than 1800 delegates of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in attendance. The conference was held to explore ways "to resist fascist aggression against the democratic nations of the World."[50] Lobo spoke at a similar conference in Flushing, New York, on March 8. Another speaker was an American lieutenant colonel who had fought in the International Brigades.[51]

Catholic authorities in the United States also were aware of Lobo's arrival. Gomá had informed Monsignor Michael J. Ready, the general secretary of the NCWC, of Lobo's suspension (see figure 2). The official posture of the U.S. bishops was clearly defined from the beginning—the Spanish priest was a leftist propagandist who had written manifestos for Communists around the world, defended the cause of murderers of thousands of priests, and received a suspension from his priestly functions.[52] The NCWC circulated a letter to the diocesan directors in the United States explaining Lobo's ideas and drawing attention to the real problem that he represented for America: "many well meaning persons who do not realize the Communistic background of this organization [Medical Bureau] are supporting it in the belief that they are doing a humanitarian work."[53]

The NAC's plan worked. From March 10 to April 28, 1939, Lobo visited twenty-three cities across the nation, giving speeches about the Spanish Civil War.[54] The priest always appeared dressed in clerical garb, accompanied by Harry Robinson, a member of the NAC who

[49]*Daily Worker*, March 1, 1939.

[50]*Daily Worker*, March 2, 1939.

[51]The pamphlet announcing the act can be found in Archdiocesan Archives, Archdiocese of New York (hereafter AANY), Yonkers, NY, Folder CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio."

[52]The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives (hereafter ACUA), The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, Statement of Michael J. Ready, February 27, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference.

[53]Paul R. Martin-Dillon, "Circular Letter to All Diocesan Directors of Information," March 2, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA. Martin-Dillon was the director of the Bureau of Information of the NCWC.

[54]The calendar and some announcements of these meetings can be found in Part N, Box 1, "Tour-Father Lobo-Corrsp.," SRROF.

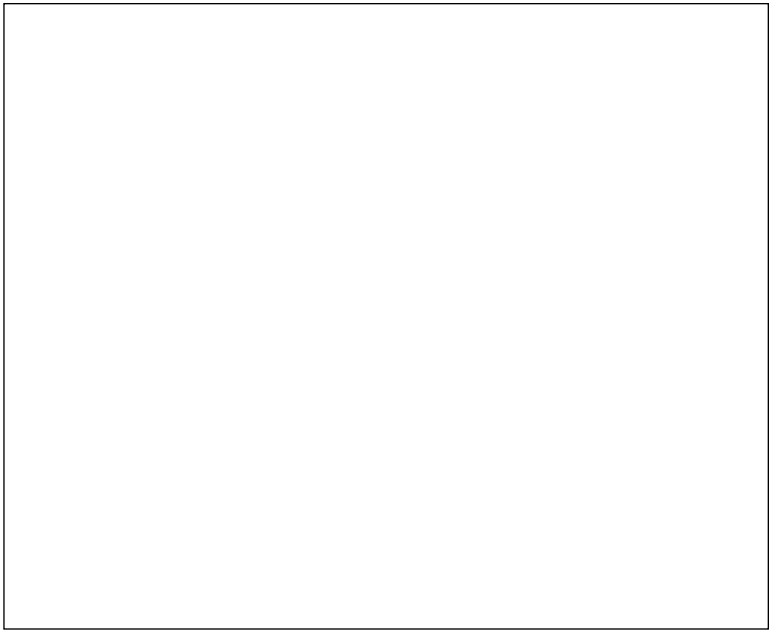

FIGURE 2. Monsignor Michael J. Ready of the NCWC (front row, second from right) with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (back row), Ambassador Henry Morgenthau (front row, third from right), and others involved with aid to refugees at the White House in April 1938. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-DIG-hec-24424.

acted as his interpreter, and managed to attract up to 500 people in one city. Lobo raised modest sums from his speeches, which he sent to the Spanish government.[55] He had no intention of recruiting people for his cause.

Lobo addressed some of the issues that concerned Catholics in the United States about the Spanish situation. The first was the murders of thousands of priests and Catholic laypeople. Lobo presented his arguments: the origin of the Civil War was political and social, not religious. In Lobo's view, nothing justified the murders of priests, but these could be explained by their political collaboration with certain political parties and their lack of concern with teaching the poorer

[55]About the remittance of money to Spain, see Part B (General Office Files), Box 9 (Delegation from Spain), SRROF.

classes—the "people"—before the war: "We priests took refuge among the wealthy classes, perhaps deserting our duty."[56] For Lobo, Franco was part of the fascism operating in Europe at that time, evidenced by the troops sent by Hitler and Mussolini to fight for the Nationalist cause.[57]

The NCWC followed Lobo's activities and informed the diocesan directors of information that "Father Lobo is another Father O'Flannagan: a kindly, misguided priest who is being exploited for propaganda purposes by the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee."[58] The diocesan directors pressured the local media to suppress information about Lobo's speeches or state that the priest had been suspended *a divinis*, something that the NCWC repeated in its official declarations during those months.[59] In New Haven, Connecticut, Catholics even managed to a successful boycott of Lobo's speech.[60] The NCWC efforts bore fruit—in most cities visited by Lobo, local newspapers published only one column about him the day after his speech. Other commentaries or editorials did not appear.[61]

Lobo was fully aware that the Communist Party was behind the NAC—in reality, it was only one of many groups supporting the NAC—but he needed its financial support for his tour of America. He felt, however, as he wrote in a letter to Ready, that he was free to express his political opinions: "Do not forget, Monseigneur, that I am a Spaniard and that while international fascism continues to spill torrents of Spanish blood and is devastating Spain, no human force can impose silence upon me."[62]

[56]"Father Lobo: Priest of Madrid. The vicar of San Giñes [*sic*] comes to America to plead for his people. A priest faithful to the Spanish republic. The religious question explained," March 9, 1939, in Box 38, Folder 20 (America Spanish Relief Fund–Leocadio Lobo), *America* Magazine Archives, SCRC.

[57]Lobo to Ready, March 29, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

[58]Paul Martin-Dillon, "Circular Letter to All Diocesan Directors of Information," March 10, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

[59]"Two Speakers Withdraw as Suspended Priest Is Heard at Meeting," March 20, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

[60]Charles J. Ducey to Francis X. Talbot, April 27, 1939, in SCRC, *America* Magazine Archives, Box 38, Folder 20 (America Spanish Relief Found–Leocadio Lobo). Ducey worked in the Service Department of the Knights of Columbus in New Haven, CT.

[61]See, for example, the *Michigan Daily*, March 11, 1939, 4.

[62]Lobo to Ready, March 29, 1939, ACUA.

However, what really concerned Lobo in his relationship with U.S. authorities was his ecclesiastical status. When he received word that Ready had spoken of his suspension, he wrote to him requesting irrefutable proof. Ready cabled Gomá requesting confirmation of Lobo's suspension. The cardinal responded that Lobo was indeed suspended, but that it had been impossible to communicate this to him because Eijo had not known where Lobo had been living in Madrid. Lobo tried to play for time by saying that "after two years no date is precised nor length nor even the nature of the censure."[63] But in the face of Ready's insistence, Lobo finally accepted his situation with the Church. At a conference in Louisville, Kentucky, on March 24, he expressed his profound sorrow: "I am not an apostate priest. The greatest sacrifice of my life is that I am unable to celebrate the Mass at this time."[64]

Lobo returned to New York City on April 28, his speaking tour concluded. By then, the U.S. committees aiding the different sides in the Spanish war were disbanding, with the governments of the United States and Franco beginning a long and complex journey toward the normalization of relations. Lobo faced a serious situation. He was a suspended Catholic priest, unable to return to Spain because his life would be in danger. He held only a temporary residence permit in a country whose language he did not speak. He lacked relatives who could assist him, and he was unable to travel to other Spanish-speaking countries such as Cuba or Mexico.[65]

Help initially came from the Confederations of Hispanic Societies that included Spanish emigrant organizations such as Galician House, the Spanish Athenaeum, and the Asturian Center.[66] Lobo lived in Greenwich Village and befriended the poet Bernardo Clariano and the writer Francisco García Lorca, the brother of Federico. They met in bars, sharing news and yearnings for their native land. During this period, he occasionally attended events involving exiles from the Spanish Republic such as the artistic festival organized by the Spanish Committee for Democracy, where he spoke on May 14, 1939; and the

[63]Lobo to Ready, March 29, 1939, ACUA.

[64]Ready to Gomá, "Resume of Father Lobo's Speech at Louisville, Kentucky," March 24, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

[65]Harry Robinson to Evelyn Ahrend, April 23, 1939, in Part N, Box 1, "Tour-Father Lobo-Corrsp.," SRROF. Robinson was the interpreter who accompanied Lobo, and Ahrend was the director of the Program Bureau, an NAC entity.

[66]Manuel Fernández-Montesinos, *Lo que en nosotros vive* (Barcelona, 2008), p. 51.

antifascist, pro-refugee rally held in Madison Square Garden on May 22 that was sponsored by the Medical Bureau, the NAC, and Confederation of Hispanic Societies. Presenting at the conference alongside Lobo were the former minister Julio Álvarez del Vayo; the writer Herman F. Reissing; and Daniel Alonso, the secretary of the Hispanic Confederation.[67]

Lobo found work as a freelance translator and eventually became the Spanish editor for subtitled and overdubbed films at MGM Film Studios. In addition, he gave Spanish classes to employees at the Loew's International Corporation and the members of the Spanish social club in Yonkers.[68] During this period, Lobo ceased to dress as a priest, but he never renounced his vow of celibacy nor disputed the canonical sanction that had been imposed on him.

From 1946 onward, he began to maintain informal relations with the Diocese of Madrid via Spaniards passing through America. In December 1946, he visited the chancery office of the Archdiocese of New York, accompanied by Máximo Yurramendi, bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo. Lobo begged to be allowed to celebrate Mass because he found the prohibition to be "too difficult" to bear.[69] Monsignor Edward Gaffney, the chancellor of the archdiocese, told him that Eijo would have to lift Lobo's suspension before such permission could be granted.Thus began a long year of correspondence between Lobo and Eijo. Immigration officials also were involved, as Lobo's residence permit in the United States was due to expire.[70]

Eijo established three conditions for lifting the suspension *a divinis*: Lobo had to repay the money that he had taken from the parish of San Ginés, return the documents he had taken from the diocesan archives, and retract in writing his scandalous declarations from the Civil War.[71] After some give and take, Lobo retracted his declarations

[67]*Daily Worker*, May 24, 1939.

[68]*Boxoffice*, April 12, 1947. Related here are the memories of Manuel Fernández-Montesinos and Alfred Fernández, who studied Spanish with Lobo in the early 1940s.

[69]Lobo to Casimiro Morcillo, January 15, 1947, in XV, A l 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM. Morcillo was the auxiliary bishop of Madrid.

[70]Monsignor Amleto Giovanni Cicognani to Edward R. Gaffney, March 1, 1947, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY. Cicognani, the younger brother of Gaetano Cicognani, was the apostolic delegate of the Holy See in the United States.

[71]Casimiro Morcillo to Lobo, February 14, 1947, in XV, A l 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

and swore under oath that he was not in possession of any money or documentation belonging to the Diocese of Madrid. On September 8, 1947, Eijo lifted Lobo's suspension from the priestly ministry and sent him a letter of recommendation that could be presented to Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman, archbishop of New York.[72] After Lobo attended a spiritual program at the Capuchin convent in New York and obtained the necessary licenses from the archdiocese, he celebrated his first Mass in seven years on December 2 at the Church of the Miraculous Medal, a parish where Spanish-language Masses were habitually celebrated. Numerous Spanish exiles and friends attended.[73] Lobo declared that he was offering the Mass for the victims of the Spanish Civil War and that he wished to provide attendees with "whatever spiritual assistance they might need."[74]

From then on, Lobo had the security of a salary from the Archdiocese of New York that permitted him to live with dignity. Even so, during the first five months he sent 4000 pesetas (approximately $365) to his family, who were living in extreme poverty in a Spain still recovering from civil war and World War II.[75]

The first three years following his return to the priestly ministry were marked by a variety of pastoral duties, all of them temporary or as required by circumstances. In 1949 he preached during Spanish retreats and days of recollection in the Church of the Cenacle. During the summers of 1949–51 he was the chaplain of the CYO boys' camps organized by the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, which had requested his services because there were many Puerto Rican campers. From 1951 onward, he also worked with the Manhattan district attorney's office, assisting in cases involving Spanish-speaking delinquents.[76]

In summer 1950 Lobo traveled to Estoril, Portugal, where he rented a house for several weeks and visited with his father and siblings (his

[72]Eijo to Bishop Cayetano [Gaetano] Cicognani, November 27, 1947, in XV, A 1 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

[73]Edward R. Gaffney to Eijo, December 11, 1947, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

[74]"*cuanto signifique ayuda espiritual*": *La Vanguardia Española*, December 3, 1947, p. 6.

[75]Archive of the Lloret Lobo family, Alicante, Spain, Lobo to his family, October 8, 1948.

[76]Father Harold S. Engel to Monsignor James J. Lynch, January 21, 1952, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

mother had died a few years earlier). It was the first time he had seen his family in eleven years.[77]

Lobo received his first stable pastoral appointment in January 1952. Monsignor James J. Lynch, an official of the archdiocese, had received reports that Lobo was "sincerely religious and true priest in every sense."[78] For this reason, he accepted Lobo's appointment as the chaplain of the Carroll Club, an institution dedicated to the advancement of female workers in New York (see figure 3). The Carroll Club's diverse offerings included athletic activities, dancing, swimming, education classes, and social services, as well as a Catholic chapel. There was an additional advantage for Lobo—the club also had a residence for the chaplain. At the club, Lobo dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the work of evangelization. According to Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt, a staff member at the club and the mother of actress Jane Wyatt, the relationship of Lobo "with our membership is one of such mutual sympathy and understanding."[79] The women there were happy with "the spiritual strength of daily Mass and good Father Lobo in residence."

Four years later, Monsignor Gustav J. Schultheiss, chancellor of the archdiocese, summarized the activities of this "very fine priest" in a memorandum to John J. Maguire, the auxiliary bishop—Lobo worked as chaplain of the Carroll Club, helped Catholic Charities' Youth Counseling Service in its court work with Puerto Ricans, and met with United Nations groups from Argentina and Peru. In addition, he celebrated Mass every Sunday for the Spanish-speaking people of the Parish of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary at 309 East 33rd Street.[80]

Lobo maintained a relationship with the community of Republican exiles in the United States, although he avoided appearances at public meetings or political functions. In 1949 Fernando de los Ríos, the former ambassador of the Spanish Republic to the United States, died in his residence at 448 Riverside Drive, near Columbia University. According to the *New York Times*, "although there was no religious

[77]Interview conducted by the author with Eugenia Lloret Lobo, Lobo's grandniece, January 25, 2010.

[78]Engel to Lynch, January 21, 1952, AANY.

[79]Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt to Engel, January 23, 1952, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

[80]Gustav J. Schultheiss to John J. Maguire, March 23, 1956, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

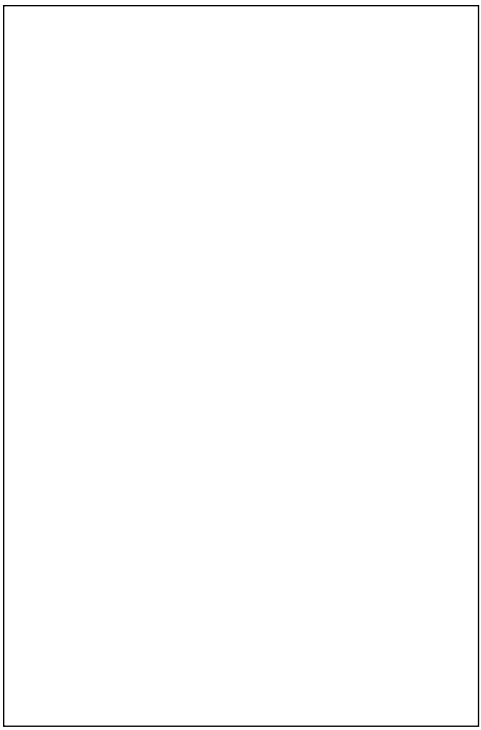

FIGURE 3. Designed by architect Stanford White, the Carroll Club (originally the Colony Club) at 120 Madison Avenue, New York, NY, is the present-day home of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. Father Leocadio Lobo served as chaplain of the club from 1952 to 1956. Photo taken in 2007 by Wally Gobetz.

service," los Ríos's friend, "the Rev. Leocadio Lobo, was in attendance at the funeral."[81] Three years later, Fernanda Urruti, the former ambassador's mother, died in the same residence, followed by a Catholic funeral at which Lobo officiated.[82]

When the chaplain's residence at the Carroll Club needed refurbishment, Bishop Edward V. Dargin, the vicar general of the archdiocese, proposed to Maguire that Lobo be sent to work in the Parish of

[81]"Exiles from Spain Mourn de los Rios," *New York Times*, June 3, 1949, 26.

[82]Ritama Muñoz-Rojas, *"Poco a poco os hablaré de todo." Historia del exilio en Nueva York de la familia de los Ríos, Giner, Urruti. Cartas 1936–1953* (Madrid, 2009), p. 451.

the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. He was named assistant pastor of the parish in April 1956. Dargin summarized the responsibilities with which Lobo had been charged, in addition to offering the Mass in Spanish:

> [He] hears confessions for the Puerto Ricans on Saturday evenings, has catechetical classes on Released Time for the Puerto Rican children and also has classes five evenings a week to teach English to the Puerto Rican people. Monsignor [John] McEvoy explains that Father Lobo is loved by the people.[83]

After twenty years, Lobo had returned to parish work, with the dedication he had shown in Madrid. Over the next three years, he celebrated forty-five baptisms and five weddings a year, in addition to celebrating Mass and hearing confessions every day.[84]

In 1958 he founded *Despertemos*, a monthly Catholic magazine for the Hispanic community of New York. The magazine stated that Lobo was a religious leader who "helped to lift up the Hispanic community in the neighborhood."[85] That year, Lobo became ill with cancer. He continued to attend to the parish until May 1959. The following month he was admitted to St. Vincent's Hospital, where he died on July 11.[86] Following a funeral Mass offered in his parish, Lobo was buried in St. John's Cemetery in Brooklyn.[87] Hundreds of people from the Spanish-speaking community of New York City attended the ceremony in his honor.[88]

Conclusion

A marked priestly identity characterized Lobo's life. He found his life's meaning in the daily celebration of Mass and preaching of the

[83]Edward V. Dargin to John J. Maguire, April 11, 1956, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY. McEvoy was the pastor of Sacred Heart Church.

[84]Archives of the Church of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, New York, *Marriage Register* (from August 30, 1947); *Baptismal Register*, no. 3 (May 20, 1933 to June 25, 1957).

[85]"*levantó la comunidad hispana del barrio*": Tecla López, "Ramillete de recuerdos," *Despertemos*, 9 (1959), 3.

[85]"Rev. Leocadio Lobo, Assistant Pastor," *New York Times*, July 13, 1959, 27; "Spain's Civil War Figure," *Washington Post*, July 14, 1959, B2.

[87]John J. Maguire to Leopoldo Eijo Garay, July 13, 1959, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

[88]"Centenares Asisten Al Sepelio Del Padre L. Lobo, En Brooklyn," *El Diario de Nueva York*, July 16, 1959, 4.

Gospel. At the same time, he had a great sense of social justice, which he tried to channel through his priestly ministry to the people of the parishes and church institutions where he worked.

Unlike many Spanish bishops and priests, Lobo accepted the Second Spanish Republic, feeling that, despite some anticlerical excesses, the Republic was the right way for the Church to enter into dialogue with the modern world and to bring the message of Christ to society. It was the reason why he remained faithful to the regime in the face of the military rebellion against the Republic in July 1936. During the Spanish Civil War, Lobo alleged that the killing of thousands of priests and other religious had been undertaken for purely political reasons, because the Church had supported right-wing politicians and the upper classes of society. This vision was ultimately unfair even it is acknowledged that it may have been a plausible one, since it minimized the injustice of the killing of many innocent people.

Arriving in the United States in February 1939, Lobo worked to spread his ideas about the political motivations underlying the persecution of Catholics in Spain, but once the war ended, he found himself an exile in the United States. From that time forward he made no further political statements in public, and—although no evidence exists that his political opinions ever changed—he ceased to be a public figure in both the Spanish and the American press.

Lobo always obeyed the authority of the Church, even when he was notified of his suspension *a divinis*. After enduring several years of canonical censure, he was restored to good standing in 1947, thanks to Eijo and Spellman, and he was free to offer the sacraments once more. From that time on, he devoted all his energies to serving as chaplain to the Hispanic community of New York City.

Lobo is a man of contrasts. He was always an orthodox priest when explaining Catholic doctrine; he also administrated the sacraments to everyone who asked for them; and he obeyed the hierarchy in all disciplinary issues, even during the period of his suspension. At the same time, his political ideas were very different from the hierarchical authority and the majority of priests, both in Spain and the United States; for a few years, he was a political agent for the Spanish government and supported its ideology.

Lobo was not naive. He had access to much information about the atrocities committed during the Civil War. It is likely that his idealistic

vision of the Republican regime blinded him to its faults. Lobo honestly believed that the Republic was the best solution for the future of the Catholic Church in Spain. Before the outbreak of the war, there may have been others who agreed with him. The killing of thousands of Catholics and the subsequent silence of the Republican regime on the matter changed the status quo. In the view of many who knew this history, a priest should have not shown allegiance to a government complicit in the killings. However, it is important to study Lobo's life as a whole to understand its nuances and to see the whole picture. Lobo was involved in politics only for three years. From 1939, when he decided to remain in the United States, to his death, he made no further political or public speeches. His exile and the suspension *ad divinis* weighed heavily on him and probably changed his point of view about the priest's role in public life.

When Lobo finally obtained his rehabilitation in the Church, he devoted his energies exclusively to the priestly ministry. This is perhaps the hidden inheritance of Father Lobo.

FORUM ESSAY

BY

NELSON H. MINNICH, EUGENE J. FISHER, THOMAS STRANSKY, SUSANNAH HESCHEL, ALBERTO MELLONI, AND JOHN CONNELLY

From Enemy to Brother: The Revolution in Catholic Teaching on the Jews, 1933–1965. By John Connelly. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 376. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-674-05782-1.

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

> This book began as an open-ended study of Catholics who opposed racism and anti-Semitism in the interwar years. I wanted to find out about those who swam against the racist currents of their time. It turned out that virtually all of the Catholics concerned about protecting the "other" were people Catholics in Central Europe considered "others." The solidarity of these new Catholics with the other was in a sense self-interest: Oesterreicher recalled with bitterness that some Catholics refused to take Communion from the fingers of a "Jew" (Connelly, *From Enemy*, p. 290).

Connelly's research in archives in Munich, Vienna, Seton Hall University in New Jersey, and Washington, DC, as well as in numerous journals and books of the period, have helped him to trace the origins of the teachings in chapter 4 of the Declaration *Nostra Aetate* (1965) of the Second Vatican Council on relations with the Jews. He has identified in the process more than two-dozen persons whom he describes as "border transgressors" (p. 287) who were converts to Catholicism and helped it to come to a new understanding of Judaism. This summary of his book will concentrate on some of the major figures.

In formulating their teachings, church leaders were guided by what was previously taught by scripture and tradition as well as by the findings of science. The New Testament made many relevant statements: Jesus of Nazareth, his mother, his apostles, and many of his early followers were all Jews (Matt. 1:16, 10:2–4; Luke 1:27, 2:23, 6:13–16; Acts 2:5–42). His mission was to the house of Israel (Matt. 10:6, 15:24). The leaders of the Jews and some of their followers rejected him and called down his blood upon them and their children (Matt. 27:25, Acts 3:14–15). Jesus established a new and everlasting covenant (Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; Heb. 12:24, 13:20), the former covenant becoming obsolete (Heb. 8:13). As regards the Gospel, Jews are ene-

mies of God (Rom. 11:28). They persecuted and sought to kill him (John 5:16–18). They denied and killed the author of life (Acts 3:15). Jesus ordered his apostles to go out and make disciples of all nations [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη] (Matt. 28:19), beginning with Jerusalem (Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8; 2:5, 38). Over the centuries Christians have seen this commission as a call to work for the conversion also of the Jews. The destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of Jews and their sufferings were seen as punishments for having rejected Jesus and hindered the spread of his Gospel (Luke 19:41–44, 21:20–24; I Thess. 2:16). The church fathers in the fourth century claimed that these sufferings are signs that they have been cursed by God because of their deicide. Some Christian writers saw Jews as having special genetic traits or propensities for evil, a kind of second original or inherited sin (*Erbsünde*) committed by rejecting Jesus as their Messiah that renders them morally deficient (deceitful, subversive, lascivious, and so forth). To protect Christians from their evil influence, Jews were expelled or segregated. Ethnologists and anthropologists of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century discussed the question of race, holding that humanity was naturally divided into various races or national *Volkstümer*, that environment and culture shaped a *Volk* so that some are more civilized and superior to others. Moral theologians taught a doctrine of ordered love whereby one is to love oneself first and then family, friends, colleagues, coreligionists, people, and nation. Although Christ taught that one should love one's neighbor as oneself (Matt. 19:19, 22:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27; Rom. 13:9; Gal. 5:14; James 2:8), charity should begin at home, with those who are of the household of the faith (Gal. 6:10). In this ranking, Jews are on the outer limits of those one should love.

When confronted with racist ideology, prelates in Rome and Germany were cautious. They did not wish to repeat the mistake of the Galileo affair by opposing science. They therefore consulted such leading priest-scholars such as Hermann Muckermann, S.J. (1883–1946), director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology in Berlin, and Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D. (1868–1954), founder of the Anthropos Institute at the University of Vienna. Although these scientists opposed the extreme ideas of the Nazis, they held for a hierarchy of races with the Nordic being superior, its values and culture needing protection. Race was a biological fact, part of the natural order willed by God. The prominent Catholic theologian Karl Adam (1876–1966) at the University of Tübingen agreed and claimed that by God's grace Mary and her son were preserved from negative Jewish characteristics. Bishop Alois Hudal (1885–1963), the rector of the German College in Rome, wanted the German *Volk* protected from Jews. The German episcopate in 1933 lifted prohibitions on nazism, tried to find a *modus vivendi* with the regime, and backed taking a reasonable pride in being German while avoiding radical nationalism.

Germans were particularly susceptible to racist ideologies due to the prevalence in their language of related concepts of *Volk* (people, nation), the mystical body of Christ, *Blut* (blood), *Reich* (realm, empire), and *Erbsünde*

(hereditary or original sin). German Catholics tended to form their own organizations; to have a corporate identity; to experience themselves as part of a larger whole, the mystical body of Christ. The notion of the "people of God" was advanced by Karl Adam. Catholics had a communitarian sense, united in a "unity of blood" and opposed to liberal individualism. The word *Reich* evoked memories of the medieval Holy Roman Empire under German leaders when Christian values flourished. The term *Erbsünde*, a biologically hereditary sin, led them to fear pollution by intermarriage with Jews whose dangerous genetic traits could not be corrected merely by baptism. German Catholics were slow to oppose eugenics, too eager to fit into modern German society. Pope Pius XI's *Casti connubii* (1930), however, condemned such eugenic measures as sterilization, abortion, and birth control, but the encyclical did allow for concern about the health of a race.

German-speaking Austria, especially Vienna, with its Habsburg inheritance of a multi-ethnic society, became the intellectual breeding ground of antiracism. Some notable Germans of Jewish descent who converted to Catholicism and fled Nazi persecution flocked to Vienna. The exiled philosopher Dietrich von Hildebrand (1889–1977) taught philosophy at the University of Vienna and published a journal attacking antisemitism and Catholics who collaborated with the Nazis. He emphasized the person over the state and insisted that the Judaism is the root into which Christianity is grafted, that God's gifts to Jews are irrevocable, and that Christians should favor Abraham's descendents and thus be blessed by God. Hildebrand collaborated with Johannes Oesterreicher (1904–93), a Jewish convert to Catholicism from Moravia and ordained priest for the Diocese of Vienna to which he always remained incardinated, who also made the capital city the center of his activities. Through his ministry of converting Jews (*Pauluswerk*), Oesterreicher interacted with important Jewish thinkers, but this produced few results, despite his insistence that Hitler's persecution would continue until they accepted Jesus as their Messiah. In his encounters with the Viennese rabbi Armand Kaminka (1866–1950), Kaminka argued that the word *ethnos* in Matt. 28 should be understood in a Jewish context as Gentiles and therefore Oesterreicher's efforts to convert Jews was not in accord with the Gospel. Oesterreicher also taught religion at the University of Vienna and edited the journal *Die Erfüllung* (1934–38) that denounced Nazi persecution of Jews and attacked the Jesuit preacher Georg Bichlmair (1890–1953) and the Catholic publisher Josef Eberle (1901–86) for their antisemitic views. Oesterreicher was not an original thinker, but propagated others' ideas in an argumentative way and was skilled at organizing those who agreed with him. He reached out to fellow converts such as the former socialist professor Karl Thieme (1902–63), who converted to Catholicism in protest over his Lutheran coreligionists' capitulation to Nazi pressure by excluding Christians of Jewish origins from church office. Thieme, working out of Düsseldorf, edited his own journal *Junge Front* (1934–36) in which he opposed the Nazis and any efforts to segregate Jewish converts within the

Catholic Church. In 1935 he fled to Basel in Switzerland, dying there in 1963. Thieme "became the most influential Catholic writer on the Jewish question in the twentieth century" (p. 121). Oesterreicher and Thieme corresponded and actively participated in international meetings on Jewish-Christian relations. On the urgings of the former Reich chancellor Joseph Wirth (1879–1956), Osterreicher, Thieme, and historian Waldemar Gurian (1902–54) composed the Catholic Memorandum against Antisemitism published in Vienna, Paris, and New York in 1937 and signed by various clerics, but bishops were not among the signatories. The memorandum denounced discrimination as against natural and canon law and the teachings of Jesus who loved his fellow Jews and has not rejected them. From exile in Paris Osterreicher produced *Racisme–antisémitisme–antichristianisme* (1940) that collected and commented on the opinions of "experts" on race, showing that they did not agree and that the notion of race is at its core about racial superiority and against Christian teachings. "Pure-blooded" Aryans also have original sin. Christians should have solidarity with Jesus' persecuted least kin. To avoid the Nazis, both Hildebrand and Oesterreicher fled first to Toulouse and then to the United States, taking academic positions at New York's Fordham University and Manhattanville College respectively. Moving to Seton Hall University in 1953, Oesterreicher set up an institute of Judeo-Christian studies there and edited a yearbook, *The Bridge* (1955–70), which fostered ecumenical understanding between Jews and Christians.

These converts to Catholicism who opposed racism tried to obtain the support of the papacy, enlisting the help of German émigrés in Rome and especially of the German Jesuit Robert Leiber (1887–1967), who since 1924 had served as secretary to Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (1876–1958), then the Vatican secretary of state and later Pius XII (1939–58). They had limited success. Pius XI (1922–39) condemned antisemitism in 1928, when banning a group known as the Amici Israel that called for the elimination of the word *perfidious* from the Good Friday prayer. His encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* read out on Palm Sunday 1937 in more than 11,500 parishes in Germany attacked the extreme neo-pagan racism of National Socialism, but it also unleashed harsh persecution of the Church by the Nazis. In 1938 he condemned antisemitism during an impromptu meeting with Belgian pilgrims, but the official Vatican print media and radio did not disseminate his comments. Pius XI commissioned the American Jesuit John LaFarge (1880–1963) to prepare an encyclical on the topic; LaFarge was assisted by fellow Jesuits Gustav Gundlach (1892–1963) and Gustave Desbuquois (1869–1959). Surviving drafts of the document include statements that the Jews had lost their exalted calling by rejecting Jesus. According to these drafts, the Jews—although they remain the chosen people—are a spiritual threat to the Church and should be separated off but not persecuted, as the latter action only intensifies their resistance. Pius XI died before the document was ready. His successor, Pius XII, tried to take an approach that was conciliatory, nonconfrontational, and designed to lessen attacks by the Nazi regime. The horrors of

the Holocaust led the pope, as urged by Oesterreicher, to make changes in the Good Friday prayer for the Jews: *perfidis* was to be translated as "unbelieving" and not "perfidious" (1948), and the congregation was to kneel during the intercession (1955). His successor, John XXIII, removed the word *perfidis* (1959).

In an effort to prevent a resurgence of antisemitism after World War II with the desecration of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, the International Council of Christians and Jews hosted conferences. The 1947 conference held in Seelisberg, Switzerland drew up ten articles on how Christians should understand Judaism. The 1958 meeting at Apeldoorn in Holland sent its theses to John XXIII with the backing of the French Jewish historian Jules Marx Isaac (1887–1963) and Oesterreicher's institute. When John XXIII called for suggestions for the agenda of his upcoming council, not one bishop urged a consideration of Jewish-Christian relations, but Oesterreicher did so. So, too, did Isaac in an interview with the pope in June 1960. John XXIII appointed a commission headed by the cardinal and Jesuit biblical scholar Augustin Bea (1881–1968) to study the issue. Among its members were Oesterreicher; Gregory Baum, O.S.A. (1923–); Abbot Leo Rudloff, O.S.B. (1902–82); and Bruno Hussar (1911–96). Like Oesterreicher, Baum and Hussar were converts. The work of the commission was heavily dependent on the thinking of other writers. Connelly gives particular credit to French essayist Léon Bloy (1846–1917)—"the path to Vatican II begins with him" (p. 185). Bloy insisted that God's promises to the Jews are irrevocable (Rom. 9–11), that Jesus and his apostles were all Jews, and that the Christian liturgy is rooted in the Old Testament. In his book, *Church of the Jews and Pagans* (Salzburg, 1933), the émigré convert Erik Peterson (1890–1960), who taught at the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome, developed Bloy's exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans. Thieme claimed that this epistle was the last of St. Paul's writings and reflected his mature thought—Jews remain favored by God and do not need conversion. They constitute both a people and a religion, but not a race. They are the brothers—indeed, like the elder brother of the Prodigal Son parable (Luke 15:31)—not the enemies of Christians who should revere them as a kingdom of priests, a holy nation (Exod. 19:5). The founding of the State of Israel meant a return to the Promised Land (Zeph. 3:20). Jews had been persecuted for observing Jewish law; for being *faithful* to God, they are martyrs (p. 230). Catholics are to hope for the day when all peoples will address God in a single voice (Zeph. 3:9). In the meantime, let Christians work to convert the pagan Gentiles (Rom. 11:23–27). Unbaptized Jews who seek salvation by obeying the law of God receive the "baptism of desire" of Pius IX's decree (1863) and are the "hidden Christians" of St. Augustine (354–430) as well as the "anonymous Christians" of Karl Rahner (1904–84). Thieme propagated his ideas at the Bad Schwalbach meeting of the Coordinating Council of the German Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation (1950); at the Ecumenical Conference in Evanston, IL (1954); and through the *Freiburger Rundbrief*, for which he was the theological adviser

(1948–63) and which enjoyed wide circulation and the support of the Vatican after it was cleared of the charge of religious indifferentism. Thieme debated his ideas with Oesterreicher and Ernst Karl Winter, the publisher and former vice-mayor of Vienna (1895–1959). Winter insisted that the new covenant replaced the old and that John's Gospel with its anti-Judaism was the latest and most mature Gospel written and should take precedence over earlier works. Oesterreicher argued that Christians should work for the conversion of Jews. Thieme had misgivings when Oesterreicher was appointed adviser to the Second Vatican Council, and their correspondence ended. But before his death, Thieme praised Oesterreicher's contributions, and Oesterreicher relied on Thieme's formulations in his work at the Council.

In early 1961, Oesterreicher drew up for Bea's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity a list of theses that emphasized the teachings of the Epistle to the Romans and rejected any notion that all Jews were responsible for Christ's death or that they were accursed by God. The secretariat, composed of bishops and theologians, met at a retreat house in Ariccia on Lago di Nemo (April, August, and November 1961) to discuss Oesterreicher's draft as well as the ideas of Baum. By December, it had come up with a new draft of six points that emphasized the Jews as a special, not cursed, people. When the draft became known, Eastern rite bishops protested that it was too favorable to the Jews and would rouse Arab hostility toward their communities, and the conservative Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini (1888–1968) led an effort to weaken or shorten it. Oesterreicher begged Cardinals Franz König (1905–2004) and Richard Cushing (1895–1970) to save the decree. At the eighty-eighth general congregation at the end of September 1964, Bea encouraged debate on a draft that had been revised by the Roman Curia to drop a condemnation of deicide and to reiterate the need to convert the Jews. American and north European bishops demanded that the condemnation of deicide be reinstated. Outside the Council chamber the Jewish theologian Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–72), who taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, objected to the call for the conversion of Jews, saying that if he had a choice between Auschwitz or conversion, he would choose Auschwitz. The draft revised in the light of the debate in October 1964 dropped references to deicide, to conversion, and to Israel (lest it seem to support the State of Israel). Instead, Jews were referred to as the stock of Abraham. The covenant with Abraham was acknowledged as valid in the present day, and Christians should not vaunt themselves over the Jews. These teachings were incorporated into chapter 4 of the decree *Nostra Aetate* and approved at a public session on October 28, 1965, with only 88 out of 2322 prelates dissenting. Although the decree said nothing about the Holocaust or the Church's historical responsibility for persecuting the Jews, it deplored antisemitism and rejected all forms of racism. Jewish commentators praised it as marking an advance in Jewish-Christian relations. It had removed any basis for hatred of Jews (p. 263). As Connelly notes, the shift from seeing Jews as enemies to brothers had been the work of "subversively orthodox converts" (p. 291) to

Catholicism, men and women who lived on the borders and found ways to resolve tensions within themselves by revising the Church's understanding of Judaism.

Comments of Eugene J. Fisher (Saint Leo University)

This is a book about words—their limitations and possibilities as well as their capacity to be lethal or life-giving, depending on who is using them and when, where, and how they are used. Connelly offers an intense and well-documented look into the development of the fifteen Latin sentences that make up the fourth section of what was arguably the most contested and one of the most significant documents of the Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate*.

A full appreciation of this brief conciliar declaration, of course, must engage one in a review, from the point of its chief victim, of the entire history of the Church and the development of its most significant doctrines, including the Incarnation. Why, one asks with Connelly and the twentieth-century scholars whose grapplings with Christian racial antisemitism he narrates so well and in such depth, did God choose to become a Jew? That question, and the lengths to which Christians have gone to avoid it and its implications, underlie the myriad issues that make up this unsettling study.

The setting for Connelly's story is largely German and Austrian, and he does well in analyzing the limitations and biases of basic German words such as *volk* and *reich* that predisposed so many German speakers to accept the racialism of Nazi antisemitism and to confuse the Third Reich with the Kingdom of God. Writing against these linguistic confusions the results of which would be genocide (itself a word that had to be coined in 1945 to describe what the Nazis had attempted to do and almost succeeded in doing to the Jews). The heroes and heroines of the story are German-speaking "borderline" people—converts from Judaism and Protestantism such as Oesterreicher, who were able to see both sides of key theological and social issues. I was struck, however, by the fact that even these great thinkers were fully able to free themselves from the presumptions (and prejudices) of the centuries-old Christian teaching of contempt against Jews and Judaism through direct dialogue with believing Jews whose existence challenged the abstract categories of that teaching.

As one who has spent a lifetime studying and implementing *Nostra Aetate*, I can only express my deep gratitude to Connelly. I knew and worked with many of the participants in the drama that was the conciliar debate over the document in my thirty years at the bishops' conference, so knew much of what he has to say. But I also learned much. I did not know, for example, the pioneering work of Karl Thieme whose contributions Connelly rightly calls "forgotten" (p. 190) by many of us in the field.

I will leave it to my colleagues Thomas Stransky and Susannah Heschel to comment on the accuracy of the behind-the-scenes narrative about the development of the document that Connolly presents, concluding with a couple of clarifications for the record. First, Connelly perpetuates the misnomer about so-called Vatican "ratlines" (p. 27; p. 309n80). In fact, that term was used by the U.S. secret service of the time, not the Holy See, to indicate the former's routes of assisting Nazis to escape Europe after the war. Further research may be needed on the implications of this fact. Second, Connelly gives a major role to Rosemary Radford Reuther's *Faith and Fratricide* (New York, 1974). In fact, the book was not well researched or received, its sole value being to precipitate a number of good studies criticizing the author's overstated claims such as the idea that Matthew's gospel is filled with "anti-Judaism"; in fact, it is marked with a polemic against the Pharisees, not Judaism as such, which reflected Matthew's difficulties with the Jewish community of his time and was in fact an internal Jewish discussion.

Comments of Thomas Stransky, C.S.P. (original staff member, the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, which held the *De Iudaeis* portfolio during the period 1960–65)

So many influences of thought and persons flowed into the genesis of *Nostra Aetate* that even fifty years later Second Vatican Council historians continue to differ on the subject of the degree of their strengths and interrelatedness. In this well-written, thoroughly researched, and original study, Connelly highlights those few theologians, biblicists, and philosophers from Germany, Hungary, and Austria, almost all of them Jewish converts who personally experienced the mad mix of racism, nationalism, and antisemitism in the Nazi ruthless enforcement of anti-Jewish laws. His list of names is long. (He wrongly labels the Benedictine Leo Rudloff, a *Nostra Aetate* drafter, as Jewish [p. 179].) Without these converts, the Catholic Church "would never have 'thought its way' out of the challenges of racist anti-Judaism" (p. 287). Perhaps more than anyone else, Oesterreicher "incorporated the Church's journey from past to present," as reflected in *Nostra Aetate* (n4), of which he was among the principal drafters (p. 287). One of Connolly's unique contributions is his narration pertaining to Johannes Oesterreicher—his experiences, zigzagging developing thought, argumentative personality, and friends and sparring partners (especially the ever-prodding German Lutheran convert Karl Thieme, and Gertrud Luckner's "Freiburg Circle" and its *Freiburger Rundbrief*).

Connolly's focus, in my judgment, is too strong. It overshadows—almost crowds out—other European "circles" of very few converts. First is the equal, if not more influential, preconciliar role of the French L'Amitié judéo-crétienne, founded in 1948 after the pivotal Seelisberg meeting, and its ten points on antisemitism. Unlike the Freiburg Circle, L'Amitié co-engaged Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. It had a biblical pastoral orientation, with several hundred members such as philosopher Jacques Maritain, theologian Henri du

Lubac, historian H.-L. Marrou, Hungarian biblicist and Jewish convert Paul Démann, catechists and liturgists, and several Second Vatican Council leaders such as Cardinal Achille Liénart, Cardinal Joseph-Marie Martin, and Archbishop Charles de Provenchères. Démann joined Jules Isaac in analyzing anti-Judaism in French-language catechetical materials, missals, and liturgical commentaries. The 1952 study offered Seelisberg criteria for corrections. It prompted the hierarchy to require changes in official texts—all this in the 1950s. Lastly, L'Amitié compiled a memorandum of documents for the trip to Rome of its honorary president, the eighty-one-year-old Isaac. His one-to-one conversation with John XXIII on June 13, 1960, prompted the pope to mandate "The Jewish Question" on the Council agenda, through Bea's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU).

Another circle of influence was the informal Basle/Fribourg think tank: Charles Journet (for J. B. Montini [later Paul VI], "my theologian") and Dominican Jean de Menasce (Egyptian Jewish convert), Karl Thieme, Oscar Cullmann, Karl Barth, and Jewish philosopher Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich—the latter the steady friend of Oesterreicher and the European B'nai B'rith representative at the Second Vatican Council. Barth ("our Rabbi") was the first (in 1930) to interpret Paul vis-à-vis his kinfolk—the irrevocable living covenant of God's merciful love and blessings (Rom. 9:4; 11:29). This controversial exegesis became the major affirmation in *Nostra Aetate* (n4). Through Journet, the group expressed its general Jewish concerns in the 1959 *votum* of the University of Fribourg's faculty of theology: *De antisemistismo a Christianis impugnando* (ADS II/IV/2, pp. 284–86).

These Austrian-German, Swiss, and French circles of Jewish/Christian studies were not enclosed cocoons, but formed a permeable group that shared research and debate as well as authors and articles in L'Amitié's journal *Sens* (1949), Démann's *Cahiers Sioniens* (1936), and *Freiburger Rundbrief* (1948). In the six successive conciliar schemata, one can find their direct influences; the indirect are untraceable.

Corrections are needed for Connelly's narrative of the original *De Iudaeis*. John XXIII's mandate to Bea was not to draft a schema (p. 240). Initially, the SPCU was empowered to write only working papers for the appropriate commissions. The first draft of the working paper was not solely Oesterreicher's work (p. 243) but also that of the chair, Rudloff; Gregory Baum; and George Tavard, A.A. They had in hand not only the Apeldoorn memorandum (p. 243) but also the 1959 *votum* of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, *De antisemitismo vitando* (ADS I/IV/I, pp. 131–32); the Fribourg *votum*; Oesterreicher's Seton Hall memorandum involving twelve scholars; and L'Amitié's memorandum for John XXIII and Bea. The final first draft (November 1961) was the work of an enlarged committee that was chaired by then-Monsignor Johannes Willebrands and included Bishop Émile-Joseph De Smedt, H. F. Davis, and myself. Thereafter, the drafting committee never returned to only four, and neither Rudloff nor Oesterreicher ever chaired it.

All the SPCU members and consultors had to face their admittedly divergent exegesis, differing interpretations of the dominant church teaching, and the critical quest for a new language. Connelly accurately catches the tensions and nuances because of his access to the primary source—the Minutes (*Verbali*) of the preparatory plenaries. Once the five-chapter *De Oecumenismo* (also inter-Christian church relations and religious freedom) had reached the floor in *aula* (November 1963), the SPCU could no longer confine the debate to itself. It became the servant-instrument of the Fathers by evaluating their oral *interventiones* and their more detailed written *animaversiones*. For these materials in the complex process Connelly did not use a primary source—the indispensable *Acta Synodalia* that include the secretive discussions of the Central Coordinating Commission and the decisions of the general Secretariat. Most helpful for his *Nostra Aetate* narrative would have been the *Expensio modorum*—the SPCU's reasons to the Fathers for accepting or rejecting their demands.

For this reviewer, Connelly's best provocative chapter is his last. He confronts the following question: Is there a particular Christ-mandated mission to the Jewish people for the sake of the Jews and Christ's Church? Here one always excludes vulgar proselytism—unethical means of enticements and organized convert-making campaigns. I am not convinced *Nostra Aetate* or official postconciliar statements resolve the neuralgic issue.

"No longer missionary but ecumenical witnessing to the Church's own conversion" oversimplifies. What is the God-mandated mission of the Church to the covenanted Jewish people and the Jewish mission to the Church, and what is the Jewish/Christian shared mission to all peoples in today's troubled world as it is now and is called to become? My last long chat with Oesterreicher in 1988 seemed to indicate that an unresolved dialectic privately lingered in his serene twilight years.

Comments of Susannah Heschel (Dartmouth College)

Rarely has any religious community engaged in as profound a theological reorientation as the Second Vatican Council in reconsidering Roman Catholic teachings regarding Jews and Judaism. Connelly's brilliant reconstruction of the history of the theological debates demonstrates the revolutionary nature of the Second Vatican Council's teachings. He begins with an important examination of European Catholic teachings during the years of the Third Reich, demonstrating the appeal of racial theory to theologians. Like other historians who have examined Catholic theology during those years, Connelly demonstrates the presence of racial ideas in the writings of prominent Catholic theologians, including Karl Adam, who spoke of the "blood unity" of the German Volk, and the Jesuit Georg Bichlmair, who proclaimed "from the pulpits of Vienna that Jews carried special defects in their genes for the historic sin of rejecting Christ" (p. 5). Affirming that baptism did not erase race was the

same position articulated by the pro-Nazi Protestants who called themselves "German Christians."

Given that background, it is no wonder that the Vatican Declaration was spearheaded, as Connelly tells us, by a remarkable group of Catholic theologians who had converted from Judaism, particularly Johannes Oesterreicher. Their own experience of racial prejudice within the Church spurred their postwar efforts.

The scandal that racism trumped the sacrament of baptism during the Nazi years—that baptized Jews were not accepted as Christians—was a theological scandal that became a key motivation, Connelly tells us, for the Second Vatican Council's reconsideration of Judaism. For race to trump baptism was a triumph of the secular, wholly unacceptable, so that *Nostra Aetate* was not only a statement concerning Jews but also an effort to reaffirm and purify Catholic theological teachings.

For Connelly, *Nostra Aetate* is a revolutionary statement that repudiates centuries of negative teachings about Judaism, but it is so thoroughly grounded in foundational Christian texts (such as Romans 9–11) that the distinguished Jesuit Stanislaw Musial, a courageous opponent of antisemitism, could argue that *Nostra Aetate* seemed to contain nothing new.

However, it was not only revolutionary but also was as much a response to Catholic theological issues as to the situation of Jews after the Holocaust. Connelly points out that after the war, Catholics needed an explanation for Auschwitz that would not implicate the Church: "If the history of the Jews was a series of trials sent to punish them for failing to accept Christ," (p. 6), then nazism could be understood as God's tool to push the Jews into conversion—an "obscene" (p. 7) position to take after the war, he writes.

After the Nazi murders, efforts at converting Jews to Christianity were perceived by many Jews as a continued attempt at annihilation. It calls to mind the declaration of my father, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, that he would rather go to Auschwitz than give up his faith. After Pope Paul VI met privately with him in September 1964, he was told that the pope crossed out the line of the statement regarding conversion of the Jews.

Some personal memories may be appropriate to mention here. The declaration was the result of the intellectual changes that Connelly outlines, to be sure, but also of personal encounters between Catholics and Jews. It was a surprising experience for Christians in those days to discover they could learn something about God from a Jew, that the theology of a Jew could make them better Christians. Many thought that had not happened for 2000 years, since Jesus and Paul. When I was a child, it seemed to me that the nuns who came to our home for a visit were on a pilgrimage, coming home to the Judaism that was the womb of their own faith. These occasions often were

the first Shabbat dinner or Passover Seder that many nuns and priests had ever attended. Some were tentative at first, but they quickly responded to my father's gentle humor; others such as Félix A. Morlion, O.P., from Rome regaled us with jokes and theological banter. "My friend," my father would say, putting his hand on his guest's arm, "would you like to learn the prayer for bread, the hamotzi?" And then he would teach the guest the Hebrew words. Often, toward the end of the meal, in a quiet voice, my father would conclude the evening's theological discussions by asking, "Do you really think it would be *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* if there were no Jews, no Jewish prayer, no Sabbath, God forbid?" And then came a pause, a smile from the guest, and a nod. "What will save us?" my father asked, when speaking at a gathering in honor of Augustin Bea. "God and our ability to stand in awe of each other's faith, of each other's commitment."

Comments of Alberto Melloni (University of Modena/Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII, Bologna)

Nostra Aetate is a turning point for the Roman Catholic Church and for Christianity at large to a certain extent. The representation of other churches at the Second Vatican Council made it "ecumenical" in a new way—not an imperial council supported by the state administration, as occurred during the first millennium, nor the idea promulgated by Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine of a Council simply summoned by the Roman pontiff. Rather, it was conceived as an unusual and iconic manifestation of the communion. "A banquet of grace," said Pope John XXIII, who gathered it—one open to all, so open that the proposal to host Israeli observers at the Council created serious controversy.[1] For this reason, *Nostra Aetate* has wider implications beyond Roman Catholicism; and its history and effects are still the subject for research.

Connelly's book is a major piece of research in this rapidly changing panorama. *From Enemy to Brother* examines one aspect of those involved in the genesis, draft, and revision of *Nostra Aetate*. Many of them were Jews who had converted—people historically subject to persecution and thus pressured by civil and ecclesiastical authorities to show zeal. Connelly discusses Baum, Rudloff, Peterson, and Jaeger, but centers his analysis on Oesterreicher, an Austrian theologian who was part of an intellectual circle that included Thieme, Maritain, and Isaac. As far as the reconstruction of this informal community is concerned (chapters 1–7), Connelly's book is full of interesting discoveries and observations. His discussion of mission and conversion of the Jews as something that was abandoned only with pain and resistance also is quite sound.

[1]Alberto Melloni, *Papa Giovanni. Un Cristiano e il suo concilio* (Torino, 2009), p. 297.

However, the chapter that reconstructs the debate at the Second Vatican Council shows an unfortunate conclusion that can result from research drawing on Council archives: Almost all individuals who had a significant role at the Council believed that they played the most important one. They did find their own ideas in the phrasing of *Nostra Aetate* and felt that they had avoided great clashes or disasters. However, in the majority of cases their conclusions are not accurate. The assembly by its nature amplified these emotions as well as the desire of those who had participated only through entities to register a more personal role.

It is true that the pope and Isaac wished to insert a *De Judaeis* into the agenda. It was the conservative elements of the Roman Curia (as discussed in my *L'altra Roma* [Bologna, 2000]) who passed the document to the Arab ambassadors so as to create a counter reaction that would force Cardinal Amleto Cicognani to drop the scheme. Much more important were the roles of Bea and his Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity—the "verbali" of the latter provide significant insight.[2] The idea to dilute the document on Jews within an overarching document on "Religions" did not placate the minority who could not move beyond tradition and old prejudices.

Thus the insistence on the "religious" character of *Nostra Aetate* does not reveal the intention of Bea or Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro (not a Franciscan, as Connelly writes), nor fully explain the reasons for the continuing attacks on the document. My research and the work done by Uri Bialer show that even among Israeli diplomats, the idea of a "religious" document was too little, too late, in light of the Shoah and the establishment of the State of Israel. But disparate individuals such as Maurice Fischer, Nathan Ben Horin, and Raya Kagan on one side, and people such as Bea and Willebrands on the other, recognized the need for a change first envisioned by Osterreicher—one that is at the core of Connelly's book and signifies the most dramatic turnabout of the Council.

Response of John Connelly (University of California, Berkeley)

I thank the reviewers for their generous readings and corrections (which will inform any translations of the book), but for reasons of space I will direct my response to some of their critical remarks that address issues of broader interest.

Johannes Oesterreicher would have endorsed Eugene J. Fisher's assessment of Rosemary Ruether's work, although some respected theologians indeed embraced much of her argument (for example, Gregory Baum). Ruether projected anti-Judaism as a necessary implication of the gospels rather than the poisoned fruit of interpretation, and that went against the life

[2] *Dialogo e Rinnovamento*, ed. Mauro Velati (Bologna, 2011).

project of Oesterreicher. But recently I have been shocked to find anti-Judaic interpretation in work published after the Council. Looking for a readable discussion of Matthew's Gospel by a major Catholic theologian I turned to the much-praised *Vision of Matthew* of John P. Meier (New York, with imprimatur and *nihil obstat* issued in September 1978; repr. 1991). In this interpretation, "the Kingdom of God is taken from this people [the Jews, JC] and given to another people, the church, which will bear its fruits (21:43)." "A fundamental choice," Meier writes, "involving the confession or the denial of Jesus as Messiah, leads to a fundamental change in the identity of the people of God. The fatal decision is made by the whole Jewish people in 27:25." Meier was referring to the infamous scene in which the crowd calls the blood of Christ upon itself. Instead of the open eschatological vision of *Nostra Aetate* (featuring the minor prophet Zephaniah), Meier writes of a second coming in which "Jerusalem and the Jews will be forced to acknowledge and hail the coming one. But on that day he will come as judge, not as the meek king of Zechariah. On that day it will be too late." Meier writes as if the Second Vatican Council had not happened, arguing at times like the opponents of chapter 4 of *Nostra Aetate*.[3]

Daniel Harrington has published work showing how the synoptic gospels can be "set free" of anti-Judaism (by arguing, for example, that the wicked vintners in Matthew 21:43 represent not the people but the leaders of Israel and that the new "nation" referred to does not imply the Catholic Church).[4] Yet Harrington also supplied a generous endorsement of Meier's book. So did Paul Achtemeier, former president of the Catholic Bible Association, who calls *Vision of Matthew* "[o]ne of those volumes every student of the Gospel of Matthew needs to own." Raymond Brown calls Meier's book "excellent, supplying a very intelligible approach. It is basic enough to be used as a text in college courses, and yet has quality scholarship so that it can be warmly recommended to seminary and more advanced students of the New Testament." The upshot is that laypersons, looking for a work endorsed by top Catholic authorities, are led straight into the kind of supercessionist anti-Judaism that troubled Ruether—decades after the Council. The church's teaching authority, so vigilant in other matters, seems little interested in this one.[5]

[3]In reference to the final lines of Matthew, Meier writes: ". . . the Jews as a special, separate people have lost their privileged status as chosen people of God. They have been 'declassified' and have become simply one nation among 'all the nations.'" *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York, 1991), pp. 166, 200.

[4]Daniel Harrington, *The Synoptic Gospels Set Free: Preaching without Anti-Judaism* (New York, 2009).

[5]The three statements released by the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews (1974, 1985, 1998) say nothing about combating the ideology of supercessionism.

Thomas Stransky is right that I highlight the Oesterreicher-Thieme connection at the expense of much else. Yet I do discuss the catechetical work of Démann and his colleagues in Paris (the converts Geza Vermes and Renée Bloch), as well as the Seelisberg and Schwalbach theses. Discussions about anti-Judaism took place in societies of L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne in France as well as Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Verständigung in Germany. Yet at the top were the theologians who strove to find words to speak to Jews after the Holocaust, and here the key role of Karl Thieme was unmistakable. He was the first Catholic theologian to break through to the idea that Jews remained "pleasing to God," and some of his formulations later went into *Nostra Aetate*. But he was definitely a "networker" who used Freiburg, a German city bordering on France and Switzerland, to integrate the work of Christians and Jews from elsewhere. The Apeldoorn meetings of the late 1950s represent a high point of such efforts, and they involved not only Oesterreicher and Thieme but also theologians from Israel, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and Italy. Stransky's notion of the permeability of these groups is exactly right.

Striking is the high percentage of converts. There would have been no new Catholic teaching on the Jews without the engagement of individuals who were not born Catholic. Although histories of the Second Vatican Council focus on the bishops, the crucial intellectual work behind *Nostra Aetate* was accomplished by persons who did not belong to the hierarchy or indeed often the priesthood. The trend went back to the 1930s, when Oesterreicher, Thieme, and Waldemar Gurian could not find a single bishop to support their Catholic condemnation of antisemitism.

Susannah Heschel echoes Stransky in noting how much work remains to be done on the origins of *Nostra Aetate*—not only on efforts beyond Germany but also on those involving Christians and Jews, dating in Europe from the late 1940s, but in the United States from the 1920s. She also echoes Stransky in emphasizing the degree of the change accomplished by this brief statement. Before the Council, few Christians would have dared state that learning about Judaism can make one a better Christian. Now the idea seems commonsensical. Heschel describes the new teaching as "thoroughly grounded in foundational Christian texts." Oesterreicher would have agreed, but one friend (the political scientist Tony Levitas) who read my book called the shift to St. Paul a "very clever but clearly willful exegesis" involving "what seems to an outsider a pretty lonely and ambiguous bit of text." Still, *Nostra Aetate*, citing Paul's letter to the Romans 9–11 but not the indeed ambiguous Matthew 21–28, does constitute authoritative church teaching, and it is disheartening (as I argue in chapter 8) that top church officials have recently spoken of conversion of the Jews as if this teaching did not exist.

Heschel points to an odd effect of the new teaching: that in projecting it as rooted in foundational texts, the Church can deflect attention from the

centuries when other texts led to opposite conclusions and in fact fueled contempt of Jews. What I hope is clear from my book is that the road to *Nostra Aetate* took the Church from a place where (religious) anti-Judaism demonstrably fueled (modern racist) antisemitism. Also clear is that the Vatican did nothing to silence the prominent Catholic theologians who sponsored racism in the 1930s.

Alberto Melloni notes how sources structure our research, sometimes causing us to reproduce their biases. Fortunately, I was able to check the records of Oesterreicher against those of Thieme as well as those of Oesterreicher against those of Stransky (who generously permitted me access to his papers housed at the Paulist Center in Washington, DC). Yet Oesterreicher challenges historians for the opposite reason supposed by Melloni. One thing he learned from decades of work in the Church was never to upstage a bishop. In his published work his own role appears minimal and is often described in the passive voice. The archival record helped put him in the picture, but I had to read thousands of his letters to find a single recollection of his argument in the SPCU that the word *Israel* in Romans 9 means the Jews. If Oesterreicher was a proud man, he also, as a good Christian, evidently had learned to examine his conscience.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women, 200–1500. By Dyan Elliott. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. x, 662. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4358-1.)

In *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell*, Dyan Elliott pursues themes addressed in earlier books: *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993); *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1998); and *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004). Elliott employs anthropological, feminist, literary, and psychoanalytic perspectives to interpret medieval texts related to female bodies and religious experience. She argues that the metaphor "bride of Christ," as applied to virginal female religious, progresses in a downward spiral from symbol, to text, to embodiment, setting the stage for the eventual condemnation of women accused of mistaking the devil for Christ. Elliott further argues that as women embraced a "spouse of Christ" persona, some began to exhibit behaviors based on literal interpretations of the Song of Songs, behaviors that led ecclesial authorities to become suspicious of, and hostile to, female mysticism. Elliott writes, "This book is in many ways a testimony to the mystical marriage's predatory symbolism" (p. 2).

To build her case, Elliott examines texts from the early church to the late Middle Ages. Key factors in her argument include the development of a burgeoning affective piety, a focus on the human Christ, devotion to the Passion and Eucharist, the erotic language of the Song of Songs, and Mary as the ultimate bride. In each of seven chapters, Elliott examines a central theme, highlighting the complexity and tensions of diverse attitudes toward marriage, virginity, sexuality, and women. She begins with the thesis that Tertullian's use of the bride metaphor functioned to exert control over consecrated virgins. As virginity (and the intact body) acquired more status (second only to martyrdom), patristic authors emphasized modest dress, strict discipline, seclusion, and clerical oversight (St. Cyprian of Carthage, Origen, St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine). Elliott then turns to the Barbarian invasions and a discussion of the sixth- and seventh-century tension between virginal and nonvirginal brides (Thurigian Queen Radegun; Frankish noble matron Rictrude). Peter Abelard and Héloise embody the twelfth-century linkage of physical and mystical marriage and the emergence

of monastic heterosexual couples whose spiritual bond simulated the intimacy of an actual marriage. St. Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs* (1135–53) is noted as a major influence on the sensual, embodied, and erotized image of the bride of Christ found in the literature of the Beguines. Elliott concludes that the trajectory of the bride image culminates in a growing suspicion of female spirituality. The final chapter, "The Descent into Hell," argues that texts by John Gerson and John Nider (*Malleus maleficarum*) invert the image of the mystical marriage amidst the rise of charges of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft against women religious. Women's experience of a mystical marriage with Christ was no longer seen as divine revelation but as demonic activity.

Elliott often reads "against" well-established positions and textual readings (p. 195), and her use of literary and psychoanalytical frameworks will likely fuel further discussion about the appropriateness and success of such an approach when applied to medieval texts. For example, when does applying Freudian concepts such as repression, transference, and countertransference shed light on the meaning of medieval texts, and when does it obscure or erase it? Elliott is to be commended for presenting a provocative, complex argument. However, arguing a thesis (rather than simply describing textual content in its context) leads her to a good deal of conjecture (pp. 168, 170, 209, 212), problematic moral judgments (p. 246), questionable imputation of motives (pp. 168, 170, 209), and overgeneralization. For example, Jean Gerson is presumed to have used his considerable scholarly and literary talents to "undermine female mysticism" by "manipulating metaphors and images" in "flexible and subtle ways" (p. 246). No medieval scholar doubts the presence of enormous negative forces against women, but uncovering the meaning medieval people assigned to women, their spiritual lives, their bodies, sexualities, and relationships demands a more tentative approach. In another example, Elliott posits that in intense celibate relationships between a man and woman (what she terms "heteroasceticism," p. 150), "women seemed to have a greater investment." But when the full trajectory of many of these relationships is examined, it is legitimate to ask if this assessment is adequate taken alone. The complexity of deep human relationships—Ss. Francis and Clare of Assisi, Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua, Mary of Oignies and James of Vitry—then as now, demands a more nuanced assessment.

A stylistic quibble is the frequent inclusion of "quips" that, for some readers, may function as comic relief in a dense scholarly tome, but others may regard them as inappropriate or condescending (pp. 31, 39, 42, 49, 59, 75, 78, 87, 107). Two examples are the following: "Despite her apparent adulation, however, Margery [Kempe] still exhibited the kind of behavior that one might expect from a new girl in an established harem, striving to advance her intimacy with the sultan" (p. 219); and "So while Christ kept his relations with his fiancée, Bridget [of Sweden], on a formal footing, he invited Margery [Kempe] to snuggle in bed" (p. 219).

This provocative, meticulously documented text (115 pages of endnotes and forty-one pages of bibliography) analyzes a wide range of familiar and lesser-known medieval authors on an important topic. In the end, her analysis is unconvincing, but the journey is engaging and instructive. The book can be recommended for scholars of medieval history, theology, spirituality, women's history, the history of emotion, semiotics, and postmodern literary and psychoanalytical methodologies.

Fairfield University ELIZABETH A. DREYER

The Lord as Their Portion: The Story of the Religious Orders and How They Shaped Our World. By Elizabeth Rapley. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2011. Pp. xii, 337. $24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6588-5.)

Elizabeth Rapley sets out to recount the story of religious "for those people for whom monks and nuns are only a distant memory, or who have never known them at all" (p. ix). This intended audience determines the mode of her presentation without footnotes or bibliography and only brief recommendations for reading at the conclusion of each chapter. She covers approximately 1500 years of history in six chapters, and includes a helpful glossary and index.

Chapter 1 begins the story in the Egyptian desert; moves to St. Benedict of Nursia; and traces the Benedictine reforms through Cluny, the eremitical reforms, and Cîteaux. The beginnings of the apostolic life movements in the eleventh century, the revival of the canons regular, the origins of military orders, and an overview of monastic women concludes the chapter.

Chapter 2, covering the Middle Ages from 1200 to 1500, chronicles the origins of the mendicants, focusing on the growth of the Franciscan and Dominican orders through the Black Death and the Great Schism. Rapley describes the expansion, the pastoral role in the Western Church (and conflict with secular clergy), and the missions of the Franciscan Order to the Orient through the early-fourteenth century and the crisis of the Spirituals. The Poor Clares are treated briefly, as well as the Cistercian nuns and the *Frauenfrage* in general. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the "Third Orders" and the Brothers of the Common Life.

Chapter 3 covers the period of the Reformation and its impact on religious life. The Reformers' critique of religious life and the turbulent history of the sixteenth century is the backdrop for the origins of the Capuchin reform and the Jesuits in particular, as well as for the Carmelite reform of Ss. Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross. The growth of new women's orders is presented through the example of St. Angela of Merici and the origins of the Ursulines. This chapter concludes with a description of the missionary endeavors of orders in the Far East and in South America.

The Age of Confessionalism is the subject of chapter 4, in which Rapley describes the role of religious orders in the Catholic regions of Europe, focusing primarily on France. The attempt of religious women to move beyond the requirement of cloister imposed by the Council of Trent is portrayed with the story of Ss. Jeanne de Chantal and Francis de Sales and the foundation of the Visitation. St. Vincent de Paul and the Congregation of the Mission, St. Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity, and St. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and the teaching brothers demonstrate the importance of the social ministries of charity and teaching. The reform of Armand-Jean de Rancé and the origins of the Trappists conclude the chapter.

Chapter 5 focuses again on France in the eighteenth century. The suppression of the Jesuits is chronicled, as is the preference for the active social works of charity over the contemplative life by the various regimes. The founding of the Montfortian congregations by St. Louis de Montfort and the Redemptorists by St. Alphonsus Liguori are highlighted in this century of revolutions. The final chapter describes the revival of religious life in the nineteenth century. Featured here are St. John Bosco and the Salesians, St. Jeanne Jugan and the Little Sisters of the Poor, the revival of women's communities in France, and the establishment of orders in the new world.

Given the intended audience, Rapley succeeds admirably in telling the story of religious orders throughout Christian history. As she herself admits, there is much more to this story than she could include, but one learns from her work just how integral to the story of Christianity these women and men were and are who took "the Lord as their portion."

Siena College MICHAEL W. BLASTIC

Food & Faith in Christian Culture. Edited by Ken Albala and Trudy Eden. [Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 265. $79.50 clothbound; $26.50 paperback; $20.99 e-book. ISBN 978-0-231-14996-9 clothbound; 978-0-231-14997-6 paperback; 978-0-231-52079-9 e-book.)

Food & Faith in Christian Culture explores the straightforward notion that food has occupied a significant, though underappreciated role in Christian tradition. Although the editors' assertion of scholarly neglect may be exaggerated, the eleven essays that they have assembled provide an illuminating inquiry into the manipulation of food for religious purposes. They investigate practices across a broad geographic expanse stretching from Europe to the Americas and far beyond to New Zealand. The chronological range is no less impressive; the studies span more than a half-millennium from the late Middle Ages to the present. Still, the principal value of this collection rests on its imaginative themes and innovative approaches.

Some subjects are familiar, even as the authors offer fresh insight. Thus, analyses focusing on the monastic experience bookend the volume. The opening chapter by Salvatore D. S. Musumeci surveys the dietary habits—both conventional and exceptional—among a group of fourteenth-century Florentine monks. Their account books indicate purchases typical of most Florentine households, but the monks consumed these foodstuffs in keeping with the Rule of St. Benedict. In the book's final chapter, Richard D. G. Irvine probes the enduring significance of eating in silence for contemporary English Benedictines. Simply put, how does sharing a meal foster corporate piety?

The volume's coeditor, Ken Albala, fastens on another key issue—the Reformation's reconsideration of fasting—and concludes that fasting remained important for both Catholics and Protestants, although they refashioned its character considerably. A closely related aspect of the "reformation" of food and drink was sumptuary legislation. According to Johanna B. Moyer, French regulations, whether Catholic or Protestant, emphasized food discipline as a vehicle for reinforcing community. Antonia-Leda Matalas, Eleni Tourlouki, and Chyrstalleni Lazarou note a similar stress on the disciplinary dynamics of fasting in the Eastern Orthodox Church. Sydney Watts's study of Lenten observances in France during the Enlightenment takes a slightly different tack. How did theology and new understandings in medical science converge to alter perceptions and practices surrounding Lent?

Turning to the recent American past, Heidi Oberholtzer Lee inquires into the ways that the Brethren in Christ promoted the love feast, a collective ritual with physical and spiritual dimensions, as a means to heal divisions and affirm communal harmony. The book's other coeditor, Trudy Eden, discusses a related topic in American religious history—vegetarianism as a force for spiritual regeneration. She focuses on Charles and Myrtle Fillmore—founders of Unity, a church within the New Thought movement. The ongoing American preoccupation with health, beauty, body, and religion comes together in a delightful essay by Samantha Kwan and Christine Sheikh on Christian weight-loss programs.

Equally engaging and revealing are the chapters that treat Amerindian and Maori associations with and attitudes toward bread, that most basic of European foods. In one case, Heather Martel reflects upon a sixteenth-century Italian adventurer in New Spain who expressed disgust for the way in which indigenous women prepared maize bread and wine. His reaction was part of an attempt to avoid contamination of European Christian identity, here encapsulated in foods commonly associated with the Eucharistic meal. According to Hazel Petrie, missionaries in New Zealand discovered that the indigenous people welcomed the introduction of European wheat bread. Less understood perhaps was the manner by which the Maori incorporated the new staple into a precolonial religious matrix.

Altogether, the essays are topical, well written, and stimulating. They nicely capture the diversity, nuance, and complexity surrounding the place and role of dietary practices in Christian culture.

University of Iowa RAYMOND A. MENTZER

One Family under God: Love, Belonging, and Authority in Early Transatlantic Methodism. By Anna M. Lawrence. [Early American Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 282. $42.50. ISBN 978-0-8122-4330-7.)

Anna Lawrence's exploration of fictive, yet powerfully felt, kinship relations among early Methodists in Great Britain and North America is timely, arriving in the midst of political and religious debate about the definition of family. Methodism's impact on the development of modern notions about family is relevant, as it was the largest Protestant denomination in the United States for more than a century (from about 1840 to 1950), and it still claims more than 8 million adherents.

Lawrence laments the dearth of scholarship on family relations in the eighteenth century, the period during which financial concerns and parental authority gave way to romantic feelings as the primary criteria for spousal choice. That transition coincided with the rise of evangelical Protestantism—of which the Methodist Movement was a significant part—a contextual connection that previous scholars have avoided. "Evangelicalism was the predominant emergent moral and religious movement of the era," Lawrence points out, "and it brought a new sensibility to the domestic and social ideas of family" (p. 4).

Lawrence's discussion of affective kinships among early Methodists is excellent. The followers of the childless John Wesley referred to him as their father, and he spoke of them as his children. The itinerant preachers formed a brotherhood under his paternal direction, and lay Methodists called one another "Brother" and "Sister." A convert addressed the preacher under whose ministry she came to faith as her "spiritual father," and women leaders were "Mothers in Israel." As Lawrence explains, in the eighteenth century, becoming a Methodist often brought considerable opposition, if not entire alienation, from the believer's birth family. Converts turned to their new Methodist family for the affection and support the religious change had cost them. For the enslaved, who had been ruthlessly ripped from their families and cultures, fictive religion-based kinship was invaluable. Methodist societies, classes, and bands became not only their sacramental home but something far more.

Courtship and marriage practices among Methodists may have contributed to the cultural notion that spouses should be chosen for amorous attachment rather than for parental or economic reasons, although

Methodists looked for spiritual partnerships, not romance. Wesley's own disastrous marriage strengthened his insistence that "it was necessary to enter into a union with the utmost caution and to find a mate who was equally devoted to the Methodist mission" (p. 145). Methodists looked to their spiritual family to vet potential spouses; then, only after much prayer and, perhaps, a sign of God's approval, would they say "I do."

Her effective discussion of courtship and marriage, however, leads Lawrence to overemphasize Methodist encouragement of celibacy. Yes, Wesley and American Methodist leader Francis Asbury both believed that marriage and family distracted the faithful, especially the preachers, but celibacy was never required for theological reasons; rather, it was encouraged for practical ones. Some early Methodist preachers did cease itinerating due to acquisition of wife and children, but at least as many located due to chronic health problems or death caused by the hardships of circuit-riding.

Lawrence occasionally stumbles. She frequently uses the terms *Methodist* and *evangelical* interchangeably. The love feast involved bread and water, not, as she implies, Eucharist. Her assessment of American Methodist polity as egalitarian belies the unresolved conflict between hierarchical polity and egalitarian theology that has riven the denomination more than once.

These modest concerns aside, Lawrence has opened exploration of Protestant evangelicalism's influence on modern family life. One hopes she will pursue it further.

West Virginia University JANE DONOVAN

Ancient

Seven Books of History against the Pagans. By Paulus Orosius. Translated with an introduction and notes by Andrew T. Fear. [Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 54.] (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Distributed by the University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 456. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-84631-239-7.)

In Paulus Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos* (*c.* 418 AD) we possess the only universal history surviving intact from the ancient Greco-Roman world, its narrative starting from Adam himself and ending with the Visigoth king Vallia in 415. To have this monumental work well translated, introduced, and annotated is a timely boon, and not only for historians of antiquity but also for classicists and patrologists. We should not let the previous English translator of the *Historia* go unappreciated, for Roy Deferrari, who rendered a version for the series The Fathers of the Church that he edited, was surely one of the great Catholic educators of the twentieth century and a brilliant Latinist. But

Deferrari completed his account later in life (attempting to better Irving Woodward Raymond's efforts in the 1930s), and Andrew T. Fear's translation is tighter, coming also with a more up-to-date knowledge of research into later antiquity that the newly prestigious series Translated Texts is meant to purvey.

For every name mentioned in the text, readers are provided with short biographical notes or directions to a relevant prosopographic entry, and with most place names clarifications are provided (often with cross-references to mentions in other ancient authors). Whenever Orosius cites his sources or they can be traced, the relevant details are provided, and occasionally one finds incisive comments on his idiosyncratic interpretations. It is not as if Fear were the first to attempt this—and perhaps attention should have been given to Enrique Gallego-Blanco's and also Rodrigo Furtado's prior forays into this exercise, in Spanish (1983) and Portuguese (2000) respectively—yet the English result is more accomplished. The end product shows the benefits of the massive (largely Anglophone) industry in researching late-antique history over the last half-century.

The apparent chief aim of Fear's enterprise here is to orient readers to Orosius as a source of historical facts. There are a few described events exclusive to Orosius, and at times he offers special additional (although also likely "doctored") material to known accounts. He had access to texts no longer available to us, and as a Galician he made special use of fellow Spaniard and anti-imperialist Pompeius Trogus (*flor.* 40s AD), whose great *Philippic History* has come down to us only through an epitome by Justinus and in various fragments. So there are matters of facticity and slant that interest historians of late antiquity especially, and Fear is above all concerned to tackle these. There also is the question of Orosius's chronological methods, since he covered such a vast tract of time, valiantly setting so many occurrences in their proper temporal order. Fear helpfully shows how a combined use of official Capitoline *fasti*, the Jerome-Eusebius *Chronicon*, and Pompeius's nonextant and Iberian *modus operandi* is crucial for the Orosian achievement, and these relate also to the structuring of the *Historia* into seven books. Whether Orosius's choice to cover history in seven books is affected by any of his predecessors or some other "sentiment" (the biblical Days of Creation or the classical "seven ages of Man") cannot be decided. That the whole outcome, on Fear's account, is "Secular Religious History" (p. 13), not just Christian historical apologetics, is an interesting and well-taken summary of the opus in view.

Because Orosius's historiographical outlook (his retributive logic, providentialism, and supernaturalist explanations) is not Fear's main focus, references to such authors as Hans-Werner Goetz, Kurt Artur Schöndorf, and Lloyd George Patterson are lacking. For the future years in which differing perspectives will be explored, however, this fine translation and its apparatus will stand us in good stead.

University of Sydney GARRY W. TROMPF

Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt: Imperiale und lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer. Edited by Johannes Hahn. [Millennium Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E., Vol. 34.] (New York: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. vi, 227. $120.00. ISBN 978-3-11-024087-0.)

How did the persecuted become the persecutors? Scholarly debate over Christian persecution of "pagans" has intensified in the last forty years. This volume under review is composed of an introduction by the editor and eight articles (six in German and two in English) by scholars on the state's role in violence against temples and shrines in late antiquity (especially the third through the middle of the fifth century) at both the local and imperial levels. These contributions developed out of a 2005 conference in Münster as part of the research project *Kampf um Kultstätten. Sakraler Ort und religiöser Konflikt* supported by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*.

Johannes Hahn in the introduction ("Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt—Einleitende Bemerkungen") provides a lucid overview of the scholarly debate and of the present contributions. Martin Wallraff examines "Die antipagane Maßnahmen Konstantins in der Darstellung des Euseb von Kaisareia" ("The Anti-Pagan Measures of Constantine in the Portrayal of Eusebius of Caesarea"). This interesting contribution, supported by excellent use of primary sources, reminds the reader to read Eusebius's description of Constantine's antipagan measures—such as his alleged law ending sacrifice—with care. Frank R. Trombley turns to "The Imperial Cult in Late Roman Religion (ca. A.D. 244–395): Observations on the Epigraphy" and examines the continuity of the imperial cult up through 395, including the burning of incense at altars under Theodosius I. Giorgio Bonamente examines "Einziehung und Nutzung von Tempelgut durch Staat und Stadt in der Spätantike" ("The Confiscation and Use of Temple Property by the State and City in Late Antiquity") in a well-documented study and analyzes Constantine's motivations for the liquidation of temple property as well as later such confiscations through 435. In a dynamically written contribution with close attention to sources, Eckhard Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer analyzes the role of provincial governors in the suppression of pagan cults ("*Mala desidia iudicum*? Zur Rolle der Provinzstatthalter bei der Unterdrückung paganer Kulte [von Constantin bis Theodosius II."]) and concludes that governors often played no active role because of their sensitivity to local elites. Ulrich Gotter turns to the role of the Roman Empire in religious violence ("Zwischen Christentum und Staatsraison. Römisches Imperium und religiöse Gewalt") and argues that the Christianization of the empire contributed to the use of violence at the local level. In "Für die Tempel? Die Gewalt gegen heidnische Heiligtümer aus der Sicht städtischer Eliten des spätrömischen Ostens," Hans-Ulrich Wiemer presents a thorough study of Libanius' oration in defense of the temples (Or. 30). Bryan Ward-Perkins explores archaeological evidence for the end of Roman paganism ("The End of the Temple: An

Archaeological Problem") and concludes that this approach is problematic and the window of time is too narrow for effective analysis. In "Gesetze als Waffe? Die kaiserliche Religionspolitik und die Zerstörung der Tempel" Johannes Hahn concludes the volume with an analysis of legal sources for imperial policy toward religion and the destruction of temples (especially the constitutions preserved in *CTh* 16.10) and ultimately argues that the context of the early-fifth century influenced the compilers of the *Theodosian Code* in the way they edited and compressed laws to fit the headings in the code.

The volume presents some very interesting studies that should provoke discussion over our understanding of the nature of state and religious relations in late antiquity (although it looks like little was added to the contributions since the 2005 conference). Each contribution has its own bibliography. The volume as a whole has a select index of names, places, and topics as well as a source index. This work should be intriguing to audiences interested in late-antique politics and religion and would be a useful addition to any research library.

Clarion University of Pennsylvania ROBERT M. FRAKES

Medici et Medicamenta: The Medicine of Penance in Late Antiquity. By Natalie Brigit Molineaux. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 2009. Pp. xviii, 325. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7618-4429-7.)

This is an ambitious work by an author whose imagination takes the reader far beyond the late antiquity of her title. Eighteen pages of impressively diverse bibliography place the standard literature familiar to historians of penance in wider contexts (for example, contemporary theological study or the history of scholarship). An unfortunate cutoff date of 2000 excludes important work—for example, Sarah Hamilton's *The Practice of Penance 900–1050* (Rochester, NY, 2001) and fourteen contributors to *A New History of Penance,* ed. Abigail Firey (Boston, 2008). Nevertheless, the territory covered is vast.

The book is divided into two parts. The first examines the historiography of penance from the Reformation to 2000; the second, penance from the pre-Christian era to late antiquity. The introductory chapter's sweeping survey of the study of religion—from the Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and romanticism to contemporary anthropology, psychology, sociology, and philosophy—is designed ultimately to establish penance and its manifestation in confession as universals across time and culture, evidence of "natural religion," "a religious *a priori*" (p. 3). The remaining seven chapters examine the historiography and the actual evolution of ritualized penance. She will not, she warns, settle for a conventional institutional narrative; she will explore deep roots in pre-Christian religion, the Judaic background, and the desert Fathers. Her favorite mode of analysis identifies dichotomies at the heart of

scholarly reconstructions: from 1520 to 2000 as described in the second to fourth chapters; and even more pronounced dichotomies in the four final chapters (*c.*1650 BC–650 AD), where she contrasts the penitential cultures of eastern and western Christianity.

It is difficult to assess this ambitious undertaking. One cannot help but admire her expansive definition of this history (for example, the massive cataloguing of comparative penitential practices by Rafaele Pettazoni and Paul Ricoeur) or her eye for the salient detail (pre-Christian antiquity's widespread connection between sin and disease, contamination and suffering; Babylonian laying-on of hands to heal and exorcise; Egyptian priests' certificates of innocence to accompany the dead to the next world). Her most interesting chapter elevates, at the expense of the Celts, the contribution of eastern monasticism—through St. John Cassian—to the "monasticization" of ritual penance in the west (pp. 210–32). And it will be an unusual reader who does not become acquainted for the first time with new literature—primary and secondary—as she explores penance from pre-Christian antiquity to the present.

So it seems ungenerous to criticize a work that provides so many ways to think about penance and accumulates so much information about so many disputed moments in the long history of penance. But problems abound. Proofreading should have eliminated the many typos, garbled titles, and inadvertent grammatical lapses. Footnotes go astray at pages 88 and 177. There also are factual errors. It is not quite accurate to say that God's judgment in Genesis 3:16 *ff.* "entails a dissolution or disintegration of the soul" (p. 151). Peter the Chanter and William of Auvergne were not fourteenth-century authors (p. 122). Alexander Murray's examination of confession before 1215 was not a challenge to "the conventional notion that the *Omnis utriusque sexus* decree had successfully affected [*sic*] the change from public to private confession" (p. 116). The account of procreative purpose in John T. Noonan Jr.'s history of contraception is confused (p. 105). Indicative absolution is not an issue at Lateran Council IV (p. 91). The Council of Trent does not confine Matt. 16:19 solely to Peter (p. 175)—it extends that verse's power of forgiveness to all priests, even those in mortal sin (Trent Sess 14, chap. 6; *cf. ibid*, can.3).

More important than these lapses, however, is a tendency to oversimplify. Thus the contrast between the medicinal penance of the Christian East and the judicial, bureaucratized, legalistic penance of the West (pp. 188, 194, 199, 280–81; but *cf.* 200) ignores the persistence of medical imagery in medieval Europe (including the text of *Omnis utriusque sexus*). Reducing empirical debate to ideological "proclivities," she associates Henry C. Lea with Protestant historiography, whereas Lea dismissed Augustinian grace theology as "a deplorable theory" founded on "the strange utterances of St. Paul"—citing Rom. 8:29–30, Rom. 11:5–6, and Eph. 1:3–11. Similarly, there is little appreciation that Bernhard Poschmann and Paul Galtier, the main opponents on the practice of confession in the ancient church, were both Catholic

priests, even though she correctly observes that Poschmann's refutation of traditionalist claims eventually triumphed (pp. 89, 173).

Nevertheless, the virtues of this massively researched volume outweigh flaws that could have been corrected by a thorough editing. Natalie Brigit Molineaux suggests new ways to think about the history of penance and provides an abundance of places to look for answers to the many questions she raises.

University of Michigan THOMAS N. TENTLER

Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul. By Lisa Kaaren Bailey. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. x, 278. $34.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02224-2).

The Eusebius Gallicanus collection consists of seventy-six sermons, originally composed in late-antique Gaul (text in CCSL 101-101B). Some are for holy days; some commemorate saints such as Genesius of Arles, Honoratus of Arles, and Maximus of Riez; others deal with moral issues or questions of doctrine. Most of the sermons appear to have been addressed to lay congregations, but a significant minority was addressed to monks.

The collection gained its name from its attribution in some manuscripts to an (apparently fictional) Eusebius, and until now almost all scholarship on the collection has been concerned with trying to establish its authorship. Lisa Kaaren Bailey's monograph, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, is the first full-length study of the collection and for most of the sermons the first scholarly work to examine them except in relation to the authorship question. Bailey's opening chapter discusses the function of preaching within the increasingly Christianized society of fifth-century Gaul, and the way in which sermon collections provided material for preachers less able to produce their own. The second chapter discusses the question of authorship, concluding that the sermons (originally the work of several authors from mid- to late-fifth-century Gaul) were assembled and edited by a compiler to provide just such a collection of model sermons to be used or adapted by preachers.

The next three chapters examine the ways in which the sermons address lay congregations, dealing with the attempts of preachers to promote unity within their congregations and civic communities, with their strategies for explaining the Bible and Christian doctrine, and with the ways in which they attempted to counteract sin. Bailey argues that in all these areas a major concern was to create and maintain a sense of community, with the preachers emphasizing consensus, and stressing the unity between themselves and their congregations, rather than claiming a position of leadership (pp. 51–54). Similarly, Bailey characterizes their approach to scriptural exegesis as "con-

trolled, safe and simple" (p. 73), avoiding the discussion of difficult or potentially controversial passages. When addressing the issue of sin, the sermons avoid confrontation and denunciation: Bailey emphasizes again the ways in which they attempt to find consensus and to shift responsibility for addressing sin to members of the congregation by means of introspection and penance.

In her examination of the sermons addressed to monks (chapter 6), Bailey argues that these share most of the presuppositions of those addressed to lay congregations. As with sermons to the laity, the preachers stress their position within the congregation rather than above it. Any feeling of ascetic superiority is counteracted by emphasis on the greater demands which are made on ascetics because of their religious commitment and the consequent greater danger of failure (a position that owes much to St. John Cassian).

Throughout the book, Bailey illustrates her discussion with abundant translated quotations. She discusses points of comparison with other sermons from the period, focusing particularly on those of St. Augustine and, most of all, St. Caesarius of Arles, whose aggressive, confrontational stance is contrasted with the consensus-based approach of the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers. Simply by providing an exposition of such an important, but hitherto almost ignored, collection of texts, Bailey has provided a service to scholarship. However, her analysis of the sermons and of what they imply about Gallic Christianity, both in secular and monastic settings, is extremely convincing throughout. Her work is a significant expansion of our knowledge of Christianity in late-antique Gaul.

Oxford, UK DAVID LAMBERT

Medieval

The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity. Edited by Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 364. $89.50 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-31-14826-9; $29.50 paperback, ISBN 978-0-231-14827-6; e-book, ISBN 978-0-231-52739-2.)

Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly have brought together fourteen essays to "explore the liturgical, exegetical, and pastoral expressions of the Bible in physical, textual, and aural forms and the way these shaped contemporary understanding of the Bible's contents and its place in Christian society" (p. 6). It is a tall order and one only partially achieved. The book includes an introduction by Boynton and Reilly and essays by Boynton (on liturgy), Richard Gyug (on Beneventan), Isabelle Cochelin (on monastic Bibles), Jennifer Harris (on Bible and history), Reilly (on lectern Bibles), Lila Yawn (on giant Bibles), Frans van Liere (on twelfth-century exegesis), Bert Roest (on mendicant exe-

gesis), Eyal Poleg (on sermons), Laura Light (on the Paris Bible), Stella Panayotova (on illustrated Psalters); Richard Marsden (on English translations), Clive Sneddon (on French translations), and Emily Francomano (on Castilian translations).

None of the essays is without interest, and some are excellent, but they sit together uneasily. The target audience is unclear—some (indeed, some of the best) essays seem to have been given the brief of a wide survey of their particular field (e.g., Marsden on 1000 years of English Bible translation); others present a much more specialist corner of the landscape. A general reader might want to know how "lectern Bibles" and Italian giant Bibles differ, and why each needs its own chapter. Specialism would not in itself be a disadvantage, were it not for the gaping lack of some huge subjects; for instance, there are essays on the Bible in English, French, and Castilian vernacular translations, but no mention of German, even given the importance of the Old High German version of Tatian's *Diatesseron*. Again, a glossary contains words such as *cloister* and *psalter*—which suggests an intended nonspecialist audience—but one essay includes *apotropaic*, *Mosan*, *Deësis*, and *palladium* without any explanation. The interested beginner will come away with a rather lopsided view of the wider subject. Nonetheless, some broad points emerge. The first is the variety of texts that might be counted as "the Bible" in the Middle Ages, including a host of vernacular versions. Second, we can see the tolerance—indeed, we might even think encouragement—of medieval people (including church authorities) of this variety. Far from the picture of a single, unchanging, carefully controlled text, the Bible in the Middle Ages was a many-splendored thing.

Harris Manchester College, Oxford LESLEY SMITH

A Hermit's Cookbook: Monks, Food and Fasting in the Middle Ages. By Andrew Jotischky. (New York: Continuum. 2011. Pp. xiv, 209. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-8264-2393-1.)

This is an engaging volume, written with care and wearing gently a great deal of learning. Its premise is that we cannot comprehend an important dimension of ascetic and monastic practice unless we understand food and its consumption. The link is critical in appreciating notions of self-denial, especially practices that set out to avoid sensory stimulation. Andrew Jotischky takes us to the outset of eremetic and monastic practice, in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine, and its transfer to Western Europe by way of Ss. John Cassian and Benedict. Sources like the *Apophthegmata Patrum* give us flashes of insight into monastic life such as consumption of partly cooked lentils—and St. Jerome's *Life of Hilarion* notes this as his subject's diet for three years. Among the religious in the desert, there were those who chose a diet of uncooked food, gathering wild foods in particular. Although dietary practices, particularly abstinence from flesh, are later emblematic of their sub-

ject's virtue, it is argued here that the main ethical reasons were initially a desire not to spend time on practices that diverted energy and time from higher matters, allowing one to preserve indifference to food; and second, that food was the link to original sin and was therefore suspect. One sees similar food practices in the West at a much later date—for example, in the twelfth century, in the *Life of St. Godric of Finchale*—but monastic living could be good, and Jotischky develops his argument by way of a series of vignettes that show the interplay between ethics and food practices. St. Bernard of Clairvaux criticized the Cluniacs for their eating habits and culinary preparations, mutating food into new shapes and forms, away from its "natural" qualities. Cluniac food was alluring to the eye and stimulating to the appetite. It was as impressive in English Benedictine houses such as St. Swithun's, Winchester, where the monks petitioned King Henry II over an attempt to reduce by three the dishes at their main meal—but somewhat shamefacedly had to admit that they were left with ten. Other dimensions of food practice are considered, from plant lore to questions of health and the role of diet in maintaining humoral balance to monastic gardens, the use of herbs, and the link between monks and the growing of food. This last was important, not only in terms of self-sufficiency in the desert but also in Western Europe with its implications for the management of vast estates and regional agricultural productivity. Large monasteries required sophisticated logistics to ensure that all were fed, and woe betide cellarers and cooks who failed ensure that their monks ate well.

The monastic diet was changing. The extremes of ascetic practice were not to be replicated in a monastic environment, and diet increasingly matched that found in upper-class secular establishments. Jotischky points to a shift in dietary patterns in the eleventh century, from a period in which everyone had largely eaten the same food—the wealthy had more of it—to one in which there was much more variety, with the elite having access to a wider range of foods. He sketches a revolution in taste, with the use of expensive spices. These foodstuffs were as desirable in monasteries as elsewhere, and patterns of consumption were negotiated that legitimized even the flesh meat of quadrupeds. This volume is a thoughtful guide to these changes and to an important component in monastic life and practice.

University of Southampton, UK C. M. WOOLGAR

Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory. By Tomás Ó Carragáin. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 392. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-300-15444-3.)

This is a marvelous book. It is big and beautiful, with many full or half-page photos of churches and other monuments (obviously taken on Ireland's few sunny days). Although there are plenty of archaeological and architectural details in its pages, the text is no mere catalog of digs and ruins. Instead, in a

persuasive and lively analysis of Christian architecture in early-medieval Ireland, Ó Carragáin fearlessly tackles some of the big questions of Irish medieval history—the kind that used to cause fistfights at Celtic studies conferences. One of the biggest is: Why did the Irish build the same kind of tiny, primitive-looking houses of worship over seven centuries? Tomás Ó Carragáin not only answers this question but also explains how the Irish built their religion, why they chose to build and practice as they did, and how their version of Christianity changed in some ways but not in others during the early Middle Ages.

Ó Carragáin begins in the fifth century when Britons such as St. Patrick first began to preach in Ireland. Previous scholars assumed that the earliest founders of Irish ecclesiastical communities relied on indigenous technologies such as the drystone corbelling used in prehistoric tombs, to build sturdy little stone churches in native style. For instance, the strangely boat-shaped Gallarus oratory in County Kerry, well-known to tourists and recipients of their postcards, was assumed to be a relic of the earliest days of Christianization. As Ó Carragáin shows, however, Christian builders first peppered the island with wood, turf, and wattled churches that they constructed in (what they imagined to be) Roman forms and according to (what they interpreted as) biblical principles. Then, beginning in the seventh century or so, the most prosperous and powerful church settlements (such as Armagh and Kildare) replaced wood churches with mortared stone structures or added new stone churches to the collection of monuments already standing within their circular enclosing walls. Yet even when working in stone, builders stuck to the same familiar rectangular shape, adding steep roofs and old-fashioned antae, because these features recalled the golden age of conversion and saintly foundation. Although other European Christians constantly updated their church architecture, the Irish remained stubbornly attached to their small, unicameral, rectangular buildings well into the second Christian millennium. They favored "authenticity over innovation" (p. 165) in architecture as well as the doctrine behind it. Even when they began experimenting with the Romanesque style in the eleventh century, the patrons and makers of Irish churches remained "faithful to the lineage of structures" that they believed originated with "a simple wooden edifice built by the [founding] saint and his followers" (p. 296).

Ó Carragáin thus completely rewrites the old evolutionary scheme of Irish religious architecture. He further elaborates on this evolutionary scheme in discussions of the royal politics of church building; the social memory at/of holy places; ritual practices in material contexts; and the organization of religious settlements or *civitates*, which were so unlike both parochial churches and monasteries elsewhere in Christendom—although the Irish thought their ecclesiastical centers were little Romes and Jerusalems. In each of these chapters, Ó Carragáin demonstrates his mastery of diverse textual evidence and several secondary literatures as well as his archaeologist's eye for shape,

space, traffic, and venue. His major points are built on multiple little gems of interpretation such as his examination of baptismal fonts and their use, the placement of subsidiary churches within enclosures, or the plumbing at St. Mullins. Sometimes he strains too hard to promote his larger theses with these interesting discussions. A few examples: the assumption that Christianity was the "dominant religion" in Britain by the fifth century (p. 6); an argument for parochial functions of very small buildings by resorting to Gallican Eucharistic liturgies, when a much simpler explanation might have sufficed (pp. 169–71); and the suggestion that traveling Irish churchmen would have been pleased to know that other ecclesiastics *also* ignored Ottonian architectural innovations (p. 218).

However, the occasional exaggeration or reduction comes from enthusiasm rather than sloppiness and does not diminish the great beauty of this book, which lies not only in its images but also in Ó Carragáin's ability to understand—and make his readers understand—how medieval Irish Christians themselves interpreted and used what they built. Every student of Irish history, medieval architecture, and material Christianity should read this book and then leave it on his or her coffee table for others to enjoy.

University of Southern California LISA M. BITEL

A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition. By Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane. [Critical Issues in History: World and International History.] (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2011. Pp. viii, 319. $79.00. ISBN 978-0-7425-5575-4.)

The past half century has seen the growth of a vast scholarly literature in a number of languages devoted to the subject of religious dissent and heterodox beliefs as well as forms of ecclesiastical discipline in medieval Latin Christianity. Although most of that literature no longer reflects the confessional or secular ethical perspectives that long characterized its earlier stages, it is not without its own internal contentious disputes, and it is not an easy subject to address for an interested student or nonspecialist serious reader. Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane has now written the most intelligent and lucid introduction to these subjects and clearly explained the character of the problems, methods, and means of interpreting them now available. She also includes a very useful and well-connected chapter on superstition and magic, demonology, and witchcraft (chapter 6), setting her articulate and intelligent history fully and intelligibly into the context of our best current understanding of all the relevant facets of the broad, complex, and rapidly changing society of early Europe from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

Deane's introduction briefly and efficiently describes the patristic origins of the term *heresy* and concentrates on the problem of defining it, according to her definition of "the contours of authority" (p. 1) that involves the nature

and methods of using the sources as well as the use of language and labels. She conducts a frank and nonpartisan discussion and synthesis of different scholarly perspectives, presents a brief but illuminating overview of the nature of change in Europe from 1050 to 1300, and concludes with the central question of the book—What did it mean to live as a Christian in such a world? And who said so?

The subsequent chapters trace the problem of the eleventh- and twelfth-century debates over the *vita apostolica* (chapter 1) and the emergence of dualist beliefs; the role of poverty and lay preaching among the Poor of Lyon (chapter 2); and the various forms of juridical and pastoral discipline that responded institutionally through popes, mendicants, and inquisitors of heretical depravity (chapter 3). Deane is very good at identifying the centers and specific controversies that triggered occasions of dissent and describing the problems of dissent through the eyes of both dissenters and prosecutors. Chapter 4 deals with the problem of poverty among the Franciscans; and Chapter 5 treats mysticism, lay religious women, and the vexing problem of ecclesiastical and spiritual religious authority. Chapter 6 places magic, demonology, and witchcraft squarely in their chronological place from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Chapters 7 and 8 treat the problems of Lollardy in England and Hussitism and the lay chalice in Bohemia. Short sections on further reading at the end of each chapter indicate the most useful scholarship and collections of (translated) sources, and eleven pages of notes indicate Deane's sources without overburdening the reader who, by the time the notes are reached, has learned a great deal of very complex history, lucidly and masterfully explained. Deane, whose own research has focused chiefly on the upper Rhineland and eastward, treats virtually all of Latin Europe with immense competence, great clarity, and manageable compass.

This is a valuable book about a controversial subject. It is never easy to write about individuals and institutions possessed of great disparities of force and passion debating about how to define and engage the world around them. Deane's individuals are vividly depicted, whether dissenters or investigating prosecutors, and her institutions are never as solid and timeless as they often liked to profess.

University of Pennsylvania (Emeritus) EDWARD PETERS

Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe/Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. Edited by Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven. [Prinz-Albert-Forschungen/Prince Albert Research Publications, Vol. 6.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. 226. $135.00. ISBN 978-3-11-026202-5.)

This collection of essays opens with a now classic piece by Timothy Reuter, warmly canonized by the editors as a "patron saint of research on bish-

ops, power and kingship in the tenth and eleventh centuries" (p. 12). Reuter published "Ein Europa der Bischöfe: Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms" shortly before his untimely death in 2002, and it has become a standard point of reference for scholars of medieval ecclesiastical and political history in the central Middle Ages. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven have made available Reuter's own English translation of his essay (pp. 17–38), updating it with additional references to recent scholarship. Anglophone readers will surely welcome their effort.

Körntgen and Waßenhoven's inclusion of "A Europe of Bishops" reminds us how effortlessly Reuter's work bridged England and the Continent. Reuter's spirit infuses this volume in another respect. Influenced by Benedict Anderson, several of Reuter's late essays urged scholars to think of medieval dioceses as "imagined communities," polities having both an institutional and, still more important, a conceptual existence that centered on the bishop's person and rituals connected with the episcopal office. Reuter argued that bishops across Europe's continental core shared by the year 1000 a standard range of experiences; they were rather like chess pieces possessing similar powers but operating independently of one another and of the other pieces on the board.

The editors' stated intention (p. 13) is to "compare political situations, actions, communications, individual protagonists, specific resources, rules of behavior and so on in order to get a better understanding of the practice and the construction of [episcopal] power" in the Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian kingdoms. Essays by Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Dominik Waßenhoven, and Catherine Cubitt do this by examining bishops' actions during monarchic succession crises—namely, that of 1035–42 in England, and those of 983/84, 1002, and 1024 in the Ottonian-Salian reichs. A fourth essay, by Pauline Stafford, explores the interventions of the royal women Emma and Ælfgifu following the death of Cnut in 1035. These essays read best as pairs. Hehl's "Bedrängte und belohnte Bischöfe. Recht und Politik als Parameter bischöflichen Handelns bei Willigis von Mainz und anderen" (pp. 63–87), perhaps the most detailed study here, argues persuasively that succession crises, rather than providing opportunities for episcopal agency, entailed a great amount of risk that could just as easily limit bishops' options for action. This was certainly the case in 1002, when individual bishops' tolerance for risk was a crucial determinant of their actions in an uncertain political environment. Conditions in 1024 differed; here, the electoral assembly at Kamba permitted episcopal solidarities to emerge that led to their taking a more direct role in elevating Conrad II. Waßenhoven, "Swaying Bishops and the Succession of Kings" (pp. 89–109), is cautious not to extrapolate from the very meager evidence patterns of episcopal intervention during such crises.

Cubitt's "Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England" (pp. 111–26) and Stafford's "Royal Women and Transitions. Emma and

Ælfgifu in 1035–1042/1043" (pp. 127–44) work hard to keep their essays from overlapping, and it comes at a cost. Stafford reduces her treatment of bishops' roles to two paragraphs (pp. 139–40), and Cubitt combines her discussion of the bishop's influence in royal successions with loosely connected overviews of the episcopal *cursus honorum* and the politics of monarchic succession (pp. 118–26) in Anglo-Saxon history.

Given the volume's gravitational center around the role of bishops in royal succession crises, the remaining essays feel like orbital outliers. Monika Suchan considers episcopal norms of "Monition and Advice as Elements of Politics" (pp. 39–50) in the Carolingian period. In "Two Anglo-Saxon Bishops at Work" (pp. 145–61), Joyce Hill explores the life of a single manuscript (Cambridge Corpus Christi College Ms. 190) shared by bishops Wulfstan of York and Leofric of Exeter and sees their interventions in the codex as evidence of their shared pastoral aims and interests (p. 161). Finally, Theo Riches examines "The Changing Political Horizons of *gesta episcoporum*" (pp. 51–62), arguing persuasively that the texts of this genre shifted purposes in the tenth century, from conceptualizing dioceses and their bishops as appendages of the Carolingian court and its public functions to turning inward and viewing external powers through the lens of their own self-referential histories.

The authors do not always agree methodologically (Suchan and Riches stand in stark counterpoint) nor do their approaches always conform to the book's stated goals. The essays do expose the challenge of integrating Reuter's observations about shared episcopal experiences around the year 1000, with the wide range of contingent behavior driven by unpredictable events; personal idiosyncrasies and agendas; and local customs, needs, and circumstances.

Portland State University JOHN S. OTT

Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse. By Jay Rubenstein. (New York: Basic Books. 2011. Pp. xiv, 402. $29.99. ISBN 978-0-465-0929-8.)

The scattered apocalyptic texts relating to the First Crusade naturally attracted attention as the year 2000 approached. There were very few that could be identified with certainty, and interest in them soon appeared to wane. Nevertheless, some historians have continued to maintain that the course of the crusade masked a widespread conviction that the expedition itself and the events surrounding it foretold or contributed to the end of time, or at least to the conclusion of one of the ages into which time was eschatologically divided. Jay Rubenstein sets out to treat the First Crusade as an example of apocalyptic warfare. He is not deterred by the fact that he has comparatively little direct evidence on which to base his thesis. Although he never clearly defines his terms, he equates *holy war* with *apocalyptic war*.

Battles—even quite minor ones—turn out to be "of apocalyptic scale" (p. 203). Heavenly portents are intrinsically apocalyptic. So are the visions experienced by some crusaders. So are warfare atrocities and massacres. So are the terms of a letter from the crusaders calling hyperbolically on the pope to come to Syria and unite the Church. It is tempting to conclude that to Rubenstein, who suggests implausibly but ingeniously that Godfrey of Bouillon could have been thought to be "the last Emperor" (pp. 299–301), *apocalypsis* means whatever he wants it to mean.

He applies his flexible approach to definition to a narrative of the First Crusade. It could be argued that his case might have been more convincing if compressed into a learned paper, although the weakness of its evidential foundations would have been more apparent. He has chosen a technique—the rewriting of the same story from a slightly different point of view—which has been employed by a number of historians in the last few years. His book joins what has become a procession of narrative accounts of the crusade—so many, indeed, that it must be hard for an interested reader to decide which one to buy. Feeling, perhaps, the need to make his case as attractive as possible, Rubenstein has opted for a popular approach. His account contains almost as many set-piece constructions as those for which Sir Steven Runciman was famous, although Runciman's were much better written. So the crowd at Clermont in November 1095 "roared its approval" (p. 29) and "the furor to go to Jerusalem grew still more heated" (p. 30), in spite of the facts that a relatively small number of nobles were present and, as Rubenstein acknowledges, the bishops did not take the occasion very seriously. In southern Italy "by the hundreds they abandoned Amalfi and the surer money of Roger of Sicily for the uncertain prospects of Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem" (p. 38), whereas we know that Bohemond of Taranto's contingent turned out to be small. Rubenstein describes the nobles of the French royal domain early in 1096 as "two-bit warriors spinning fantasies of world domination" (p. 44). After the battle of Dorylaeum the crusaders "mourned, they sang songs . . . They also told stories to one another, celebrating their victory and fictionalizing it" (p. 132). He wants us to believe that before the fall of Antioch Bohemond "remained strangely calm, even chipper" (p. 189).

The use of creative imagination and colorful language is, of course, appropriate to a popular account of the First Crusade, but it is unlikely to persuade fellow historians to take a thesis seriously.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity. Edited by Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager. [Rethinking Theory.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 284. $65.00. ISBN 978-1-4214-0425-7.)

In common with the majority of their peers, historians of the crusades have recently become interested in how memory was shaped and reshaped,

in its transmission across the generations and its reception in radically different milieus. For all medievalists, study of this process is complicated by the partial and selective nature of their surviving sources, the fact that these usually served a number of purposes, and the difficulty of gauging their impact. For scholars of crusading, an additional complication is the longevity of the movement, which meant that throughout the period when collective memorialization of the great expeditions to the East was taking place, men and women continued to be exhorted to take the cross. This was bound to affect their attitude toward what they heard and read about their crusading ancestors. To the best of this reviewer's knowledge the present collection of essays is the first to address the range of questions surrounding the formation of a collective memory of crusading, and for that reason among others it constitutes a welcome addition to the literature.

The collection has its origins in a 2008 conference held at Fordham University. Eleven papers appear in the book, grouped into three parts: remembrance and response, sites and structures, and institutional memory and collective identity. Among the texts surveyed are travel writing, narratives, liturgies, sermons, poems, trial depositions, and Lambert of Saint-Omer's indefinable *Liber floridus* (*c.* 1120). The volume's editors are justified in their claim that it is multidisciplinary and cross-cultural; it includes essays by historians of art, making use of standing buildings, manuscript illuminations, and seals. There are essays representing the ways in which Jews and Muslims as well as Latin Christians passed on the memory of crusading in the east. A major strength is the broad profile of the collection's contributors. Several are well-known and distinguished historians of the crusades, but there are others who are new or relatively new names. The quality of contributions is naturally variable, but all of the authors have interesting things to say, and they write accessibly.

In years to come this collection is likely to be viewed as a snapshot of where research into crusading memory stood in 2008–12. One thing that is clear is that a large amount of research remains to be done on the transmission of the texts that formed the crusading canon. In the past far too much has been taken as read. Another is that although there were no doubt good reasons why Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager confined their attention to the Latin East, parallel inquiries need to be undertaken about other crusading theaters, both before and after the final collapse of the states in Latin Syria in 1291. That is for the future. For the moment, editors and contributors alike deserve praise for a timely and closely knit collection that shows what can be done in this new field of inquiry.

University of Leicester NORMAN HOUSLEY

Erinnerung—Niederschrift—Nutzung: Das Papsttum und die Schriftlichkeit im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa. Edited by Klaus Herbers and Ingo Fleisch. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, neue Folge, Band 11; Studien zu Papstgeschichte und Papsturkunden.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. x, 272. $150.00. ISBN 978-3-11-025370-2.)

The Iberian arm of the Papsturkunden project, which aims to publish registers of all known papal documents before 1198 (see http://www.papsturkunden.gwdg.de), has lain dormant since the publication of *Vorarbeiten* in the 1920s (Paul Fridolin Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien,* 2 vols. in 4 pts. [Berlin, 1926–28], and Carl Erdmann, *Papsturkunden in Portugal* [Berlin, 1927]). The *Hispania pontificia* project, now *Iberia pontificia*, was revived in 2006. A first volume of *regesta* has been published (*Dioecesis Burgensis*, ed. Daniel Berger [Göttingen, 2012]); at least eight more are planned. The book under review offers papers presented at a 2007 preparatory workshop in Göttingen that explored questions concerning the creation, preservation, and transmission of papal documents that can shed light on the relationship between the papacy and Iberia. Due to the nature of sources and the project, the chronological focus is on the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

A brief introductory chapter by Klaus Herbers offers a sophisticated hermeneutical framework that distinguishes the roles of perception, interpretation, and memory in the creation and proper understanding of sources, an approach that unfortunately re-emerges only occasionally in the rest of the volume. The threads that may be followed with ease are more basic: When and why were certain documents preserved? What explains the forms of preservation, and what is the internal logic of those forms? And—of principal interest to readers of this journal—what can all of this tell us about papal power and influence in Iberia?

Given the importance of cartularies for the transmission of papal records, they receive the most attention. Individual chapters address the structure of the twelfth-century stratum of the *Liber fidei* of Braga (Maria João Branco); the transmission of papal documents from Astorga in early modern codices (Santiago Domínguez Sánchez); the *Tumbos* and related works from Santiago (Fernando López Alsina); and problematic bulls from the *Liber testamentorum* of Oviedo (Mª. Josefa Sanz Fuentes). To this group can be assimilated a chapter on two hybrid twelfth-century sources from Santiago, the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (Herbers). A comparative chapter on French cartularies argues well that the placement of papal records in them reveals geographies and rhythms of papal power (Harald Müller). These chapters document the overlap of pragmatic, propagandistic, and memorializing functions of the written word.

The remaining chapters are more varied in focus: the content and uses of (mostly lost) papal registers before the early-thirteenth century and their rela-

tionship to the *Liber pontificalis* (Uta-Renate Blumenthal); the introduction of Romano-canonical procedure into Iberia (Ingo Fleisch); the transmission and effectiveness of papal communications to the dioceses of the Extremadura (José Luis Martín Martín); and the culture of the written word in Catalonia and its relationship to Carolingian, Capetian, and papal developments (Ludwig Vones).

Iberia in the central Middle Ages is a particularly useful laboratory for the study of the intersection of papal power and the written word, in large part because of the peculiar circumstances of the *Reconquista*: the creation or reestablishment of dioceses in newly conquered lands, with attendant disputes over boundaries and primacy as well as conflicts between the various Christian kings, created an opening for an extension of papal authority at precisely the right moment in its history. Add to this the revival of the learned law and the long tradition of record-keeping on the Peninsula, and the veritable explosion of sources that are the subject of this volume makes perfect sense. As the comparative chapters on France and the papacy itself hint, however, these exceptional circumstances can nevertheless illuminate the study of papal power across Europe.

Columbia University ADAM J. KOSTO

A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy. By Louis I. Hamilton. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. Distrib. Palgrave, New York. 2010. Pp. xii, 272. $89.95. ISBN 978-0-7190-8026-5.

Somewhere in the vast scholarship on eleventh-century church reform, the central issue of consecration has gone seemingly unnoticed. The irony here, as Louis Hamilton's new book on late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century Italy contends, is that "so much of the controversy surrounding the late eleventh century reforms revolved around the liturgy, in fact a liturgy of consecration" (p. 26). In evaluating this neglected dimension of social, political, religious, and moral reform, the author illustrates how church consecrations were integral to shaping individuals and communities. The powerful symbolism of the dedication liturgy, it is argued, came to reflect "the sacrality and centrality of the Church of Rome and its leadership" (p. 8). Thanks to a handful of influential reformers, church dedications "became an argument for a clear, Rome-centred ecclesiology" (p. 8). To grasp the full development and meaning of this phenomenon, Hamilton delves well beyond the dedication liturgy itself to its broader sociohistorical and contemporary relevance.

The formative power and meaning of the liturgy is central to its interpretation here. Its impact is evinced most clearly through "the experience of the contemporary observer" (p. 56), which demonstrates the liturgy's attraction to a wide spectrum of Italian society, both urban and rural. On the Italian

peninsula as elsewhere, the elaborate rites of consecration give witness to the gathering of high clergy and lay lords, the public assertion of sacerdotal power, and the symbolic and physical creation of a "sacred city" (that is, the church) within the wider religious community. The civic and religious expectations surrounding church consecrations were understandably imbued with moral and spiritual significance, the meaning of which varied from place to place, church to church, and individual to individual. But it is precisely the expectations among the community, as Hamilton shows—experiences formed through personal interpretations of the miraculous, aesthetics, and eschatology—which accredit the dedication liturgy with its contemporary value. In other words, the sacrality of a church building was more than just an ephemeral experience; the liturgical rites of consecration were shaped by a communal identity whose understanding, behavior, and experience provided meaning and context to a momentous event.

The significance of church dedications was not lost on political opportunists. Extant legal traditions and exegetical commentaries show how deliberate efforts were taken to shape religious communities in Italy while heavily promoting the issue of papal (that is, Roman) primacy and authority. St. Peter Damian, for example, used his dedication sermon on the feast of St. Mark (at Venice) to promote his concept of church renewal (*renovatio*); St. Anselm of Lucca harnessed this political allegory into a legal tradition that explicitly favored apostolic control over church dedications. These altogether "Gregorian" ideals played out under Pope Urban II, whose pontificate "inherited a growing tradition of papal dedications" (p. 135). But the "high point of the use of the dedication rite," as Hamilton argues, "in both its practice and its interpretation" (p. 162), came in the late-eleventh century with St. Bruno of Segni, whose extensive commentary on dedication (*De laudibus ecclesiae*) "repeatedly asserted in an innovative manner a coherent and reforming ecclesiology that included personal reform, scriptural exegesis and liturgical meaning" (p. 185).

With this study, the liturgy's expansive meaning in church dedications is fully realized; its rightful place in the history of a turbulent period is consequently guaranteed. Drawing especially from the works of Damian, Anselm, Bruno, Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, and Popes Urban II and Paschal II (chapters 3–5), this book manifests consecrations as a cogent mechanism of church control. The result is a fresh perspective on a stale historiographical tradition, a vivid portrait that evokes the true power of consecrations in reforming Italian society in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries.

University of Queensland KRISTON RENNIE

Odiosa sanctitas: St Peter Damian, Simony, and Reform. By William D. McCready. [Studies and Texts, 177; Mediaeval Law and Theology, 4.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2011. Pp xii, 321. $85.00. ISBN 978-0-88844-177-5.)

St. Peter Damian has long been acknowledged as an ardent champion both of monastic and clerical reform in the eleventh century but also as a man who struggled to balance the demands of his conflicting roles as cardinal-bishop of Ostia in the service of the reform papacy and as prior of the eremitical community of Fonte Avellana. This new volume by William McCready looks to re-examine Damian's life and thought by focusing on a key controversy—that of Pietro Mezzabarba, bishop of Florence, who was accused of simony and was finally deposed after a trial by fire at Settimo in 1068 proved his guilt. The case of Mezzbarba brought into confrontation a range of protagonists: Pope Alexander II, Vallombrosan monks, and Damian himself, all of whose different reform principles and methods meant that the ramifications of the case would reverberate long after the events.

The volume opens with a short introduction that justifies the focus on the Mezzabarba controversy for exploring the development of Damian's thought on the issues of simony and the promotion of ecclesiastical reform. Chapter 1 sets out the sociopolitical and religious context of Florence at this time, and covers the key events of the controversy: the election of Mezzabarba; the campaign promoted against him by the Vallombrosans that resulted in an attack on their community at San Salvi; and the subsequent Roman synod of 1067, where Damian argued against the monks in support of Mezzabarba. Chapter 2 assesses the role of Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia and Damian's relationship with him, exploring the earlier contention that this may have conditioned Damian's position on the controversy. Chapter 3 focuses on Damian's position on simony and the validity of sacraments performed by simoniacal clergy as against more radical positions developed first by Humbert of Silva-Candida that were taken up by the Pataria and the Vallombrosans. In chapter 4, McCready turns to assess competing eleventh-century monastic ideals, against which he sets both Damian's belief in a hierarchy of monastic practice and his antipathy to active roles for monks. In chapter 5, he explores what has been characterized as Damian's increasing pessimism and disillusionment with the world, which McCready links to the outcome of the Mezzabarba affair. Chapter 6 addresses the resolution of the conflict by the trial by fire at the Vallombrosan house of Settimo, and chapter 7 explores Damian's views on ordeals and miracles.

This well-researched and fluidly written book offers a measured account of a complicated controversy based on a thorough reading of the contemporary sources and underlines the often subtle differences both in the ideals but especially the methods of the reformers by the 1060s. The analysis of Damian's position on simony and the validity of sacraments is set against the

sharpening political realities that led more radical reformers to advocate policies of action that Damian deemed inappropriate. McCready does well to draw together different aspects of Damian's thought to help elucidate why he acted as he did in the Mezzabarba case. It is thus surprising that there is little direct engagement with more recent historiography (apart from Nicolangelo D'Acunto) on the Mezzabarba affair, on the conflicts among the reformers, as well as on the development and transformation of reformist aims and methods from 1049 onwards. Given work by Phyllis Jestice, John Howe, Paolo Golinelli, and even this reviewer, the statement that the Mezzabarba case has only received cursory treatment (p. 2) is problematic, as there is considerable work both on Damian's involvement and rationale and those of the other protagonists. That said, *Odiosa sanctitas* provides a rich account of political and ecclesiastical confrontation in the era before Pope Gregory VII and emphasizes the importance of remembering that reform in this period was far from a unified process.

Keele University KATHLEEN G. CUSHING

Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends. By Adrienne Williams Boyarin. (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2010. Pp. xii, 217 $90.00. ISBN 978-1-84384-240-8.)

Adrienne Williams Boyarin's book is a welcome and erudite contribution to Marian scholarship. Its chronological coverage is broad and necessarily patchy, given her chosen subject and the diffuse, varied, and sporadic nature of the sources for it, including Latin and vernacular texts, and illustrations in manuscripts and stained-glass. Out of these miscellanea, ranging from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, whose randomness the author convincingly asserts is a key aspect of their value as evidence, emerges the argument for an enduring "Marian paradigm" in English religious culture. This is characterized by Mary's repeated associations, inflected in different ways at different times, with having dominion over texts; possessing an expertise in legal texts, procedure, and judgment; and—through her moral and theological distinction as both Jew and mother of Christ—having an enduring narrative value in the service of antisemitic Christian polemic.

The "Miracles of the Virgin" genre was an English innovation of twelfth-century Benedictine monks, the legendary and disparate nature of whose contents distinguished it from conventional miracle collections more grounded in institutionally oriented and historicized miracle collections. Their literary and miscellaneous qualities spurred what Anthony Bale has called the "exemplary imagination" (qtd. on p. 17) of vernacular clerical culture in the later medieval period—certainly from the end of the thirteenth century, when they surface in the *South English Legendary* and take their authority from the Anglo-Norman moment of their monastic invention. In

fact, Boyarin traces these stories to Anglo-Saxon liturgical and homiletic precursors, demonstrating continuity in the themes and motifs explored by Ælfric in his *Catholic Homilies* and those of Anselm of Bury, Dominic of Evesham, and William of Malmesbury's Marian collections, through the *South English Legendary,* John Mirk's *Festial,* Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Prioress's Tale," sermon cycles, the Vernon manuscript, the thirteenth-century de Brailes Book of Hours, a fifteenth-century religious miscellany, and ultimately to Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam's satirical take on the shrine of St. Mary at Walsingham. The power of these stories, Boyarin contends, is in their very exemplary and flexible properties, which made them irresistible points of recurring reference where enduring themes could be repeatedly played out in different versions and combinations. Three particular landmarks in English history are broadly evoked as contexts against which these "versioning" processes occurred: the legal innovations of late-twelfth and thirteenth-century England, the expulsion of the Jews in 1290, and the Reformation. The book is an entertaining and convincing accumulation of readings of Mary, who appears sometimes merciful, often fiercely judgmental, but always powerful (occasionally to the point that her relative status to God becomes controversial). A marvelous instance of symmetry to emerge out of this miscellaneous material—which Boyarin uses to affirm her central thesis—is the way that Erasmus's satirical colloquy on the cult of St. Mary of Walsingham really "nails" this distinct, legalistic, textual, and antisemitic aspect of English Marian culture. After learning in chapter 2 of Ælfric's association of Mary with St. Jerome as *legislatrix* of the Christian biblical canon and disposer of Marian apocrypha and the old Hebrew law, we discover in the final chapter that Erasmus's gift to the Walsingham shrine of Greek verses in honor of Mary was misconstrued by the English canons there, for they "call Hebrew anything they don't understand" (p. 166).

University of Birmingham SIMON YARROW

Hugh of Amiens and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. By Ryan P. Freeburn. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xiv, 276. $119.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2734-6.)

Hugh of Amiens does not figure prominently among the intellectuals associated with the "Twelfth-Century Renaissance." Born *c.* 1085, monk of Cluny from 1112 and prior of Cluniac houses at Limoges and Lewes before his appointment as abbot of Reading in 1123, he served as archbishop of Rouen from 1129/30 until his death in 1164 and was somewhat on the sidelines of the intellectual ferment of his times. He participated in some of the church councils where theological disputes were played out and challenging ideas put under scrutiny. He also wrote, leaving a range of texts that reflect the contemporary debates and academic developments, even if at something of a distance from the energy of the schools.

Hugh has not attracted much previous academic attention, yet Ryan P. Freeburn considers him worthy of a monograph—"he played a much more central role in the twelfth century than many people realize, especially in the early development of systematic theology" (p. 2). It is a striking claim; whether it is substantiated is a matter of opinion.

The writings provide the core for Freeburn's treatment. There is a first, short chapter outlining Hugh's life and career; thereafter, the remaining chapters deal with his works. The book is not a full biography. Most noticeably, it offers no real examination of Hugh's career within the church and activities as archbishop. Others have dealt with these, and Freeburn is largely content simply to mention their theses and publications and then focus on his own priorities. This does mean, however, that the works seem to float a bit, detached from their author as a career ecclesiastic deeply involved in the real world.

Essentially, chapters 2 to 10 work through the corpus, in something like chronological order. As the surviving works covers a range of topics, this allows one chapter for each, each in turn on a different theme, although the poems are all treated together (chapter 3). Accordingly, for instance, chapter 4 (the longest in the book, but only by a couple of pages) deals with "The *Dialogues* and the Early Stages of Systematic Theology," chapter 6 with "A Saintly Crusader and Hermit: The *Vita Sancti Adjutoris*," and chapter 8 (the second longest) with "Hugh of Amiens and the Heretics: The Polemics of *Contra haereticos.*" The texts are duly contextualized and discussed, although both commentary and analysis sometimes feel insubstantial, suggesting that there is more waiting to be said. Perhaps here the fact that Hugh cannot be portrayed as someone closely and actively embroiled in the debates is a factor; although Freeburn locates Hugh's ideas in relation to the debates, there is little indication of proactive participation in them. This, perhaps, is the major weakness for the analysis and for the assertion of Hugh's centrality. Notably, although the twelfth-century renaissance is evoked in the book's title, it scarcely appears in the text. True, episodes are there, but there is no real sense of an ongoing "movement" or "phenomenon"—whatever this "renaissance" was—in which Hugh is actively involved. The Renaissance may be assumed, but that assumption is not clearly expressed. Likewise, the varied themes of the individual chapters are never consolidated—the brief conclusion (pp. 223–25) is essentially an epitaph. The opportunity is missed to give reality to the title's "and" by integrating all the strands as facets of this renaissance.

Nevertheless, this is a useful volume. Its approach shows signs of its origin in a doctoral dissertation, but it offers a good introduction to the surviving works of Hugh of Amiens.

University of Birmingham R. N. Swanson

Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne. By Anne E. Lester. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xxiv, 261. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-4989-5.)

Like those who participated in the women's religious movement elsewhere in Europe, the pious women of thirteenth-century Champagne aspired to lives of penitential asceticism coupled with service to the sick and the poor, the *vita apostolica*. Their earliest communities in Champagne, like those created by *mulieres religiosae* in other regions, were informal and unaffiliated with any monastic order—facts that garnered their members a share in the hierarchical suspicion generally accorded these groups. But unlike their counterparts in Italy and in the Low Countries, the women of Champagne left behind neither hagiographical texts extolling an exceptional leader (they had no St. Clare of Assisi or Mary of Oignies) nor a body of regulatory literature that might shed light on their collective aims and goals. To explore the evolution of this regional variant of a broadly based and influential type of piety, Anne Lester has used what the women of Champagne and their patrons *did* bequeath, and in some abundance. By analyzing charters, and petitions, along with the receipts of sales and donations, she deftly tells an untold story of the "lived experience of religious ideals and reform at work" (p. 4).

Given the traditional historiography concerning the Cistercians and religious women, Lester's story has a surprising twist. Scholars have long argued that the Cistercian statute of 1228, which effectively banned the creation of new female houses, forced quasi-religious women to turn instead to the "new orders" for spiritual oversight. As Poor Clares, Dominican penitents, or tertiaries, these women brought vital spirituality to their institutions, whereas existing thirteenth-century Cistercian nunneries became increasingly decadent and devoid of religious idealism.

In contrast, Lester finds that the ideals of the women's movement in Champagne meshed so well with those of the Cistercians that informal communities of women were consistently transformed into Cistercian nunneries: "With rare exceptions, nearly all of the Cistercian convents founded in the county of Champagne between 1226 and 1239 trace their beginnings to earlier communities of unaffiliated religious women" (p. 19). The order displayed a commitment to manual labor and charity, as did the women whose hospices and leper houses became Cistercian convents in the 1230s. Cistercian identification with, and prayerful support for, the crusading movement also appealed to the pious women of Champagne.

Cistercian ideals were so compatible with their spirituality in fact that petitions for incorporation into the order steadily increased even after the promulgation of the 1228 exclusionary statute. But, as the author is quick to note, that watershed did mark the end of an era. The flexible, readily modified strategies that had been employed in forming associations with women would give way to a new formalism in the next decade: "After 1228, religious

zeal had to contend with the administrative realities of building fabric, gifts, endowments, rents, taxes, and all the matters of daily life that ensured stability, regulation and claustration" (p. 96). Indeed, the seriousness with which affiliated nunneries took Pope Boniface VIII's strict cloister regulation of 1298 appears to have contributed to their decline in the disaster-ridden fourteenth century.

Creating Cistercian Nuns explores the nuanced relationships that made it possible to establish austere, exemplary, and permanent monastic communities for women in thirteenth-century Champagne. Lester goes beyond legislative rhetoric to describe the vital links forged between Cistercian monks and quasi-religious religious women—bonds based on kinship, friendship, or simply (and perhaps most tellingly) a common spiritual identity.

Texas State University ELIZABETH MAKOWSKI

Between Christian and Jew: Conversion and Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, 1250–1391. By Paola Tartakoff. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 209. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4421-2.)

This engaging, lively, and well-written study focuses on a single inquisition trial, the record of which is preserved in the archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona. The case in question is related to a sensational occurrence of 1341 in Calatayud, a town in the Kingdom of Aragon, wherein a converted Jew, Pere (Peter), was sentenced to death as a relapsed heretic and sent to the stake. Pulled from the flames as they lapped around him by a local inquisitor, the story he told gave rise to a complex investigation into an alleged network of Jews who were pressuring converts not only to return to Judaism but also to openly blaspheme, so that they might be condemned to death and die as Jews. The kingdom was part of the dynastic aggregate known as the Crown of Aragon, whose realms were home to a numerous, wealthy, dynamic, and well-connected Jewish community that had close relations to the ruling Barcelona dynasty.

The study plays out in three parts—"Before the Tribunal," "At the Font of a New Life," and "By the Fire"—each consisting of two chapters. The first two chapters, "Defending the Faith: Medieval Inquisitors and the Prosecution of Jews and Converts" and "From Resistance to Surrender: Jewish Responses to Inquisitorial Prosecution," recount in detail the narratives that emerge from the interrogations under torture and the trials of the principal accused—Pere and three other Jews of Calatayud (Jucef de Qatorze, Janto Almuli, and Jamila Almuli) who were hunted down and arrested. With single-minded determination, and using the techniques and approaches perfected over the previous century, the inquisitor Bernat de Puigcercós set out to secure guilty verdicts, glibly trampling legal procedure and undermining the attempts of the

accused to use royal influence (and bribes) to secure their freedom. All four were convicted—de Qatorze was sent to the stake, and the others were sentenced to life in prison.

The third chapter, "Between Doubt and Desire: Jewish Conversion, Converts and Christian Society," delves into the pressures—personal, social, economic, and cultural—that could lead to conversion and the anxieties it generated among both Christians and Muslims in its wake. However, many may have converted out of inspiration; others were led to the font to keep marriages (to converts) intact, to escape marriages (to Jews), and to pursue a host of economic motives. Next, "Homeward Bound: The Fates of Jewish Converts" surveys the fates that commonly awaited new Christians. Shunned by their former communities and distrusted by their new one, many were reduced to indigence, and forced to live from alms. Others became preachers, and turned their knowledge of Judaism against the faith of their former community.

Finally, "Apostasy as Scourge: Jews and the Repudiation of Apostates" and "Recruiting Repentance: The Re-Judaizing of Apostates" investigates the action taken by Jews to preserve their community in the face of conversion. Jews vilified and ostracized former Jews because the latter were seen as traitors and a danger to the Jewish faith or instruments of divine punishment; in addition, associating with apostates, particularly those who wavered, could bring charges of Judaizing. Hence, it was Jews themselves who frequently reported backsliders to Christian authorities. On the other hand, some Jews clearly did encourage converts to return to the fold. This gave rise to a discrete but vitriolic current of anti-Christian polemic as well as the development of rites and strategies for the reconversion of former Jews. A brief conclusion recapitulates and summarizes the body of the book.

In sum, this is a tight, document-driven study, which draws on a range of archival and secondary material not only to analyze in detail the case study that acts as the frame of the book but also a series of illuminating contextual studies. The book is well researched both in terms of local studies (although the work of Motis Dolader is not referenced) and broader themes. Tartakoff knows the history of Jewish-Christian interaction in the Latin West well, and draws parallels and comparisons from across Western Christendom. Although she does not directly confront the historiographical problems associated with inquisitorial records, her careful use and open interpretation of them reflects a sophisticated, critical approach. In sum, this is a readable, accessible book, whose compact size should disguise its importance, range, and originality.

University of Colorado at Boulder BRIAN A. CATLOS

Les traductions françaises du De regimine principum *de Gilles de Rome: parcours matériel, culturel et intellectuel d'un discours sur l'éducation*. By Noëlle-Laetitia Perret. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 39.] (Boston: Brill. 2011. Pp. xviii, 465. $237.00. ISBN 978-90-04-20619-9.)

Over the last quarter-century a growing body of scholarship has started to reveal the profound influence of Giles of Rome, archbishop of Bourges, and his œuvre on the intellectual culture of later medieval and early Renaissance Europe. Of all the vast output of philosophical and theological works ascribed to Giles, however, it was his book of political advice for rulers, *De regimine principum*, that had the greatest impact. Composed originally in Latin *c*. 1279 and dedicated to Philip the Fair of France, *De regimine* had immediate and long-lasting success, becoming the period's second most copied and translated work of political-advice literature after the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*. *De regimine's* skillful use and adaptation of Aristotle's moral philosophy and *Rhetoric* made the Latin original a veritable bestseller among learned clerics, but it also secured a large lay audience—especially among the rulers and aristocrats to whom it was ostensibly directed. To satisfy these readers' demand, several vernacular translations were made in almost all the languages of Western Europe.

Nowhere, it seems, was lay demand greater than in France, the birthplace of *De regimine*. Here, as Noëlle-Laetitia Perret demonstrates in what is the first major study of the French *De regimine*, the text was first translated by Henri de Gauchi at the request of Philip the Fair and proliferated in thirty-six (extant) copies. It was followed by six translations (each surviving in a single manuscript) over the next 180 years or so. Perret's study is at once a history of textual reception, a *histoire du livre*, and a history of education. Its introductory chapter gives a succinct but useful biography of Giles, followed by discussions of *De regimine*'s place in the long medieval tradition of Mirrors of Princes literature, of its contents and structure, and of its importance as a vehicle for the medieval reception of Aristotelian moral philosophy. Part 3 of this three-part study describes the forty-two manuscripts that are the bulk of the raw material used by Perret to fashion the other two parts. These are devoted to, first, a discussion of the translations and their owners and readers, and, second, to a close analysis of Giles's doctrine of education as developed in book 2 of *De regimine* as well as to the seven translators' varied responses to the Latin text and presumably the perceived expectations of their intended readers.

Perret's book will long endure as a key resource for scholars studying the French reception of *De regimine* specifically and Aristotelian practical philosophy more generally. Thus, the author has made a significant contribution to the burgeoning literature on lay intellectual culture of the later medieval period. Perret also reveals the different strategies employed by several translators. Whereas de Gauchi tried to vulgarize Giles's own vulgarization of

Aristotle's philosophy through careful abbreviation, most of the other translators took great care to offer their readers translations of the full text; one example is Jean Wauquelin, who tried to mimic Giles's Latin in his French version. Several translators also were tempted to annotate, sometimes quite extensively, as in the case of one Guillaume, who included favorable remarks about Jewish education in his frequent additions. A different tone is evinced in the glosses of the anonymous translator of Berlin, Staatsbibl. MS Ham. 672, who tried to Christianize what he thought was the too-secular message of the original.

University of Vermont CHARLES F. BRIGGS

On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe: Structures and Perceptions. By Jürgen Sarnowsky. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS992.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xii, 360. $154.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2326-3.)

The Variorum Collected Studies Series has proved itself to be invaluable, because it republishes articles that have sometimes originated in journals and conference proceedings that are hard to find. Its success also is a commentary on an extraordinary growth in interest in the military orders. Fifty years ago there cannot have been more than twenty scholars seriously at work on the subject, whereas 238 contributed to a recent *Dictionnaire européen des orders militaires* (Paris, 2009). Jürgen Sarnowsky, who has written a magnificent book on Hospitaller Rhodes, has been one of the leaders of this renaissance, and it is good to be able to read twenty-one of his articles in this volume. Three have not appeared elsewhere. The dates of publication of the others range from 1986 to 2010. Six are in German; the rest are in English. Some deal with the military orders in general, but there is a particular focus on the Knights Hospitaller and the Teutonic Knights, which have been Sarnowsky's particular concern. Although Sarnowsky ranges throughout the period from 1100 to 1600, the bulk of his interests lie in the fifteenth century. The articles are grouped in four sections: general aspects, internal government, external relations (particularly those of the ordres-states of Prussia and Rhodes), and the experiences and careers of brothers. The inclusion of an index is welcome.

Sarnowsky, who is one of a new breed of crusade historians who focus on the later Middle Ages, is unusual in his breadth of interests, and it is this that makes his work so valuable. He has researched extensively on both the Teutonic and Hospitaller Orders. The period with which he is concerned witnessed a remarkable political development in the emergence of the "order-states" of Rhodes of the Knights Hospitaller and Prussia of the Teutonic Knights. Having some similarities to the papal patrimonies in Italy and on the east bank of the Rhône, and to the later Jesuit missionary settlements in South America, Rhodes and Prussia were theocracies governed by an elite class of

celibate soldier-religious, who originated from outside the boundaries and isolated themselves from the indigenous populations. Established on Christian frontiers, their policies toward their non-Christian neighbors, although theoretically defensive, were highly aggressive in practice and were exemplified by the *Reysen* of the Teutonic Knights, the caravans of the Rhodian fleets, and the Hospitallers' use of licensed piracy (the *corso*). The sources for the order-states are mostly unpublished, and a historian tackling both Rhodes and Prussia must take into account the differences between religious orders with their own traditions that operated in the distinct environments of the Aegean and the Baltic, relied on their own sources of funding, and experienced external political and ecclesiastical pressures. Sarnowsky can write authoritatively in comparative terms about their states. His special expertise is evident in the articles in this collection on "The Late Medieval Military Orders," "Military Orders and Power," "Ritterorden als Landesherren," "The Military Orders and Their Navies," "The Priests in the Military Orders," "The Legacies and the Bequests of the Masters," and "Gender-Aspekte." This volume is a welcome addition to a very valuable series.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

Nicholas of Cusa—A Companion to His Life and His Times. By Morimichi Watanabe. Edited by Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xliv, 381. $134.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2039-2.)

This volume is a fitting legacy of the career of Morimichi Watanabe, who served for many years as the president of the American Cusanus Society; editor of its newsletter; and unofficial ambassador of Cusan studies in the United States, Europe, and Japan. The volume, which appeared shortly before his death in April 2012, is a collection of sixty-nine short essays, including those by Watanabe and six other authors—Thomas M. Izbicki, Gerald Christianson, Jesse D. Mann, Il Kim, Donald D. Sullivan, and John P. Kraljic. About half began as contributions to the *American Cusanus Society Newsletter* between 1984 and 2007, although they have been revised since then.[1] The volume also contains seven black-and-white figures and three maps, the most helpful illustrating the itinerary of Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus (1401–64) on his papal legation of 1450–52. In addition, there is a grid timeline keyed to Cusanus's works and a chronological, annotated listing of his writings and their availability in various editions.

Watanabe's own interests were the political and biographical aspects of Cusanus; his humble guidance and enthusiasm led others to pursue many

[1]It should be noted that this reviewer was the editorial associate of the *American Cusanus Society Newsletter* from 1999 to 2012 and copyedited earlier versions of some of the essays in the present volume.

other angles of Cusan studies, although they are largely not represented here. The volume, indeed, is not intended as a guide to the breadth of a fifteenth-century man's thought. Divided into three parts, the essays taken together instead represent the biographical, narrative, geographic, and intellectual topography that affected Cusanus and that he, in turn, influenced. Part I, "Ideas and Events," considers canon law, the Great Western Schism, conciliarism, philosophy and theology, spirituality, the fall of Constantinople, and the Congress of Mantua. This grouping might seem eclectic in another context, but here it makes sense, given Cusanus's wide-ranging interests and activities. Part II, "Persons," is comprised of twenty-six bio-sketches ranging from the familiar (Pope Pius II, Cardinal Bessarion of Nicaea, Pope Eugene IV, John of Ragusa, and Juan de Segovia) to the less well known (Peter Wymar von Erkelenz, Eleanor of Scotland, Gregor Heimburg, and János Vitéz). Part III, "Places," offers thirty-two essays representing a travelogue of not only Cusanus but also of Watanabe.

Each entry offers a brief introduction to the topic at hand and concludes with a select bibliography, which makes the book an important one for academic libraries, graduate students, and scholars seeking an entry point into specific subjects. Throughout, we find key quotations from Cusanus's works and often Watanabe's consideration of historiographical shifts—for example, in the essay on Basel. This collection implicitly bears testimony to the development and diversity of Cusanus studies in recent decades as well as to Watanabe's own role in that diffusion. Here and there, Watanabe made suggestions for further research, so it is possible that mentors might benefit from handing this volume to their best students. Because Watanabe walked in Cusanus's footsteps, so can we.

Kean University CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO

Italy & Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance. Edited by Péter Farbaky and Louis A. Waldman. [Villa I Tatti Series, 27.] (Florence: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xli, 728. $85.00. ISBN 978-0-674-06346-4.)

This long-awaited volume is the publication of papers given at the 2007 conference at Villa i Tatti, prior to the 2008 exhibition and catalog, "Matthias Corvinus, the King," at the Budapest History Museum. The two books can be taken together as offering an updated and revised picture of the reign of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1443–90). These papers are largely art historical in focus and make detailed arguments about small fragments of material, both artistic and archival, which have much broader implications for the period. However, a section devoted to Hungary's intellectual connections with Italian humanism includes worthy essays describing the careers of little-known figures such as Andreas Pannonius (in an essay by Sándor Bene) and Jacobus Piso (by László Jankovits), whereas Angela Dillon Bussi and Jonathan J. G. Alexander study the famous Corvinian library.

Four papers summarize previous scholarship, much of it available only in Hungarian. This is an important contribution for non-Hungarian scholars in understanding the material available to them and the history of the field in general. However, although work by scholars such as Jolán Balogh is foundational in this area, more needs to be done than just making this material available to the English-speaking world. The translation of Balogh's three-volume *Art at the Court of King Matthias Corvinus*, as called for by Gyöngyi Török, would be a gift to non-Hungarian scholars. However, these conference proceedings make clear that a new synthesis of the Hungarian Renaissance is overdue, one that would include material both prior to and after the years of Matthias's reign. The biggest drawback of the Corvinian focus of this collection is that it leaves out important material from the period after Matthias's reign and outside the power seats of Buda, Visegrád, and Esztergom. Even locations as important as the St. George church at Nyírbátor, where Gothic architecture and Renaissance decorative detail co-exist in the manner probably most similar to the destroyed Buda castle, are hardly mentioned. Later works (such as the castle at Sárospatak) and monuments outside of the modern boarders of Hungary (such as the Lázoi chapel in Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár]) are overlooked entirely.

Several of the papers bring to light new evidence or synthesize material that was previously scattered throughout the literature. Perhaps the most important paper is Louis A. Waldman's study of Alexander Formoser as the agent to Matthias in Florence. Another significant contribution is Daniel Pocs's study of the white marble fragments from Buda castle. Two papers by Péter Farbaky and Gergely Buzás attempt to trace the origins of Renaissance style in Hungarian architecture through the fragments remaining at Buda and Visegrad. Although their conclusions reach further than the evidence will strictly allow, the close examination of this material is valuable. Mikó Arpad discusses the patronage of Beatrice d'Aragona.

The most sensational claim of the book relates to the newly restored Esztergom frescoes. Mária Prokopp and restorer Zsuzanna Wiedrl argue for the earlier date of 1466–67, assigning the commission to Archbishop János Vitéz and the work to a young Sandro Botticelli, whereas Waldman places them in the 1490s as the commission of Archbishop Ippolito d'Este and the work of an unknown student of Filippino Lippi. Although the quality of these figures make the Botticelli attribution implausible, Waldman's dismissal of the frescoes as weak is too severe, and further study is needed.

This richly presented volume is an important new contribution to the study of the Hungarian Renaissance. Although scholars experienced in this area may quarrel with some of the conclusions drawn, it remains a valuable resource for those new to the field.

Princeton University SARAH W. LYNCH

Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet. By Donald Weinstein. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 379. $38.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11193-4.)

Forty years after his landmark and now classic *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), Donald Weinstein returns to the fascinating and tragic figure of Girolamo Savonarola with a moving and magisterial biography. The earlier book established the paradigm for modern Savonarola studies, showing that it was Florence that converted Savonarola to the "myth" of its own prophetic and millenarian destiny, not Savonarola who recalled a secular Florence to religion. In this new book Weinstein vividly re-creates the life of the charismatic preacher who, although not a Florentine, dramatically occupied center stage in Florentine politics and religious life for more than three years—from the expulsion of the Medici and creation of the popular republic and Great Council, whose shape he heavily influenced, until his trial and execution in 1498. Utilizing many new studies of the past four decades and ranging widely in the huge corpus of the Dominican's sermons, letters, and treatises as well as the writings of supporters and opponents, Weinstein has crafted a powerful narrative of Savonarola's preaching career, his controversial political role, and dire fate.

This splendid book poignantly explores the terrible irony of Savonarola's relationship to Florence. Denunciations of Florentine luxury and lax piety, accompanied by prophecies of divine retribution, had characterized his preaching before 1494. In a moment of crisis, revolution, and a vacuum of power, however, many (but certainly not all) Florentines pushed Savonarola into the role of a divinely ordained civic prophet who merged republican renewal and religious purification. Although Savonarola accepted his new role willingly, he was sometimes beset by doubts and misgivings and had to be drawn back into the fray by supporters who looked to him for inspiration and guidance. As Weinstein puts it, Savonarola was "propelled . . . by the needy adulation of his audiences" (p. 285).

Initially his preaching was perfectly orthodox, his moral austerity echoing an accepted tradition of mendicant asceticism. But the addition of the political agenda urged on him by the Florentines made for a volatile mix. When traditional prophecies of punishment for sin metamorphosed, at the end of 1494, into a millenarian vision of Florentine power, liberty, wealth, and leadership in the renewal of Christianity, Savonarola began to attract the Church's threatening skepticism. When he took Old Testament prophets as his models and insisted that the Almighty had revealed to him that the Church itself required a scourging and renewal, he drew down on himself the pope's implacable wrath. Savonarola's open criticism of the corrupt papacy of Alexander VI put Florence in danger, and the austere moral reforms he urged on the Florentines finally exhausted even his followers' considerable thirst for pure and uncompromised religion. Many who had venerated Savonarola

turned against or away from him and let his enemies, in Florence and the Church, use trumped-up charges of heresy to subject him to ghastly torture and public execution. Weinstein's eloquent account of the friar's physical and psychological destruction is harrowing.

One small correction: in Machiavelli's first *Decennale*, the "capon" whose "voice was heard amongst a hundred roosters" is not Savonarola (p. 311), but Piero Capponi, who famously threatened Florentine resistance to any French attack. This and a few inaccuracies regarding the pre–Savonarolan political context do not diminish this reader's admiration for Weinstein's mastery of Savonarola's writings and sermons and of the religious culture that underlay them, as well as for his nuanced assessment, at once empathetic and discerning, of how Savonarola was drawn by the Florentines into an ultimately untenable role.

Cornell University JOHN M. NAJEMY

Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence. By Philip Gavitt. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 280. $90.00. ISBN 978-1-107-00294-4.)

Philip Gavitt's scholarly reputation was fully established with the publication of *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor, 1990), a pioneering and moving work in the field of Florentine philanthropy, civic responsibility, and state building. In the years since, he has extended his analyses on these vital issues and has published a number of excellent articles on them. His latest work incorporates revised and strengthened versions of some of these articles, as well as important new contributions to his chosen fields. It consists of an introduction that also serves as a platform for the presentation of the theoretical principles informing his approach to the various issues discussed in the book and six chapters, each tackling different issues, but each contributing to the formulation of a coherent and valuable assessment of the place of philanthropy in the development of the Florentine state. The book ends with a short but highly informative and somewhat controversial conclusion.

Not surprisingly, some of these chapters are based on evidence drawn from the hospital of the Innocenti. Outstanding in this regard is chapter 1, in which the relationship between the Innocenti and the Medicean state is analyzed. The central figures in this chapter are Vincenzio Borghini, the administrator of the Innocenti but also one of the most learned scholars of the period, and the Florentine grand dukes Cosimo and Francesco. Under the stewardship of Borghini, the Innocenti contributed in a number of different ways to the strengthening of the state and to the entrenchment of the Medici in power. Whereas the efforts of the government and of Borghini himself to deal with the intractable problem of the abandonment of children are clearly

set out, so, too, is the exploitation of the hospital's resources and therefore indirectly also of the children, by the regime. This is also a theme in the fifth chapter, in which the focus is placed on the girls of the Innocenti and on the other five major Florentine institutions created to care for them. Once again, the commendable original objectives of caring for these girls is shown to have been somewhat tainted by poor execution and by outright exploitation.

The other major theme tackled in the book is the exploitation of ecclesiastical and charitable institutions by Florentine families of middle to high rank. Of particular interest here are Gavitt's arguments regarding the strategies employed by these families to enhance their standing and future well-being. He rejects the argument that "a strictly patriarchal model governed gender relations" (p. 93) in the whole Mediterranean world, arguing instead that it was concern for the survival of the lineage that required the institutionalization of scores of young women and men. A great deal of evidence, spread over three major chapters, reinforces this view. Although the argument is sound and timely, it is perhaps somewhat overdrawn, especially when one considers that a vastly greater number of women than men finished up in institutions, and that of the men who did, only a minute number could be assessed as "enclosed." Possibly too much is made, further, of the compliance of charitable as well as religious and quasi-religious institutions to the pressures of patrons with family interests at heart and their own agendas to fulfill. Given the number and vulnerability, both financial and structural, of such institutions, it is not surprising that such interference could occur. Whether it was widespread, especially after the reforms of Cosimo and of the Council of Trent in particular, is open to question.

These are minor observations, however, not intended to detract from this invaluable contribution to important and controversial fields of study. The book represents a very ambitious project with many objectives in view, some of them particularly difficult to fulfill given the variety of themes and problems raised. *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence* is of great importance for our understanding of the city in an especially difficult period of its development and as such is destined to become an essential source for all future studies in the selected fields.

University of Western Australia LORENZO POLIZZOTTO

Early Modern European

The Reformation: A Brief History. By Kenneth G. Appold. [Blackwell Brief Histories of Religion Series.] (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 2011. Pp. xi, 203. $84.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-4051-1749-4; $29.95 paperback, 978-1-40511750-0.)

Not long ago, a prominent German historian of the Reformation lamented that "we have lost the Reformation." In fact, a search for new books on the sub-

ject reveals that it is more than holding its own. At least nineteen general studies have appeared in English since the mid-1990s, plus another thirteen in German. Most eschew both the nineteenth-century elevation of Martin Luther as the godfather of Western civilization and the twentieth-century defense of Luther's theology as a metahistorical vision. In 1995 Bernd Moeller reminded theologians that "history makes no somersaults, and Luther was no miracle-worker who fell to earth."[1]

Many of the new works share a view of Luther and his Reformation as not the dawn of modernity but the fruition of medieval Christendom. Just as prominent is the tendency to replace the classic (Protestant) singular—"The Reformation"—with a concept of plural reformations—Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic. These changes reveal a shift of focus from theological ideas to religious practice and a setting of the Reformation less in European history and more in the general history of Christianity.

Each of these shifts is visible in *The Reformation: A Brief History* by Kenneth G. Appold of Princeton Theological Seminary. The Reformation occurred, he writes, "within a larger dynamic driven by the Christianization of Europe" (p. ix). Its agent was a church that was neither static nor backward, driven by the dialectical movements of its two heritages: the Roman legacy of hierarchical institutionalization and the Celtic "ethical" drive toward "the moral and spiritual transformation of individual lives and communities" (p. ix). Medieval Christendom experienced an immense evolutionary dialectic between an aim to manage the world and a desire to overcome it.

The downshift from such great landscapes to the person and thought of Luther is a stock device of general works on the subject. Here Appold does not disappoint, as his second chapter bores into Luther as a "phenomenon" (p. 43) composed of heritages, actions, personality, and theological and other ideas. Although its rhetorical color and strong narrative make chapter 2 the book's liveliest chapter, there is no appeal to Luther's "genius" as the moving force. Rather, Luther's reformation comes as an acceleration, not a negation, of the medieval dialectic and brings both successes and failures. Appold explains the most fateful of the latter, the German Peasants' War, by Luther's formation in an urban world that was climbing for economic hegemony over the vast landscapes of traditional, rural Europe. The same social environment made possible the rapid spread of Luther's ideas via the printed word and the increase of literacy, which made Luther's career utterly unlike those of his university teachers. The motor of Appold's narrative is thus social rather than intellectual.

[1]Berndt Hamm, Berndt Moeller, and Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformationstheorien: Ein Kirchenhistorischer Disput über Einheit und Veinfalt der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1995), p. 23.

The two succeeding chapters are heavily descriptive, as can be expected, given the book's brevity. Chapter 3 undertakes in a bit more than fifty pages to describe the political establishment of Lutheran religion in the Holy Roman Empire, together with a generous account of Anabaptism. Appold marches through the thicket of the Empire's political structures and culture with relatively few stumbles, none of them serious.

The heavy labor of making "what happened among the Germans" into a European story falls to chapter 4. The first and larger of its two parts portrays the coming of mastery over the religious movements into the hands of kings, princes, and (in the Empire) magistrates, which makes the Reformation part of the late-medieval shift toward stronger local governance. The finest passages of this part examine lands whose reformations are commonly marginalized. There is a very fine, clear account of the reformations in the Scandinavian kingdom(s), followed by a masterful picture of the extremely complex religious changes in the Hungarian kingdom. The subsequent part on John Calvin and Geneva is, by contrast, a fairly conventional, if competently informative, account of a standard subject.

In the final part of chapter 4 Appold takes the most adventurous step in the current literature, the incorporation of Roman Catholic reforms as a distinct reformation. In only ten pages he does justice to both the similarities to and the very pronounced differences between Catholic and Protestant reform. Here he also makes effective use of his opening argument about medieval ascetic Christianity to highlight the contemporary resonance of the new religious orders. Appold's only significant slip is to see in Catholic reform a recent discovery, whereas in fact it goes back to nineteenth-century Germans who studied with Leopold von Ranke.

Appold has presented us with an introduction to Reformation history that is brief, clear, up-to-date, and blessedly free of exaggerations. Appold's intellectual temper reminds this reviewer of Ernst Troeltsch, and his sense that experience of the presence and anticipation of the future must necessarily change our judgments of the past is an important one. Those who take up Reformation history today should begin here.

University of California, Berkeley THOMAS A. BRADY JR.

The Real Luther: A Friar at Erfurt and Wittenberg: Exploring Luther's Life with Melanchthon as Guide. By Franz Posset. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing. 2011. Pp. xxii, 195. $39.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7586-2685-1.)

Throughout his career, Roman Catholic Reformation scholar Franz Posset has worked to recover the crucial role that St. Bernard of Clairvaux played in Martin Luther's earliest theological development. Luther's initial insights into the nature of justification came from within the broader catholic tradition

and especially from Bernard. The present volume makes this claim based on the work of Luther's closest colleague in Wittenberg, Philipp Melanchthon, who shortly after Luther's death penned a preface to the second volume of Luther's Latin writings, in which he sketched Luther's life. Apart from a confused discussion of the much-debated reference to the posting of the Ninety-five Theses on the Castle Church on October 31, 1517, Posset argues convincingly, although disjointedly, that Melanchthon's account contains other useful and accurate information about Luther, especially Luther's recollection that an old Augustinian friar in Erfurt assured him that God expected him to believe that his own sins were forgiven and showed him a reference in Bernard's first sermon on the Annunciation. Posset's thesis needs be taken seriously.

Historical analysis has two sides: a strong thesis and proper evidence. It is here that *The Real Luther* falls short. Factual, logical, grammatical, and translation errors litter the book. The author seems unfamiliar with the latest and most important scholarly work on Melanchthon and consistently misdates documents. Thus, in a single section from pages 139 to 145 (where he tries to prove Melanchthon's increasing respect for Bernard from 1521 to the 1530s—itself questionable), he misdates Melanchthon's German translation of the *Loci communes* and his lectures on 1 Timothy, claims that Melanchthon preached on the Feast of the Annunciation in 1544 (he *never* preached), and leaves the impression that Melanchthon's 1546 theses attacking Petrus de Malvenda centered on Bernard's sermon. Instead, Melanchthon used Bernard as he used other church fathers: to defend Lutherans against attacks on their catholicity.

The last twenty pages offer a translation of Melanchthon's preface—a well-intentioned contribution. Unfortunately, the translation is riddled with errors, as the following demonstrates. Posset translates:

> And [the friar] proved [to Luther] that this interpretation is confirmed by a saying of Bernard, and he showed him the *locus* in a sermon on the Annunciation. . . . Luther said that he was not only strengthened by this voice [of the senior friar] but that he was also reminded of Paul's entire sentence [Rom 3:24-28] who so often inculcates this *dictum*: "by faith we are justified." Since he read many expositions on this he saw the vanity of their interpretations that were en vogue then. [The insight in such vanity] was based both upon the words [of the senior friar] and upon the fact that Luther felt the consolation of mind after having noticed their faulty interpretations. (pp. 154–55)

But the sense of the Latin (confirmed by the German translation of 1554) should read:

> And *[Luther] said* that this interpretation was strengthened by a saying of Bernard and the place in the sermon on the Annunciation was shown [to him]. . . . By this word, Luther said, he was not only strengthened but also reminded of *Paul's entire way of thinking*, who so often emphasized this saying: "we are

> justified by faith." *Concerning this* [text of Paul], *when* he read the expositions of many, then, based both on the words of this person and on the consolation of his mind, Luther realized the *falsity* of these *well-known* interpretations.

Such inattention to accuracy mars the book and thus obscures the "real" Luther.

The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia TIMOTHY J. WENGERT

Mary I: England's Catholic Queen. By John Edwards. [Yale English Monarchs Series.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 387. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11810-0.)

This is a thoroughly researched biography of Mary I that gives due weight to the queen's international situation and Spanish heritage. Mary's international connections and later marriage alliance with Philip II of Spain made her into a cosmopolitan figure. Unlike her half-sister Elizabeth, who boasted of being "mere English," Mary took her place on the European stage as the linchpin in the restoration of England to the rest of Catholic Christendom. It is, however, hard to identify the specific audience for this work. It is a bit technical and verbose for a popular audience while too little engaged with recent Marian scholarship to be of much use to specialists.

John Edwards sees many parallels between Mary's political career and that of her maternal grandmother, Isabel of Castile. They were blood relations, female monarchs in patriarchal states, and married to men who were kings in their own right. All this is certainly true. Yet it is hard to see how these similarities provide any insight into Mary's situation. After all, she shared these similarities with her Scottish cousin, Mary Stuart; yet there is little to be gained by noting this. Mary did not publicly identify herself with Isabel, nor did she even bother to learn enough Spanish so she could converse with her husband in his native tongue. The one lesson that Mary appeared to have picked up from her Spanish mother, Catherine of Aragon, was to cherish her Habsburg relatives but identify her interests and future with that of England, not Spain.

This biography is reminiscent of H. F. M. Prescott's inexplicably influential *Mary Tudor: The Spanish Tudor* (London, 1940). Prescott described Mary as a simple housewife at heart, and Edwards concludes that such an assessment "is not wide of the mark" (p. 345). This assessment runs counter to recent scholarship noting Mary's humanist education, complex rhetoric, and astonishing near success in restoring England to the Catholic fold.

That Edwards borrows a little of Prescott's misguided confidence is understandable. Mary resists easy assessment and the biographer's art. As princess, she advised the imperial ambassador to burn their correspondence, suggesting she may have habitually destroyed hers. Unlike Elizabeth, Mary's decisive

actions rarely match her nihilistic rhetoric. When Elizabeth declared she would rather remain single but would marry if God placed a suitable candidate before her, she followed through by remaining single but also vigorously pursuing a match with a French prince. Whereas Mary assured her subjects during the Wyatt rebellion that she would only marry after consulting the privy council, she had, in fact, already privately sworn to marry Philip regardless of the council's views. Mary deployed the rhetoric of wifely subordination and dependence in her letters to Philip when he was away to lure him back, yet she failed to seriously pursue the one course of action that would have brought him instantly to her side—arranging his coronation as king of England.

Despite Edwards's laudable practice of varying the narrative pace so that royal ceremonies in which Mary participated unfold slowly in rich detail, Mary remains elusive as a personality. Perhaps the questioning nursery rhyme hits the mark when it asks: "Mary, Mary, quite contrary/How does your garden grow?" Although Edwards includes an exhaustive bibliography and index, his biography is no closer to answering the rhyme than Prescott was in 1940. This reader was left with the following question: How does one chronicle the lives of subjects whose actions belie their words?

University of Tennessee at Knoxville JERI L. MCINTOSH

Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580–1603. By Robert E. Scully, S.J. [No. 23 in Series 3: Scholarly Studies Originally Composed in English.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011. Pp. xvi, 468. $32.95. ISBN 978-1-880810-78-1.)

Robert E. Scully's *Into the Lion's Den* is the first in-depth inquiry into the early years of the Jesuit Mission in both England and Wales, placing it in context of the development of the Society of Jesus and its worldwide missionary efforts in the sixteenth century. What was, Scully asks, the impact of this relatively small, underfinanced, and understaffed mission to the history of the English Reformation and the history of the Catholic Church more broadly?

To address this question, Scully draws heavily from traditional sources such as Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,* the writings and correspondence of organizational leaders such as William Allen and Robert Persons, and autobiographies penned by Jesuit missionaries such as William Weston and John Gerard. He describes and contextualizes the origins of the mission; the creation of the English colleges; English Jesuit writings; the clandestine nature of the mission based in the manor houses of the gentry; women's recusancy and support of the mission; the dangers to Catholic laypersons and clergy; and the conflicts arising among Jesuits, the Elizabethan government, and Catholic secular clergy. Of particular interest are

plates from the *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea* (1584), a series of thirty-five engravings detailing English Catholic history and martyrology.

When discussing these familiar sources, Scully uses a broader interpretive framework than did earlier scholars such as Philip Caraman and William Bangert who published on the English Jesuits. In particular, he focuses special attention on Wales and the Marches. Such attention is justified, Scully argues, since Allen and Persons identified Wales early on as key mission territory. Scully contrasts English recusancy patterns with those in Welsh and Marcher lands and highlights divisions among the English and Welsh students at the English colleges based on perceptions of cultural and perhaps racial difference. Scully's analysis differentiates between the religious worldviews of Catholics residing in different regions of England and Wales and also addresses issues such as sacred space and material culture. With a lesser degree of success, Scully attempts to weave the contributions of women and lower ranking Catholics into his narrative of the Jesuit missionary endeavors. Scully includes much that is valuable about women and the poor but little that is new.

When evaluating the success or failure of the Jesuit Mission, Scully enters existing debates begun by historians such as John Bossy and Christopher Haigh by asking scholars to assess the mission not as one monolithic effort but in terms of the different groups involved. Jesuit missionary efforts, Scully argues, succeeded better than those of other groups because of the Society of Jesus's more developed organizational and financial structures and the unique spiritual mission of the society. Moreover, adding to recent scholarship that distinguishes English Catholicism from continental post-Tridentine Catholicism, Scully highlights how innovative and flexible Jesuit missionary strategies in the officially hostile regions of England and Wales look different from Jesuit evangelization approaches in more welcoming environs worldwide. Scully ultimately credits Jesuit efforts as instrumental in making a modest success of the Elizabethan Mission, encouraging the "unexpected tenacity and even resilience" of a minority Catholic community that had staying power in an increasingly Protestant Northern Europe (p. 435).

Overall, Scully uses a generally balanced approach that does not shy away from addressing the challenges and conflicts as well as the accomplishments of the Jesuits. Although not groundbreaking, *Into the Lion's Den* is a solid text that draws together a wealth of information useful to scholars of English Catholicism or who want to compare and contrast the Elizabethan mission with other Jesuit efforts worldwide.

Boise State University LISA MCCLAIN

Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648. By Piotr Stolarski. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 265. $124.95. ISBN 978-1409-40595-5.)

The gist of Piotr Stolarski's argument lies in the underappreciated (if not forgotten) role of the mendicant Orders, especially Dominicans, and the overestimated role of Jesuits in the Counter-Reformation of Poland-Lithuania. For Stolarski, the mendicant Orders—more than the Jesuits—should be credited with bringing the genuine spiritual renewal that ushered in consensual and internalized conversion of Protestants to Catholicism. Jesuits, he argues, were actually less effective, as they were generally perceived as arrogant, intolerant, manipulative, and supportive of absolute monarchy; and thus they were distrusted by the freedom-loving Polish *szlachta.*

The advantage of the mendicants, Stolarski argues, was in their longevity (they predated the Council of Trent and the formation of the Society of Jesus), theological realism, religious irenicism, and openness to mixed monarchy. He also mentions miraculous healings credited to the intercession of friars and humble piety expressed in vows of poverty—both of which made the mendicants better-equipped agents for the genuine spiritual renewal that encouraged reconversions of Protestants back to Rome.

Certainly, this book is to be valued for bringing to the surface the role of the Dominicans, which has been sorely neglected, and for seeking continuities with the pre-Trent role of the mendicants in Poland-Lithuania. The author's commitment is to look into Catholic orthodoxy "on its own terms"—carefully avoiding interpretive frameworks that are unhelpful (especially for Poland-Lithuania)—thus bringing greater complexity and understanding to the post-Reformation period. Further, religious historiography of early-modern Poland-Lithuania (both Polish and English) is insufficient, and Stolarski fills gaps, offers analysis of interesting primary sources, and provides a provocative thesis that will galvanize a much-needed discussion on the issue.

However, the book has some serious drawbacks, especially when commenting on Reformed theology. For instance, the author shows unfamiliarity with the Protestant realist tradition, equating Protestantism with nominalism (pp. 39, 190). Furthermore, when Stolarski comments on the writings of Fabian Birkowski, he fails to mention how the Dominican preacher misrepresented Protestant theology (p. 127), giving the impression that Birkowski accurately presented Reformed teaching. Similarly, when the author comments on Dominican-Jesuit disputes over the doctrine of grace (pp. 39–40), he seems unaware of the doctrinal proximity between the Reformed Scholastics and Dominicans, who both took a stance against Alfred Molina's Middle Knowledge. Finally, Stolarski seems unable to differentiate between the terms *Calvinist* and *Reformed.* These should be used and defined carefully, as Henrich Bullinger, Jan Łaski, and others greatly influenced the Polish

Reformed Church, not simply John Calvin. Broadly speaking, the author's general notion that the victory of Polish Catholicism is due to its spiritual vibrancy and doctrinal coherence alone is overstated. The fall of the Polish Reformed Church was more complex than that, partially owing to the schism it suffered that resulted in the emergence of the anti-Trinitarian Polish Brethren (later known as Socinians or Unitarians). The schism weakened the Polish-Lithuanian Reformed Church from within and made it a feeble rival, compared to the Reformed Church in the West.

Despite these drawbacks, the book may help to further discussion and achieve a more balanced view of the reasons behind the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Reformation.

Grand Rapids, MI DARIUSZ M. BRYĆKO

The Chronicle of Le Murate. By Sister Giustina Niccolini. Edited and translated by Saundra Weddle. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series, 12.] (Toronto: Iter, Inc., and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2011. Pp. xiv, 361. $32.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7727-2108-2.)

The chronicle of the Florentine convent of Le Murate, composed in 1598 by the Benedictine nun Giustina Niccolini and still unpublished in Italian, has now been translated by Saundra Weddle into English as part of the outstanding series The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe. It will allow students and scholars who do not read Italian access to a text of great importance, not only to the history of female convents but also to the history of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Church. Using sources ranging from older chronicles to the convent archive and the memories of other nuns, Niccolini retells the history of her institution over a period of 200 years from its foundation around 1400. The single most striking facet of the chronicle is Niccolini's urge to communicate innumerable, disparate pieces of information about Renaissance convent life, thereby leaving a treasure trove for historians. From the point of view of possible subject matter, chronicles in this respect resemble private letters. No topic is considered too mundane—or, indeed, too secular—to be included, so written ex-votos and references to vomiting blood are mentioned alongside donations by secular women patrons and visits by ecclesiastics enforcing the Tridentine decrees. The importance of visual and material culture in convent life is readily apparent from the nun's narrative. The simple style of the chronicle, unfailingly enfolded within a religious outer coating, betrays its origin in the spoken language, as it was composed as a dictation. Given the emphasis on obedience and self-effacement of nuns, being a nun chronicler (especially during the Counter-Reformation years) was a risky choice of occupation, which is why Niccolini feels obliged to describe herself as "an ignorant and coarse woman" (p. 45) when the opposite seems more likely; the presumption of

authorship has to be buried under the rhetoric of religious conformity. Of course, religion permeated many aspects of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century convent life, so Niccolini's narrative is populated by devils, saints, and angels as well as popes, bishops, and confessors; nuns live surrounded by the religious paraphernalia of relics, altars, altarpieces, bells, and prayer books; and religious rituals and customs are a focal point. This translation will consequently be useful for anyone with interests in any of these areas, allowing a sixteenth-century nun who also was an author the possibility of circulating her precious information to ever-expanding audiences.

The introduction by the editor, which takes the form of a literature review, is a missed opportunity for something more challenging and original, as there is a great deal of excellent recent work, especially in Italian, on nuns' chronicles in general and on individual chronicles. In addition, as Weddle herself allows (p. 2), "scores" of scholars have already analyzed and commented on various facets of Le Murate and its chronicle. Now would therefore have been an ideal time to use this material as a springboard to present a critique of Le Murate's chronicle as an example of its genre, instead of repeating already well-established and picked-over information. One omission in relation to the textual apparatus is also bizarre. The manuscript from which the transcription has been taken and the translation has been made—Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale II II 509—is inexplicably not divulged until a footnote on page 52, even though the "original manuscript" (without further identification) is mentioned on page 38.

Queen Mary, University of London KATE LOWE

Das Bistum Würzburg, 7: *Die Würzburger Bischöfe von 1617 bis 1684*. Edited by Winfried Romberg. [*Germania Sacra: Die Kirche des Alten Reiches und ihre Institutionen:* Dritte Folge 4: *Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz*.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. xiv, 599. $210.00. ISBN 978-3-11-025183-8.)

This volume, about the bishops of Würzburg in the seventeenth century, is the latest in a venerable series that has been published since the early 1900s. This volume thoroughly addresses the goal of this project, which is to provide scholars of local and regional history with a careful presentation of the sources and basic information about the history of German dioceses. This volume, like all the recent volumes, contains a detailed bibliography of both archival and secondary sources. Würzburg in the early-modern period was one of the largest and most important German prince-bishoprics, and the quantity of material gathered in this volume shows that there is much more research that could be done here.

The volume is structured around the episcopacies of the bishops of Würzburg. Each bishop receives a section, whether he served for thirty years or two years, a structure that sometimes seems a bit artificial. Each section fol-

lows a similar pattern, describing the person of the bishop as well as his foreign policy, administrative work, and religious policy and developments. These sections are quite catalog-like, presenting various events, laws, regulations, and the like as they appear in the sources. A short description of the historiography of each episcopate appears at the end of each section.

The strength of this volume is in the mass of information assembled from various archives and, to a lesser extent, from secondary sources. The weakness is a structure that is imbedded in the most traditional of German *Kirchengeschichte* (church history). By structuring the volume around the bishop, it is almost impossible to present long-term trends, whether in foreign policy, state-building, or religious affairs. The editor, Winifried Romberg, attempts to address this issue in an introductory chapter, but this, too, is quite traditional, focusing on institutional developments and explicitly avoiding broad social and economic developments. This weakness is compounded by the fact that the bibliography exclusively references German-language scholarship, ignoring, among other works, important English language scholarship on witchcraft, the social history of religion, and cultural history.

In the end, this volume does what it sets out to do. It gathers together the historical sources available to scholars about the Bishopric of Würzburg, lists the secondary works produced in German, and outlines clearly the role of the bishops. It is a useful addition to the vast compilation of the *Germania Sacra*.

Connecticut College MARC R. FORSTER

Histoire des Filles de la Charité, XVII^e^–XVIII^e^ siècles. La rue pour cloître. By Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée. (Paris: Fayard. 2011. Pp. 690. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-213-66257-2.)

The Filles de la Charité, or Daughters of Charity, were founded by Ss. Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac in 1633 and grew into the largest female religious community serving the poor and ill in Ancien Régime France. In 1789 the community had approximately 3000 members and was associated with approximately 420 hospitals and parish charities (indeed, one nursing sister in three in 1790 was a Daughter of Charity [p. 300]). The women took annual rather than perpetual vows and were not cloistered but lived "in the world" in a way that transcended the general Tridentine move toward claustration. As the book's title proclaims, the cloister of a Daughter of Charity was the street. Although there has been considerable continuity in the community's work up to the present day, the first two centuries of its existence were fundamental in both establishing the character of the group through the inspiration of its founders and in developing a highly centralized management structure that allowed its expansion throughout France and was copied, often in precise detail, by many other female communities. By the time of the French Revolution, the group was widely admired across the political and religious divide. Temporarily dissolved as an institution in the

Revolution, it was reestablished by the late 1790s and endorsed by Napoleon. A new and more global chapter in its history opened up in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1965 there were more than 45,000 sisters in 4000 institutions, although its membership has fallen since then.

The Daughters of Charity have a quite extraordinary history that has been almost wholly neglected, partly because the community has been more committed to aiding the poor and ill than to considering the archiving and writing of their own history. This state of affairs also may have endured because of an overdeveloped sense of discretion about the origins of cofounder St. Louise—only in 1958 was it publicly acknowledged that she was illegitimate (p. 19). Only within the last two decades have their central archives been opened, allowing a far richer coverage than that previously available via the archives of the Congregation of the Mission, the Archives Nationales, and the numerous institutions in which they served. Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée is the first historian to have immersed himself in those archives, and he has emerged with an absolutely exemplary study of the history of the community from its origins to the French Revolution, which sets out both a framework for understanding the community and conveys a unique sense of the texture of its members' lives (for example, there are superb sections on the material culture of life as a Daughter of Charity).

The basic requirement for a Daughter of Charity, according to an eighteenth-century internal circular, was a "good spirit, a good body and good will" (p. 272). Quite how women of this sort, far more of whom were from lowlier social backgrounds than other women religious, were educated, trained, and incentivized to serve their lifetime in what were base and menial tasks is a key part of the story. Brejon de Lavergnée rightfully places emphasis on the unusually centralized yet supply-management structure that emerged following the "watershed" (p. 231) of the death of the founders *c.* 1660, in facilitating the passage from charismatic to more bureaucratic organization styles (while maintaining spiritual motivation). Adaptation to an outside world is another important feature of the history—the late-eighteenth century in particular highlights some significant issues of morale. By this fine study, Brejon de Lavergnée puts all historians of religion in his debt and also provides the raw materials that will now need to be digested by historians of women, work, medicine, and relief of the poor.

Queen Mary, University of London COLIN JONES

Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal. By Bryan Givens. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 255. $48.00. ISBN 978-0-8071-3702-4.)

In late February 1665, Maria de Macedo found herself before the Lisbon tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, accused of falsely claiming to be a

visionary. In response to the judges' questions, she confirmed that since childhood, she had experienced visions of mysterious "enchanted Moors" from a "Hidden Isle" (p. 116). The strange visitors brought her to the island, where she encountered figures such as the prophets Elijah and Enoch, St. John the Evangelist, and King Arthur. She also met Sebastian, Portugal's legendary king who had been lost in battle in Morocco in 1578 and whose supporters, known as *sebastianistas*, awaited his imminent return to restore Portugal to greatness. Sebastian's arrival in Lisbon, said Macedo, would be marked by "revolutions and punishments" (p. 68) and sunshine at night. He would bring "different laws, of which there will only be five, written by his hand and confirmed by Our Lord Jesus Christ" and would "reform the World, conquer the Moors and Turks, convert the heretics, put everything right, and, being the Hidden One, would go to the Holy House [of Jerusalem]" (pp. 68–69, 127). Sebastian would rule until his death at age 120, after which his son would rule until the coming of the Last Judgment.

In *Judging Maria de Macedo*, Bryan Givens explores Macedo's visions within their social, political, and intellectual contexts and examines the proceedings against her. He takes a microhistorical approach, unpacking the ideas embedded in her visionary experiences, tracing their roots, and comparing her cultural values to those of the inquisitors who judged her. He devotes special attention to a manuscript pamphlet of her visions that Macedo dictated to her husband. This unusual source, included in the trial record but created some fifteen years before her arrest, allows unusually direct access to Macedo's voice, unmediated by inquisitorial personnel. The translated pamphlet text appears in full within the text; a transcription of the Portuguese original is included in an index. Givens's reading of Macedo's ideas as expressed in the pamphlet and in her interrogation is careful and sensitive. Using small details as a means to opening up the cultural strands within her visions, he examines Macedo's folkloric and millenarian sources. Overall, his analysis is convincing, although there are places where a more expanded discussion of Macedo's cultural context could have lent greater nuance. The interventions of Macedo's husband in the redaction of the pamphlet and his defensive rhetorical strategies also deserve examination.

For the most part, Givens avoids a simplistic division between "popular" and "elite" religious belief and practice, preferring to speak of "cultural recycling" (p. 185)—the circulation, appropriation, and transformation of ideas among elites and non-elites. He sees Macedo as a member of the "middling sorts" (p. 3), receptive to cultural influences from above and below. Her judges, however, ascribed very different values to the ideas she cherished. Macedo was convicted not for the *sebastianista* content of her visions, but for falsely claiming to have had visions at all. Her visions seem to have curiously little overt political content. Instead, Givens's analysis grounds Macedo's visionary experience in her deep personal piety and her identity as a Catholic Christian. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the case of Maria de Macedo

is not her unusual visions but the very typicality of the views and values to which she adhered. This book will be of interest not just to readers interested in Sebastianism and millenarianism as well as in the workings of the various early-modern Inquisitions but also to those interested in the devotional life of the laity in the changing climate of Counter-Reformation Catholicism.

University of California, Davis A. KATIE HARRIS

By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe. By Anne Jacobson Schutte. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 285. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-4977-2.)

The *communis opinio* in literature and history says that since the Middle Ages many young women have been forced into a convent for various family reasons (most often with the intention of preserving the family's patrimony), where they would be compelled to live as if in prison. In Italian, the phenomenon is called "*monacazione forzata*" (henceforth MF), or "forced monasticization" in English. Anne Jacobson Schutte challenges this *opinio* with good arguments based on the petitions in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Council (SCC), which are in the Vatican Archives. By studying 978 petitions to the pope (almost half of them recorded without a decision) from all over the Roman Catholic world and spanning the period 1668 to 1793, she is able to show that MF "was not . . . predominantly a female problem," because 82.5 percent of the petitioners were men and that "sexual urges . . . did not constitute the main reason" for leaving a convent (p. 4). She insists that hers is not "a numbers-crunching book" (p. 13), although she presents much statistical material in chapter 9. Rather, she prefers the anthropological approach—what she calls "thinking with cases" (p. 13)—which she explains rather lengthily in chapter 1. The procedure before the SCC became rather expensive for the petitioners and could easily amount to more than 100 ducats, as Schutte demonstrates from a list of charges from 1694/95 (p. 103). Although the author denies it, undoing MF through the SCC became without doubt an upper-class phenomenon.

Hundreds of unwilling religious sent petitions to the pope long before the author's starting year of 1668. Schutte did not look into the registers of the Papal Penitentiary now accessible to researchers. Had she done so, she would have noticed that many of the types of MF cases she presents from the SCC documents were decided by this papal tribunal, normally without a lengthy procedure. Leaving a monastery for the secular priesthood, for example, became a quite frequent step for many male religious (especially those with a higher education) from the end of the fourteenth century, as petitions printed in the *Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum* (1995–) show. That premature profession was the simplest way for parents and other relatives to rid themselves of a child is widely confirmed by the Penitentiary supplications as well. "Vis et metus, qui potest cadere in constantem virum"

("Force and fear, which can affect a steadfast man")—the juridical maxim taken from the *Digest* (4.2.6) and repeated in the Decretals (X 1.40.4 and 4.1.15)—was the standard argument (*fiat in forma* "*Qui caderet in constantem*" [let it be done in the form "*Qui caderet in constantem*"]) for almost all religious who wanted to leave a monastery or a convent, men and women alike. The "steady man" plea was common (as John Noonan showed), but the formulary of the Penitentiary also uses "constantem mulierem" ("steadfast woman") or "constantem puellam" ("steadfast girl"; RPG IX, 1056 and 1920. "Vis et metus" also could be the vehicle to escape a forced marriage; see, for example, RPG VIII, 3272 and 3273). Procedure in the Penitentiary tended to be much cheaper than before the SCC; around 1500 the standard *taxa* amounted to 7 ducats. Schutte has succeeded in showing that the old opinion about the purposes of MF is not consistent, but one hopes that she might write another book on MF that extends from the later Middle Ages and uses the supplications to the Papal Penitentiary.

Rome, Italy LUDWIG SCHMUGGE

Beginning to Be a Jesuit: Instructions for the Paris Novitiate circa 1685. Edited and translated by Patricia Ranum. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2011. Pp. xii, 239. $29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-188081076-7; $36.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-188081075-0.)

The seventeenth century was a period of remarkable growth and influence for the Society of Jesus, and yet it also was a time of growing hostility to the Jesuits from various groups—Jansenists in particular. This book offers a close-up view not of Jesuits in tension with their opponents, but of how Jesuit recruits were trained in their first two years of religious life. Patricia Ranum translates a manuscript found in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, a manuscript that is a fascinating set of instructions dated *c.* 1685 for the Jesuit novitiate in Paris. On facing pages she includes the original French text and her English translation along with helpful explanatory footnotes.

The daily life of a Jesuit novice was prescribed in great detail, from rising at 4 a.m. on ordinary days to set times for such things as spiritual reading, physical exercise, examination of one's conscience, and bedtime at 9 p.m. There appears to have been as much emphasis on civility and good manners as on more specifically religious matters such as prayer. Thus incivility and bad manners—for example, the taking of salt with one's fingers—were to be rooted out with no small zeal. The fork, a relatively recent addition to table accoutrements in that era, appears in these instructions as a kind of civilizing instrument. But "excessive daintiness" (p. 111), as in removing the crust from one's bread, is condemned. At the same time, these instructions exhort novices not to think too much about food while at table; rather, they should eat in silence while listening to some historical or devotional text read aloud, or they should think about all the "wretched meals" (p. 115) that Jesus

ate in Nazareth and during his itinerant ministry. How French Jesuits know about Jesus in his alimentary and gustatory suffering remains unexplained. Do they think that the Virgin Mary was a bad cook? Rather than ask such questions, Jesuit novices are to pray the rosary daily and to wear it at the cincture, "so that everyone can see it" (p. 141). At recreation times, they are expected to engage in agreeable and edifying conversations with each other, as a "sort of apprenticeship and practice for . . . conversations with people outside" (p. 133).

Dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit novitiate prepared Jesuits not for an enclosed monastic life, but indeed for a life "outside" and in the world. The first of Jesuit missionaries, Xavier had gone to India and elsewhere in Asia, and died while seeking entrance to China. He and other saints are proposed to the novices as role models of "heroic virtues" (p. 95) and of endurance in the face of hardships. The instructions prescribe for novices the daily recitation of litanies of the saints and of the Holy Name of Jesus. Any novices inclined to complain about excessive heat or cold are exhorted to consider that uncomfortable extremes of weather are a penance sent by God for sin and that the Jesuit missionaries in Canada must accustom themselves to everything.

The only issue in an otherwise superlative translation is Ranum's use of "take" Communion for *communie* or *communier* (pp. 55, 67); "receive" Communion would seem more apt, at least for a Roman Catholic rendering of this French verb. But this is a small point, and Ranum's overall accomplishment is large. This book will be very useful to a broad range of scholars and students, including historians of French history, cultural historians, historians of daily life, and church historians.

College of the Holy Cross THOMAS WORCESTER, S.J.

Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain. By Susan Boynton. [Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxvi, 208. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-19-975459-5.)

In 1749 the ministers of the Spanish king, Ferdinand VI, set up the Royal Commission on Archives. This was one of many such bodies established directly by the Crown or at its instigation beginning during the final years of the murderous Spanish civil War of the Succession. They were commissions, committees, societies, and academies that brought together scholars, scientists, artists, engineers, amateur enthusiasts, and government officials. Whatever their particular tasks, their members engaged in research, observation, and analysis of the world around them; they explored nature, geographical space, culture, and the past; they produced studies, reports, works of art, and sometimes lasting and influential institutions; they helped enlarge the intellectual world of Spaniards of the mid- and late-eighteenth century. It

is this slowly expanding cultural world that Susan Boynton explores in her new book.

Of course, the kings' ministers and ordinary members of these bodies had complex and occasionally incompatible aims. Ferdinand VI's ministers wanted the Archives Commission to uncover documents that would help strengthen their hand in diplomatic dealings with the Roman Curia. This was at a time when Ferdinand's government and the ministers of Pope Benedict XIV were negotiating what turned out to be the transfer, defined in the Concordat of 1753, of vast Spanish ecclesiastical patronage from the Quirinale to Madrid.

Wisely keeping the diplomatic negotiations in the background, Boynton focuses on a few of the Commission's scholars. Her chief protagonists are the Jesuit scholar and educational reformer Andrés Marcos Burriel and his colleague, the highly skilled calligrapher and paleographer Francisco Xavier de Santiago y Palomares. Beginning in 1750, this pair, immersing themselves in the archives of Toledo cathedral, made major discoveries and provided important reinterpretations of Spain's Visigothic liturgical and more broadly cultural legacy.

Boynton is an award-winning historical musicologist who specializes in medieval Roman Catholic liturgy. Her study of the scholarship of Burriel and Palomares, however, takes its greatest value from the cultural and political context into which she plants it. She briefly but skillfully analyzes enlightened Spanish understanding of the nation's history. She demonstrates the bare survival of Visigothic liturgical traditions in the later Middle Ages and beyond. She shows us that one of Burriel's achievements was to underline the independence of Visigothic ecclesiastical culture—its autonomy from Roman influences—until the triumph of Cluniac and Gregorian reform in the late-eleventh century combined with Castilian political docility. The Roman liturgy, by papal order, replaced the ancient Visigothic one almost everywhere. The latter was permitted to survive in just a handful of ancient Toledan parishes where the so-called Mozarabic rite could then still be found. This was the Visigothic liturgy practiced for many generations by Arabized Spaniards living in Islamic principalities. The historical lesson, served up by Burriel, of a successful Roman assault on "Spanish" institutions would have constituted a powerful warning to many Spanish thinkers, already suspicious and resentful of papal prerogatives in the mid-eighteenth century.

As a musicologist, Boynton is perhaps most enthusiastic in her discussion of the notational systems that accompanied these and later manuscripts—including the Toledo codex of some of the famous *Cantigas de Santa Maria*—400 or so songs celebrating the Virgin Mary composed in the later thirteenth century under the aegis of the great scholar-king Alfonso X of Castile. Both Burriel and Palomares took enormous care to study and reproduce the ancient neumes they found in the liturgical and other documents.

They sought out scholars and musicians who might help them interpret the notes, without success—even at a court as musically sophisticated as that of Ferdinand and his queen, Barbara of Braganza. Presumably the queen's friend and music teacher for three decades, Domenico Scarlatti, also was of no help.

Boynton will never be able to make this silent music sing for us, and neither she nor other scholars can convey precisely what we have lost. She has, however, given us a very fine analysis of the Spanish cultural worlds of the late-eleventh and mid-eighteenth centuries—times when papal politicians first smashed and Spanish scholars much later tried to preserve and understand the ecclesiastical culture of a long-lost Visigothic world.

New York University in London CHARLES C. NOEL

Vertheidigung der katholischen Religion. Sammt einem Anhange von der Möglichkeit einer Vereinigung zwischen unserer, und der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (1789). By Beda Mayr. Edited and introduced by Ulrich L. Lehner. [Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, Vol. 171; Brill's Texts and Sources in Intellectual History, Vol. 5.] (Leiden: Brill. 2009. Pp. xc, 354. $149.00. ISBN 978-90-04-17318-7.)

The German church historian Ulrich Lehner, an associate professor at Marquette University, is a scholar of the Catholic Enlightenment. He is to be congratulated on his edition of Beda Mayr's work *Defense of Catholic Religion*. Mayr (1742–94), who became a Benedictine in 1762, was a professor of philosophy and an intellectual who searched for a way to reunify the divided Christian denominations. In 1778 he wrote *Der erste Schritt zur künftigen Vereinigung der katholischen und der evangelischen Kirche* (*The First Step toward Future Reunification between the Catholic and Protestant Churches*). Five years after the work was published, it was placed on the Roman Index of Forbidden Books. The *Defense of Catholic Religion* (1789) was the third volume in Mayr's *Defense of Natural, Christian, and Catholic Religion* (consisting of three volumes published in four parts). It is this part of Mayr's main work that Lehner edits in this volume.

Lehner presents the unabridged text in the original German language and the orthography of the late-eighteenth century, with Mayr's footnotes (350 pages). He adds an introduction (sixty-six pages), a list of Mayr's works, a bibliography (eleven pages), and a combined index for Mayr's work and his own text. Lehner comments on the Catholic Enlightenment and monastic erudition in general and discusses the reasons for the lack of acknowledgment of Mayr's contributions:

> The reason that Mayr never achieved the fame of Febronius or others is connected to the late publication of his main work, more specifically the second and third volume, in the year the French Revolution started. The events in France finally crushed the German Church. (p. xiv)

He discusses monastic enlightenment and ecumenism as well as the influence of Christian Wolff and Immanuel Kant. He also provides an overview of the life and work of Mayr and a special survey of Mayr's work on the *Defense of Natural, Christian, and Catholic Religion*; examines the ecumenical desire; and discusses the reception of and the resistance to Mayr's work. It is interesting that the famous prince-abbot Martin II Gerbert, O.S.B., of St. Blasien felt that Mayr's *First Step* book failed, especially in its criticism of infallibility (p. xxxiii). Infallibility was, in Mayr's view, the most important obstacle to reunification. Lehner examines this topic in the context of eighteenth-century discussions as well as discusses the beginning of historical-critical scholarship (Jean Mabillon and others) and its influence on Mayr. Finally, he notes Mayr's compromises in dogmatics designed to obtain reunification: "All teachings that are accepted only by Catholics" do not "necessarily belong to the order of salvation"; "the church does not force these teachings on Protestants as directly revealed teachings"; "if the teachings are only speculative character, the Protestants should have a free choice to believe them"; "even if the Protestants do not accept these doctrines and do not exercise the actions which are connected with them, they cannot be called heretics" (p. lxxi). For example, Mayr's view of the sacraments seems designed to effect reconciliation:

> When, for example, the Council of Trent declared the Seven Sacraments to be directly instituted by Christ, whereas Protestants accept only baptism and Eucharist as sacraments because of their biblical foundation, Catholicism could regard the latter two as directly revealed teaching, the other five as indirectly revealed through Christ in the Church. (p. lxiv)

Mayr himself expressed doubt (p. 10): "Eine baldige Vereinigung erwarte ich aber gar nicht. Daran ist noch sehr lange nicht zu gedenken. Die politischen Hindernisse einer Vereinigung sind noch viel zu gross. Und diese können alle Theologen zusammen nicht heben" ("I, however, do not await a speedy unification. It is premature to consider it. The political obstacles to unification are still too great. And all the theologians together cannot remove these").

University of Cologne, Germany,
and University of Fribourg, Switzerland HARM KLUETING

Late Modern European

The Latin Clerk: The Life, Work, and Travels of Adrian Fortescue. By Aidan Nichols, O.P. (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press. 2011. Pp. 308. $50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-07188-9274-6.)

Adrian Fortescue (1874–1923), a priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster, was a defining figure in English Catholicism. A prolific author and speaker, Fortescue's writings on liturgy and Eastern Christianity helped to shape

public perceptions of both subjects. Aidan Nichols's biography, *The Latin Clerk: The Life, Work, and Travels of Adrian Fortescue,* provides a glimpse into the innermost life of the man as well as his scholarship. It details Fortescue's achievements as a liturgist, orientalist, historian, and pastor.

The book starts by chronicling Fortescue's formative years, with an emphasis on those events that molded his outlook. It tells of his father, prominent Anglican clergyman Edward Bowles Knottesford Fortescue, who made the difficult decision to convert to Roman Catholicism before Adrian's birth, and how this choice affected the future of his family. Forever conscious of his status as a member of England's Catholic minority, Fortescue sought to defend his faith against Anglican critics. As a result, he became renowned as an apologist for the Catholic faith and a defender of the papacy.

The focus then shifts to Fortescue's preoccupation with Eastern Christianity. As a young man, Fortescue was greatly influenced by Greek Catholic monks in Grottaferrata, Italy. He was so captivated by the beauty of their liturgy and spirituality that he decided to dedicate himself to studying the Christian East. This led Fortescue to disguise himself as an Arab and to travel extensively throughout the Levant. During his adventures, he became familiar with the ancient churches of that region and occasionally defended himself from robbers in shootouts.

Nichols's book presents an overview of Fortescue's writings on Eastern Christianity and highlights recurring themes found within them. It paints Fortescue as an ecumenical pioneer who, despite occasional polemics, worked to build understanding and unity between Western and Eastern Christians. It also touches on his unfulfilled desire to transfer to the Melkite Church.

Fortescue's liturgical scholarship also is explored in detail. Among English-speaking Catholics, Fortescue was primarily known as an expert on ritual and rubrics. It is ironic that he loathed addressing these subjects. Nichols lays out the theological reasoning behind Fortescue's liturgical perspective as well as his practices as a pastor.

The most fascinating aspect of this biography is how it chronicles Fortescue's emotional turmoil during Pius X's antimodernist crusade. It provides a portrait of a dark time in Catholic history, during which theologically orthodox priests such as Fortescue fell under suspicion simply for being too intellectual. It was painful for Fortescue, who had defended the papacy so vigorously, to watch the See of Peter become a perpetrator of indiscriminate oppression. Fortescue was so disturbed by Pius's actions that he contemplated leaving the priesthood.

This biography is both enlightening and entertaining. It illuminates Fortescue's key insights, many of which remain just as true today as they were

during his lifetime. But it also paints a vivid picture of Fortescue and his greatness. From reading Nichols's book, it becomes clear that Fortescue was a brilliant, eccentric, and colorful character. The account of his battle with cancer and premature death is surprisingly moving. Overall, *The Latin Clerk* does an impressive job of capturing both the essence of the man and a particular epoch in Catholic history.

Mount Aloysius College ANTHONY DRAGANI

Cattolici a sinistra. Dal modernismo ai giorni nostri. By Daniela Saresella. [Quadrante Laterza, 178.] (Rome/Bari: Editori Laterza. 2011. Pp. x, 285. €22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-420-9785-3).

Italian Catholics who identify with the political Left have had a difficult time of it over the past century, a dilemma that Daniela Saresella chronicles in her even-handed and well-researched work, *Cattolici a sinistra. Dal modernismo ai giorni nostri*. A professor of contemporary history at the University of Milan, Saresella has emerged over the past decade or so in the top rank of scholars of modern Italian Catholicism.

Cattolici a sinistra begins at the start of the twentieth century with Pope Pius X's crackdown on the modernist controversy that, in Italy, was identified with activists such as Romolo Murri and Ernesto Buonaiuti. The two urged Catholics to involve themselves in politics, although such a move deeply troubled the pontiff. The ascent of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist government after World War I, however, changed the playing field, and—despite misgivings from Pius XI—the new situation prompted more and more of the faithful to engage, some in favor of the regime and some in hostility to it. This opposition inevitably led to contacts and then, during World War II, to antifascist alliances with Marxism. Some of these alliances were so strong that, toward the end of the war, certain groups, most famously some from Roman high schools (*licei*), began to coalesce as Christian Communists. The Holy See quickly squelched these attempts, and in 1949 the Holy Office issued its famous *Responsa ad dubia de communismo* that prohibited any Catholic allegiance to communism. Nonetheless, Catholic-Marxist dialogue continued with well-meaning men and women on both sides, their hopes cresting (and crashing) with the "opening to the left" in the 1960s and the failed "historic compromise" in the 1970s.

Saresella extends her investigation through the 1990s and into the twenty-first century when the collapse of the Marxist Left and of Christian Democracy (the D.C.) as well as the rise of Silvio Berlusconi, added more twists to the story. The emergence of what became known as the Democratic Party facilitated the journey for many Catholics on the Left. As the former communists and socialists reformed through the 1990s and tried to shake their Marxist pasts, they changed their identity and name more than once

until the ex-Christian Democrat Romano Prodi surfaced in 2007, perhaps ironically, as their leader, the head of the Democrats.

While benefiting from Saresella's clear and scholarly arguments, the reader might question modernism's role in the history of the Catholic Left. Some, like Buonauiti, could easily be read as figures on the Left, whereas others—particularly Murri—ended up flirting with Mussolini's regime. By the Left, furthermore, Saresella focuses mostly on Marxism, although, as she indicates, until Catholics and Marxists (or some of them) forged their antifascist alliance—that is, long after the modernist controversy—ties between them were scarce. Indeed, she proposes that a true Left Catholicism did not exist before Fascism made it necessary. In a sense such questions enhance this book, which succeeds quite well in provoking thought.

Leading a 2011 student trip to Italy, this reviewer encountered many of the issues raised in *Cattolici a sinistra*. The students enjoyed a discussion with members of a Democratic Party branch in Rome. Ex-communists constituted one group of Democrats, whereas others came from among the old D.C.—a mix that triggered a lively debate on the "essence," and the Catholic role, of the new party. It was evident that the ideas found in Saresella's fine study are still very much alive.

University of Scranton ROY DOMENICO

El clero en la Segunda República: Madrid, 1931–1936. By José Luis González Gullón. (Burgos: Monte Carmelo. 2011. Pp. 483. €19,23 paperback. ISBN 978-84-8353-356-7.)

This ambitious work on the clergy in the Diocese of Madrid during the Second Republic provides a rare study of the clerical rank and file in a period of political upheaval and intense popular and official anticlericalism. Between 1931 and 1933 the new republic ended historic ties between church and state, suppressed the Society of Jesus, curtailed the role of the Catholic Church in education, and introduced a variety of measures designed to convert Spain from a confessional to a secular state. The 1933 general elections gave the Church a limited respite from such policies, a situation that changed dramatically for the worst following the Popular Front electoral triumph in February 1936. This study is based on extensive archival sources—particularly those of the Madrid diocese—and a wide range of supplementary materials, personal letters, diaries, and clerical publications. It provides a convincing account of how the secular and regular clergy responded to the twists and turns of official policies with respect to the Church during these years. Although vaguely sympathetic to the monarchy, the clergy followed papal and episcopal instructions to accept the Republic following its proclamation in April 1931. This cautious optimism soon gave way to apprehension in view of the regime's secularizing polices and the wave of church

burnings that swept through Madrid in early May 1931. These fears never dissipated during the Republic's short history. Indeed, they deepened following the assassination of thirty-four priests and religious in Asturias during an attempted rising against the conservative ministry then in power and resurfaced with a vengeance following the Popular Front electoral victory that brought with it a revival of official anticlericalism and popular violence against Church and clergy.

The discussion of clerical reactions to the Republic is sound. It confirms in abundant detail prevailing interpretations among historians. But the greater part of the study focuses on subjects that will be of greater interest to those interested in the role of the Church and its clergy during this conflictive time. The author discusses the complex organization of the diocese, clerical demography, and what might be termed *pastoral sociology* to draw a grassroots picture of the clergy unmatched by any other study. He focuses on the approximately 700 members of the diocesan clergy, although recognizing the educational and pastoral role of the religious orders.

The administration of the diocese rested with Bishop Leopoldo Eijo y Garay, appointed in 1923. The bishop ran a tight administrative ship, but maintained close contacts with his priests. He proved adept at fund-raising efforts needed to compensate for the massive reduction of the subsidy traditionally provided by the state until the Republic. Although later a fervent supporter of General Francisco Franco, he adopted a prudent stance in reaction to government policy. On one occasion, for example, he resisted pressure from right-wing Catholic politicians and the Holy See itself to take action against a republican priest who had won election to parliament as a deputy of a strongly anticlerical party. He also was aware of the need to promote the pastoral and cultural energy of his priests through the organization of conferences and spiritual exercises.

Eijo was generally satisfied with the quality and commitment of the diocesan clergy. But he also recognized that serious structural problems obstructed effective pastoral work. None was more important than the imbalance between the well-staffed parishes of the city's historic core and the inadequate number and staffing of parishes serving the working-class suburbs where an ever growing population lived in desperate conditions. Efforts to remedy the situation were largely unsuccessful both for financial reasons and the unwillingness of priests to accept appointments to areas where anticlerical currents ran deep.

There were other problems. For centuries, Madrid, even before becoming a diocese in 1885, experienced a constant flow of priests from other dioceses seeking to improve their lot by obtaining positions in the city's numerous religious and charitable foundations. Although the bishop tried to control the situation through a rigorous system of canonical licenses, there were

still approximately 400 priests from other dioceses living in the city during this period. The parish clergy was, moreover, an older clergy with an average age of 51.8 in 1931 versus 29.1 for the population as a whole, whereas 92 percent were not natives of Madrid in contrast to 68.6 percent for the general population.

It is evident from this study that the Church in Madrid managed to survive the Republic reasonably well. To be sure, a decline in baptisms and religious funerals took place, but a substantial majority of the population continued to observe these rites of passage. Parish priests were paid a decent salary in spite of the massive reduction in the government subsidy, although parish assistants and priests in rural areas did not do as well. Even in education, the Church managed through legal stratagems to keep schools functioning in spite of the draconian 1933 law forbidding teaching by the religious orders. The elections of February 1936 opened, however, a new and more dangerous phase for the Church and clergy in Madrid.

The author also provides extensive discussion of Catholic associational activity during the Republic, including lay groups such as Acción Católica and the Catholic press. There is occasional repetition of some themes, but, on balance, this is a well-researched and comprehensive study of a diocese and its clergy.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

American

A Cry for Justice: Daniel Rudd and His Life in Black Catholicism, Journalism, and Activism, 1854–1933. By Gary B. Agee. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 237. $39.95. ISBN 978-1-55728-975-9.)

This biography of Daniel A. Rudd, an Afro-American Catholic who rose from slavery to become an important figure in nineteenth-century Catholicism, is based on a doctoral dissertation that Gary B. Agee completed for the University of Dayton, and it reads as such. As the author acknowledges, it builds on earlier scholarship of Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., and others.

Agee calls attention to material in the *American Catholic Tribune*, the journal edited and published by Rudd, that has not been discussed in print. Among this material are comments on employment opportunities for blacks and the emergence of the "New Woman." In addition, he fills in some details about Rudd's life from the demise of the newspaper to his work on the biography of Scott Bond, a wealthy black Arkansas farmer and merchant. The picture of Rudd is enriched as we see him described as an inventor, businessman, lumber mill manager, accountant, and teacher, as well as a writer, political activist, and publisher. Finally, Agee records Rudd's participation as a speaker

in a Cleveland meeting of the NAACP in 1919 and notes his good relationship with Bishop John B. Morris of Little Rock. On the other hand, he does not indicate that some who were initially close to Rudd found him contentious.

The words *conceivable*, *plausible*, and *perhaps* occur throughout the text. Sometimes the conjectures seem fair, but they are educated guesses. Others seem less than plausible. For example, on the basis of the fact that Elizabeth Rudd and her children were listed as mulatto, he suggests that she or her mother may have been victims of sexual violence (p. 8). There is no indication in anything that Rudd ever wrote that such may be the case. In commenting on the marriage of Elizabeth and Robert Rudd, he mentions that legally the master could dissolve a marriage, but he does not qualify the statement by noting that a sacramental marriage could not be dissolved in the eyes of the Church. Throughout the work there are issues like this one that need more nuance. At the same time, it seems that material extraneous to the main topic is sometimes introduced. For example, Agee devotes a chapter to Archbishop John Ireland. Clearly, Ireland was a great champion of African Americans, and Rudd admired and quoted his words. But a chapter is not necessary to make the point.

In some things Agee is simply wrong. For example, he writes ". . . Rudd appears to have been the initiator of the interracial lay Catholic congress movement" (pp. xiiii–xiv). As a matter of fact, Henry F. Brownson made the suggestion for the Lay Catholic Congress, and Cardinal James Gibbons eventually accepted. Rudd was invited to be a member of the Committee on Organization by William Onaham, its chair. By the time of the second congress (1893), Rudd had lost favor with the committee.

In several places Agee speaks of romantic Catholicism in a somewhat pejorative manner. Agee describes the position as holding that "in the Incarnation, the divine nature elevated all of human nature by being united in a single person, Christ. As a result of the Incarnation, a new principle promising to bring progress to society had been released in history" (p. 47). Although not quite accurately stated, it seems that that is precisely what Catholics believe today: that through the presence of Christ in the Incarnation, creation has been renewed, and through incorporation into the body of Christ, the Church is called to work at the creation of a "civilization of love," which includes racial equality and harmony. Catholics do believe that the Catholic Church through the ages has been "a transnational institution with a universal and diverse membership of people drawn from all races" (p. 45) and that Catholic Christianity has been a civilizing influence in the world. If that is what Rudd held, and this reviewer believes he did, then he believed what Catholic teaching holds today.

Finally, Agee poses the thesis that the development of Rudd's concept of justice "passed through three identifiable stages" (p. xv): first, an integrationist phase characteristic of his time in Springfield, OH; second, a vision of racial

justice accomplished through the agency of the Catholic Church evident in the *American Catholic Tribune*; and third, an abandonment of his hope in Catholicism for racial justice and appropriation of an "accommodating, self-help approach for racial uplift" (p. xv), like that of Booker T. Washington, clear in his biography of Scott W. Bond.

The thesis is not proved. First, what is called the integrationist phase is clearly evident in issues of the *American Catholic Tribune*. Second, Agee himself remarks that it would not have been acceptable for Rudd to introduce Catholicism into the biography on Bond. Third, he also indicates how integrationist claims are found in the biography. Fourth, during the newspaper period Rudd incorporated a "Washington" style, highlighting successful African Americans as models of aspiration, managing a school for printing for African Americans in conjunction with the *Tribune*, and supporting the Black Catholic Congress's call for a great increase of industrial schools. Lastly, as Agee recognizes, it is difficult to distinguish between Rudd's thoughts and those of Bond.

Rudd was a pragmatist with convictions, dedicated to the advancement of African Americans, the cause of racial justice, and the mission of Catholicism. Depending on the circumstances, he used whatever means he could to achieve his goals.

Chaminade University JOSEPH LACKNER, S.M.
Honolulu, HI

Closing Chapters: Urban Change, Religious Reform, and the Decline of Youngstown's Catholic Elementary Schools, 1960–2006. By Thomas G. Welsh. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield. 2012. Pp. ix, 321. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-6594-2.)

That Catholic parochial education in the United States is in decline is self-evident from a statistical profile. In the middle of the 1960s, when these institutions were at their zenith, there were 4.5 million students enrolled in more than 10,000 Catholic schools. By 2012, the number of students in such institutions had dropped to a little more than 2 million in fewer than 7000 schools. Much of the decline has taken place in the heart of urban American Catholicism—the big cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. In this important new book, Thomas G. Welsh provides something of a "morbidity and mortality" report on the decline as it played out in the Diocese of Youngstown.

It will come as no surprise to scholars of American Catholicism that *Closing Chapters* began as a doctoral dissertation. As a resident of Youngstown, Welsh chose to study what he knew—the schools that had educated him during his formative years. *Closing Chapters* is not a memoir, however, but rather a serious scholarly effort to understand why such an important Catholic social institution has collapsed in little more than a generation.

Welsh has traced the decline of parish schools in Youngstown and by inference across the nation to the dissolution of a distinct American Catholic identity in the years after the Second Vatican Council. Once a robust and distinct minority living in homogeneous neighborhoods, American Catholics began something of a transformation in the years after World War II, a transformation that accelerated in the 1960s. They left their traditional neighborhoods and parishes for the suburbs and did not look back. A major casualty of this exodus was the parish school.

Welsh traces this transformation through seven chapters that articulate the social and demographic changes in Youngstown over the last half of the century. Each chapter provides a distinct element to the tragedy. Of particular interest to scholars of urban Catholic education will be the fourth and fifth chapters, which trace the flight of Youngstown's working-class Catholic population from the city center to other parts of the diocese or to other cities altogether. Neighborhoods once teeming with Catholics became African American who were not generally Catholic and lacked the resources to support private schools.

There were other contributors to the decline of these schools, of course. Welsh touches on the sharp drop in religious vocations, the slide in charitable giving to support parish activities, and the internecine conflict between liberals and conservatives over the future direction of the American Church. "This book shows," Welsh notes at the end of the introduction, "that a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of declining urban parish schools can be obtained by examining the ways in which urban change intersected with rising levels of disharmony within the American Catholic community" (p. 16).

Closing Chapters is a powerful scholarly analysis of the negative consequences of social and demographic change. As Catholics became less apprehensive about their place in American society, the case for a separate school system seemed less compelling. Welsh's book is something of a challenge to other scholars to study the unique and specific contours of the decline of Catholic education in other dioceses over the past half century.

Hoover Presidential Library (Emeritus) TIMOTHY WALCH

Latin American

Maya Christians and Their Churches in Sixteenth-Century Belize. By Elizabeth Graham. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2011. Pp. xx, 436. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-8130-3666-3.)

This study in historical archaeology uses ethnohistory, anthropology, religious studies, and church history to reinterpret the religious experience of the Maya in sixteenth-century Belize. The Spaniards maintained loose control over the region, which meant that the people were not subject to the

same level of forced cultural change as experienced elsewhere in Mesoamerica. Graham argues that the Maya in Belize accepted Christianity on their own terms and remained Christian even though their contact with priests was sporadic.

To the author's credit, the book makes a serious attempt to address anthropological theory, which is sometimes underutilized in historical archaeology. She also breaks with the traditional effort to achieve complete objectivity by revealing that her understanding of Christianity is affected by her own experience as a youth growing up Catholic in an Italian-American parish in New Jersey.

Because of her childhood religious experience, Graham reaches the conclusion that one does not have to know much about Christianity to be a Christian. After all, the people in her parish seemed to be more interested in collecting holy cards and in the cult of the saints than in understanding the significance of Christ. This allows her to define Christianity so broadly that it leaves out Christ altogether; if one claims to be a Christian, then that is what one is, regardless of what one believes. A Christ-centered Catholicism, in Graham's opinion, is a theology of bishops and priests (p. 102). She apparently believes that the adults in her childhood parish were clueless about the centrality of Christ to their religion. Given the importance of Lent and Holy Week in American Catholicism, it is hard to give this credence.

The author's broad definition of Christianity allows her to argue a thesis that many scholars would have difficulty accepting. The core of her research is presented in a fifty-page summary of her archaeological work. This reveals that sixteenth-century Maya burials at the sites of Tipú and Lamanai were usually arranged in a Christian manner—head to the west—and that church buildings were in use even in the absence of Catholic priests. Some of those rituals carried out, however, were of pre-Christian origin. Graham somehow thinks this supports her basic thesis that the Maya considered themselves to be Christians. The opposite would seem to be indicated. The author's insistence that "if the Tipú Maya buried their dead according to Christian rules" then "there is no necessary reason . . . to question their adherence to Christianity" (p. 18) ignores other possible explanations that question that conclusion. Graham also undermines her thesis regarding the differences between areas of strong and weak Spanish control by pointing out that many of the people living in Belize (weakly controlled) were originally from northern Yucatan (strongly controlled).

The chapters not based on archaeology consist of theoretical exposition, historical summaries of European church history, demonology, and ethnohistory, based on secondary sources, especially in the case of Belize on the work of Grant Jones. As a historian, this reviewer has to question the value of lengthy summaries of other people's work. Her admitted failure to find the

term *Belize* in Spanish sources (p. 110) suggests that she should have talked to some historians from Yucatan or looked at the façade of the church of Santa Ana in Mérida.

Graham may be correct in arguing that the Maya in sixteenth-century Belize were Christians. However, the evidence supports only an "anything goes" interpretation of Christianity. It does not even prove that the Maya claimed to be Christian.

University of California, Riverside ROBERT W. PATCH

The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524–1550. By Ida Altman. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 340. $28.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8263-4493-9.)

Ida Altman's book on the early military subjugation of central-western Mexico takes a cue from recent histories of the conquest, which emphasize the participation and perspectives of indigenous peoples. Altman's work, however, is far from celebratory. She grimly details violence and dislocation, and the surprisingly immediate resistance of New Galicia's population. In this, Altman's work is both traditional and a needed reminder of the heavy cost of encounter with Europeans for many Mesoamericans.

The victims were not only the residents of New Galicia (encompassing the modern Mexican states of Nayarit, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, and Jalisco) but also the Spaniards' mostly Nahua allies from central Mexico. Thousands campaigned with Nuño de Guzmán from 1527 to 1537. In contrast with the respect usually bestowed upon them, the Mesoamerican warriors who accompanied Guzmán were considered slaves, and few survived. So poor was their lot that even the locals whose lands they were invading at times took pity on them, going so far as to offer some of them asylum.

Once they had a foothold in the region, the Spanish provoked deep resentments from a population unused to the demands of imperial rule. Altman spends two full chapters on early Spanish settlement in the region, complicated political intrigues, and abuses of the native population. The violence culminated in a co-ordinated regional uprising in 1540 that very nearly threw the Spanish out. Altman draws a sharp distinction between the leadership style of Guzmán and his cohorts and that of the new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, who curried favor with his allies and succeeded in putting down the uprising. Again, however, Altman's emphasis remains the human costs of this second period of war.

One of Altman's most notable findings is the quick, absolute rejection of Christianity by many of the western peoples. This contrasts with the conversion of central Mexico's Nahua nobility, who would point to their acceptance of the foreigners' religion as proof of their loyalty to the Crown and higher

status amongst colonial-era Indians. Anti-Christian millenarianism, says Altman, contributed to what many still expect from this period of history: that is, interethnic indigenous solidarity against the Europeans.

In the end, however, resistance was futile. A final chapter charts the "transformation of Nueva Galicia" into a thriving colonial mining region whose first inhabitants were permanently displaced by newcomers—not only Spaniards but also Africans and immigrant Mesoamericans. The book's final sentence is elegiac, paying homage to the original founders of towns such as Juchipila, Tonala, and Xalisco, who "survive only in memory" (p. 344).

Although Altman attempts to keep western Mexico's native peoples front and center, the nature of her material as well as her own considerable skill at tracking down the careers of individual sixteenth-century Spaniards sometimes shifts the emphasis back to Europeans. Nonetheless, Altman is to be commended for her judicious consideration of the archaeology of the region and her use of Mesoamerican pictorial documents, in addition to the painstaking work of combing through sixteenth-century judicial cases for the occasional Mesoamerican witness. *The War for Mexico's West* is a thorough recounting of a devastating period of loss in what would become the heart of Mexico's mining economy.

Marquette University LAURA E. MATTHEW

African

Pedro Páez's History of Ethiopia*, 1622*. Edited by Isabel Boavida, Hervé Pennec, and Manuel João Ramos. Translated by Christopher J. Tribe. 2 vols. [Hakluyt Society: Series III, Nos. 23 and 24.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing for the Hakluyt Society. 2011. Pp. xxiii, 501; ix, 429. $195.00 the set. ISBN 978-1-908145-00-0; 978-1-908145-01-7.)

The publication of Pedro Páez's *History of Ethiopia* makes available a most valuable text for an understanding of the history of Ethiopia and of European missionary activity there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It offers a firsthand account of the first two decades of the seventeenth century, an unusually turbulent period in Ethiopian history. The state had shrunk in territory, faced the continuing challenge of inroads from the Oromo people, and experienced the threat of nobles rebelling against its monarchical institutions. Under the influence of Jesuit missionaries, Páez foremost among them, its rulers adopted the Catholic faith and institutions.

Páez had arrived in Ethiopia in 1603 and was soon summoned to the court of King ZäDengel (r. 1603–04), who expressed an interest in Catholicism. ZäDengel's eventual successor, Susenyos (r. 1607–32), went beyond this to support and protect the missionaries. In 1617 Susenyos faced a major rebel-

lion motivated by opposition to his pro-Catholic leanings, during which *Abunä* Simon, the metropolitan and champion of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, died. In 1621 Susenyos formally declared Catholicism as the state religion. This declaration precipitated civil war, which led, in 1632, to a restoration of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries. Although Páez received positive press, which compares favorably his ostensible flexibility and pragmatism with the intransigence of his successor, Alfonso Mendes, his *History* makes clear that Páez viewed the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as deeply in error. He condemned its rejection of the Council of Chalcedon's Christology and a host of its practices, which included observation of the Sabbath and circumcision.

Páez's *History* is one of the most important firsthand accounts of Ethiopia written by a European observer. It was composed over a seven-year period, which ended with the author's death in 1622. Its point of departure was a refutation of Friar Luis de Urreta's *Historia eclesiástica, política, natural y moral, de los grandes y remotoes Reynos de la Etiopia* (1610–11). Urreta's book was an ill-founded Dominican attempt to discredit the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia (1555–1632). Its polemical tone must have contributed to the Jesuit Order's decision to leave Páez's text unpublished until the twentieth century, although the order encouraged other Jesuits such as Manuel de Almeida and Balthazar Tellez to plunder the manuscript for their own apologetic histories[1] of the order's activities in Ethiopia.

Aside from its polemical framing, Páez's *History* reflects the conventions of its period and includes informed accounts of Ethiopian geography, customs, religious life and belief as well as history as understood today. It rests on an extraordinary range of sources—earlier accounts by Portuguese and Jesuit authors and Ethiopian texts, both cited extensively, some in recensions now lost—and the author's own observations, which drew on his wide travels in the country and his frequent, extended visits to the Ethiopian royal court.

The translation, which reads well, is based on a critically reconstituted Portuguese text published in 2008. It is richly illustrated with contemporary prints plus a few modern maps and photographs of the ruins of Jesuit-era buildings—a church and a castle. The editors have assigned much of their commentary to an extended introduction and a glossary. The latter is a partial success at best and contains a number of errors. The Oromo are described as "mostly nomadic pastoralists" and ethnically as "Nilotic," whereas the great majority are settled farmers of Kushitic descent (p. 375). It is not clear that "*bahrey*," one of the key terms in the Jesuit-Orthodox dialogue concerning

[1]C. F. Beckingham and G.W. B. Huntingford, eds. and trans., *Some Records of Ethiopia Being Extracts from the* History of High Ethiopia or Abassinia, *by Manoel de Almeida, Together with Bahrey's* History of the Galla (London, 1954); Balthazar Tellez, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (London, 1710).

the Nature of Christ, is accurately rendered as "breath." The name of Susenyos's queen, an active supporter of Ethiopian Orthodoxy, is misrendered as Wäldä Sä'ala (a masculine form meaning "Son of the Image") instead of Wäld Sä'ala (a feminine form meaning "Image of the Son"). Although these irritants may mislead some readers, they do not detract from the great value of the text itself, which at long last is available to English readers. Once again, the Hakluyt Society has placed students of Ethiopia deeply in its debt.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Emeritus) DONALD CRUMMEY

Far Eastern

China's Saints: Catholic Martyrdom during the Qing (1644–1911). By Anthony E. Clark. [Studies in Missionaries and Christianity in China Series.] (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 270. $75.00. ISBN 978-1-61146-016-2.)

China's Saints is an original and insightful study that examines the transmission and appropriation of martyrologies within the Catholic Church. These martyrologies are very moving from the start, and they are as much concerned about what happened to the martyrs as about the violent world in which they lived. The martyrs came from diverse backgrounds, including the missionaries and converts who were executed by the imperial officials in the eighteenth century, and many innocent church members who were trapped and killed in the chaos of the Boxer Uprising.

This book has contributed to our understanding of Chinese Christianity at several levels. Thematically, Anthony E. Clark builds on the latest studies of Catholic movements by Henrietta Harrison, Lars Peter Laamann, Paul Mariani, Eugenio Menegon, and R. G. Tiedemann to discuss the dialectical relationships between faith and politics as well as between history and memory in the Church. Using martyrdom as an analytical tool, Clark reinterprets the indigenization of Catholicism, the frequent outbreaks of church-state conflicts, and the Catholics' responses to state persecution. His findings throw light on the production and reception of the martyrologies, and the transformation of Christianity from a heavily persecuted religion into a fast-growing spiritual movement today.

Furthermore, the martyrologies reveal an intrinsic linkage between conversion and identity formation among Chinese Catholics. These accounts appear to be hagiographical and problematic on first sight, portraying the martyrs as moral exemplars who refused to compromise with the anti-Christian officials and sacrificed themselves for the faith. The act of defiance displayed their absolute obedience to God rather than to the Confucian emperor. This image of a victorious enthronement and vindication over the imperial rulers represented the triumph of the soul over the flesh and estab-

lished that martyrdom, as part of the imitation of Christ's Passion, was obligatory and fundamental to Christianity. This theological understanding inspired many believers to overcome their fear of death and to uphold the faith in times of persecution.

In addition, the martyrologies constitute a larger project of religious memory production within the Chinese Church. According to Elizabeth A. Castelli, the brutal violence of religious persecution and its suffering must be infused with new meanings in order for martyrdom to work. Therefore, the contest over whose sense of justice and whose side of the story would prevail lies at the center of discussion.[1] Although the Church presents the martyrologies as spiritual commentaries in line with the exhortation of Christ, the way of reading martyrdom is contingent upon the changing circumstances around us. As the issue of Sino-Vatican relations has become highly contentious in recent years, the pro-Vatican Catholics in Hong Kong and mainland China turn to the history of martyrdom for guidance. Every year, the Church celebrates the feast of the Chinese martyrs on July 9. While commemorating the saints and reflecting on their sacrifices, Catholics see martyrdom as a living experience that continues to inspire them for spiritual growth and social action.

In short, Clark tells the stories of martyrs with great clarity and emotion, making them easily accessible to readers. When reading *China's Saints*, it is hard not to sympathize with these courageous individuals. Its engaging style and readability should appeal to everyone.

Pace University, New York JOSEPH TSE-HEI LEE

[1]Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York, 2004), p. 34.

BRIEF NOTICES

Millet, Hélène, and Claudia Rabel. *La Vierge au manteau du Puy-en-Velay. Un chef-d'œuvre du gothique international (vers 1400–1410)*. With a Contribution by Bruno Mottin. (Lyon: Fage éditions. 2011. Pp. 188. €29,50 paperback. ISBN 978-2-84975-228-9.)

The subject of this well-written study is a rare painting on canvas from the early-fifteenth century, discovered in 1850 in the church of Saint-Pierre-des-Carmes in Le Puy-en-Velay, and now preserved in the local Musée Crozatier. It shows the so-called Virgin of Mercy—that is, a representation of the Virgin with a group of people (in this case laypeople to the right, religious to the left) seeking shelter below her mantle. The subject is more complex, however, in that the Virgin is holding the Child in her arms, whereas her apocryphal half-sisters, Mary Salome and Mary Jacobi, are holding up her mantle; their children are shown behind it. The book provides an informative and well-researched study of various aspects of the painting: its critical fortune; the canvas support; the artist (from the circle of an illuminator known as the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, perhaps to be identified as Jacques Coene) and date (*c.* 1400–10); the iconography and its meaning; the possible relation with the cult of the three Maries with the Carmelites in Paris; its original destination (the Carmelite convent in Le Puy); the possible patrons (Nicolas Coq, theologian and Carmelite friar in Le Puy, and Armand-Randon X, vicomte de Polignac); the Marian devotion at Le Puy at the time; the people depicted below the Virgin's mantle; and the ecclesiological meaning of the image, perhaps intended as a counterimage to the Great Schism. The volume concludes with a technical study of the canvas. The attribution of the painting is not entirely convincing, and the dating could have been more precise on the basis of the dress of the figures depicted. On the whole, however, this is a fine study of an extraordinary painting and is of interest not only to art historians but also to scholars with an interest in church history in general, and Mariology and the Carmelite order in particular. VICTOR SCHMIDT (*University of Utrecht*)

Book of Honors for Empress Maria of Austria. Composed by the College of the Society of Jesus of Madrid on the Occasion of Her Death, 1603. A Translation with an Introductory Study and Facsimile of the Emblems Prepared by Antonio Bernat Vistarini, John T. Cull, and Tamás Sajó. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, Vol. 5.] (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2011. Pp. vi, 280. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-916101-73-2.)

This translation and study of the book describing the funeral honors for María of Austria (sister of Philip II) is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature on funeral honors of Hapsburg Spain. Published by the Jesuit College in Madrid in 1603 on the occasion of the exequies it held for the recently

departed dowager empress, the funeral book included a description of the church decoration, funeral oration, sermon, hieroglyphs (emblems), and numerous poems. This study is organized into four sections: an introductory essay (which includes a summary table of the hieroglyphs), a translation of the entire text, an index to the hieroglyphs, and facsimiles of the title page and hieroglyph pages. The summary table is particularly interesting, because the authors provide not only clear descriptions of the hieroglyph imagery but also sources for their Latin mottos.

The introduction briefly discusses María's relationship with the Jesuits (which ended with the Jesuits inheriting most of her estate) and the funeral book genre. An in-depth examination of the structure and content of the funeral book (with notes and bibliography) follows. The translation of the *Libro de las honras* occupies the bulk of the study. It requires careful reading, not because of the translation, but because of the formal and flowery language of the era with many sentences of excruciating length. The authors are to be commended on this effort. Although one might quibble with the translation of a particular word or two, the translations are excellent and readable.

Of particular interest is the translation of the emblematic images with their accompanying verses and explanatory texts. These are fascinating, and as a bonus, the thirty-six emblem pages are reproduced in high-quality facsimiles.

This book will appeal to those interested in historical, art historical, social, literary, or religious aspects of Golden Age Spain. STEVE ARBURY *(Radford University)*

Barruchi y Arana, Joaquín, auth., and Frederick Luciani, ed. *Relación del festejo que a los Marqueses de las Amarillas les hicieron las Señoras Religiosas del Convento de San Jerónimo México 1756*. [Biblioteca Indiana, 30.] (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Mexico City: Bonilla Artigas Editores. 2011. Pp. 199. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-84-8489-583-1.)

To those unfamiliar with the history of women's convents in Spain and Spanish America this study of a theatrical performance (and its full text in Spanish) in a mid-eighteenth century convent in Mexico may appear surprising. Theater in a convent? The presumed separation of the consecrated world from the mundane activities of the secular society was more virtual than real. The intellectual tradition of Italian, Spanish, and Spanish American women's convents also included a thespian vocation. Editor and commentator Frederick Luciani surveys historical data pertaining to Mexico and Peru that corroborates the existence of a rich tradition of theater within the conventual walls. As he notes, authorship remained anonymous in many instances, although nuns certainly wrote these works on numerous occasions. They also

provided the scenography, the music, and—along with the girls in the convents—the acting when the audience was exclusively religious. In fact, conventual theater involved all the women in the convent and showcased the talent of some male authors who wrote for the convent.

The 1756 performance in the convent of San Jerónimo in Mexico City was remarkable in that this was the same convent where the notable Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz lived and developed her literary genius (she is remembered in the text). This was the performance of a work written by a convent chaplain who imitated the literary masters of the seventeenth century and sought to entertain a visiting viceregal couple. Luciani's introduction discusses the rich social content of the piece; its characters reflect the racial spectrum of convent residents and colonial society. Black, Indian, and mixed-blood servants speak about their dissatisfaction as lesser members of the community; a young, secular woman cloistered as a nun's companion speaks of her longing for the secular world; a nun's servant relates her mistress's constant demands. Luciani also underscores the author's efforts to include the linguistic peculiarities of the Indian and black servants. His comments ably connect the history of theatrical performances in Spain with the cultural environment of mid–eighteenth-century Mexico. He guides the reader through the complexities of the text to reveal the many meanings of conventual life and deserves rich credit for relating it to the history of church and society in colonial Mexico. ASUNCION LAVRIN (*Arizona State University, Emerita*)

Alfieri, Francesco. *Die Rezeption Edith Steins; Internationale Edith-Stein-Bibliographie, 1942–2012*. [Sondernummer des Edith-Stein-Jahrbuches.] (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2012. Pp. 513. €39,80 paperback. ISBN 978-3-429-03519-8.)

Francesco Alfieri, O.F.M., is the archivist of Centro Italiano di Ricerche Fenomenologiche and a scholar of Edith Stein (St. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross) and the Husserl School of Phenomenology. Over the past eight years he has worked with painstaking care to assemble this international bibliography, bringing together writings by and about Stein over seventy years. Since the book is chronologically arranged, it is easy for the reader to see the exponential increase in the number of publications from year to year, reflecting the growing interest in Stein research and study around the world. For example, the entries for 1987—the year of Stein's beatification—compose twenty-five pages in this bibliography.

Alfieri has dedicated this volume to Maria Amata Neyer, O.C.D., on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday—an appropriate tribute, since it is she who embodies dedication to the Edith-Stein-Archiv in Cologne over decades of faithful stewardship. It comprises a wealth of information on the life and work of Stein, and this bibliography will likewise serve scholars everywhere from now on. SUSANNE M. BATZDORFF (*Santa Rosa, CA*)

Rudin, James. *Cushing, Spellman, O'Connor: The Surprising Story of How Three American Cardinals Transformed Catholic-Jewish Relations.* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2012. Pp. x, 147. $18.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6567-0.)

Although this book has no footnotes, Rabbi James Rudin had access to the archives of the Archdioceses of Boston and New York for the lives and works of Cardinals Richard Cushing and Francis Spellman. He combines research with his personal knowledge of Cardinal John O'Connor. He shows how the anti-Catholicism in American history enabled these Irish-American Catholics to relate to Jews and their experience of antisemitism. This accounts for the energy with which American Catholic bishops worked at the Second Vatican Council to further the interrelated causes of religious freedom, ecumenism, and Catholic-Jewish relations.

Rudin shows that Richard Pearlstein, Cushing's brother-in-law, was Jewish, whereas Spellman and O'Connor both had Jewish friends—something relatively rare in Europe and in Catholicism in general—and how this challenged the negative stereotypes of Jews prevalent among Catholics due to the ancient Christian teaching of contempt against Jews and Judaism. They worked with sympathetic European bishops at the Council to reject the presumption of collective Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus, and the theology underlying Christian negative attitudes toward the Hebrew Scriptures and rabbinic Judaism.

Rudin captures well the drama of the Council's deliberations and of its implementation in this country by bishops as such as New York's O'Connor. In the latter category one could add many others such as Cardinals John Dearden, Joseph Bernardin, and William Keeler.

Although there is evidence of serious concerns, particularly about the Holy Places and Jerusalem, expressed by the Holy See over the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, when it came to the 1947 partition vote in the United Nations, more than half of the affirmative votes came from traditionally Catholic countries, especially in Latin America. More was likely involved than an American cardinal. EUGENE J. FISHER (*Saint Leo University*)

Lapomarda, Vincent A. *Portraits of One Hundred Catholic Women of Maine*. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 177. $49.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7734-3914-6.)

Portraits is divided into eight sections arranged chronologically: Colonial Era, Nineteenth Century, Sisters of Mercy, French Americans, Irish Americans, Italian Americans, Other Ethnic Groups, and The Contemporary Scene. Many entries are less than one page; the longest, for Senator Margaret Chase Smith, is three pages. To add some context to his arrangement, the author includes an introduction of two paragraphs and a retrospect of one to three pages on

each section. There is a bibliographical essay of fourteen pages that includes three citations of Wikipedia. The selection of subjects in a work of this type seldom pleases everyone. Vincent Lapomarda's criteria include "cultural" Catholics—those baptized but who were Catholics in name only—as contrasted with "practicing" Catholics (p. ix), each of whom made a difference and helped to shape history.

However, many of his selections barely, if at all, meet his criteria, including those whose chief contribution seems to be motherhood: one gave birth to twenty-six children. Among others are the oldest Catholic woman in Maine, a divorcee who married an Italian prince before receiving an annulment from an earlier marriage and subsequently became an outcast from Roman nobility, and the housekeeper who inherited more than $1 million from her clerical employer. Some of the entries leave the reader asking for more: Lucia Cormier's decisive defeat in her 1960 campaign against Smith is attributed in large part to her Catholicism; yet John F. Kennedy carried the state; the clash between the Sisters of Mercy and Bishop James Healy is followed by the remark that Sister Mary Gertrude "got along well" (p. 27) with the bishop. Included in this group is Dolly Pomerleau, cofounder and codirector of Quixote Center, a national organization founded in the Catholic social justice tradition. Like several others, she is mentioned briefly as an aside in the biography of another subject. Among others who deserve more attention are Kathleen Dalton, "An International Leader of Catholic Women" (p. 71); Margaret Beliveau, "An Advocate of Persons with Developmental Disabilities" (p. 76); and Mary Archambaud, "A Performer Who Sought to Preserve the Culture of Her People" (p. 105). JAMES J. KENNEALLY *(Stonehill College, Emeritus)*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Meetings

The executive bureau of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire et d'Etude du Christianisme/International Commission for the History and Study of Christianity (CIHEC) held its annual meeting at the University of Tartu, Estonia, on June 13, 2012. The American Catholic Historical Association is one of the three constituent American societies (along with the American Society of Church History and the Society for Reformation Research). Raymond Mentzer (University of Iowa) represents the American commission, email: raymond-mentzer@uiowa.edu.

The CIHEC is a subunit of the Commission Internationale des Sciences Historiques/International Commission of Historical Sciences, which meets every five years. Jinan, China, will host the twenty-second congress of the International Commission of Historical Sciences in August 2015. Traditionally, the CIHEC has sponsored three sessions at the International Commission of Historical Sciences and has requested to hold three sessions at the congress on the following themes: indigenization of Christianity, migration of religious ideas, and religion and science. If there is a positive decision, the American commission will announce a call for proposals later this year.

For further details on the CIHEC, its activities, and the various national commissions, visit the Web site http://www.history.ac.uk/cihec. For additional information regarding the CISH-ICHS, visit http://www.cish.org.

A panel discussion on "The Roman Catholic Church and the Holocaust: New Studies, New Sources, New Questions" was held at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, on August 24, 2012. It was designed to identify new and emerging areas of research in some of the most important topics related to church history and the Holocaust. The participants examined the relationship between the Holy See and Zionism, European clerico-fascism and its importation to North America, Vatican diplomacy, and the concept of brotherhood as transformational in post–Holocaust Christian-Jewish relations. The nine presenters came from five countries; the Americans were Charles R. Gallagher, S.J. (Boston College); Jonathan Lewy (Harvard University); Robert Maryks (Bronx Community College, City University of New York); Mark Ruff (Saint Louis University); and James Mace Ward (DePauw University).

A symposium on St. Gregory the Great will be held on November 14, 2012, at the Pontifical Salesian University in Rome in memory of Vincenzo Recchia, S.D.B., and on the occasion of the publication of the *Concordantia del Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (published by LAS [Libreria dell'Ateneo Salesiano], Rome, in the series *Veterum et Coaevorum Sapientia*). In the first session of the program, three professors from Bari will present papers: Domenico Lassandro on "Gregorio Magno e la società agricola"; Grazia Distaso on "Gregorio Magno e Patrarca"; Luigi Piacenti on "L'Epistolario di Gregorio Magno"; and Aldo Luisi on "Vincenzo Recchia 'grammaticus atque rhetor.'" In the second session, three professors from Rome will speak: Roberto Spataro on Recchia as a student of Gregory the Great, and Manlio Sodi and Alesssandro Toniolo on the new book. In two musical intermissions, the chorus of the Accademia "Vivarium Novum" will perform. In the afternoon, there will be a visit to the "Fondo Recchia" in the library of the university; papers then will be read by Umberto Roberto on "Il coraggio del Papa Gregorio Magno e la difesa di Roma," by Mario Iadanza on "Gregorio Magno e i Lombardi," by Rocco Ronzani on "La ricerca filologica sui *Dialogi* gregoriani," and by Luigi Miraglia on "Per un uso didattico dei *Dialogi.*"

The spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held April 5–6, 2013, at Stonehill College in North Easton, MA. A welcoming reception will take place on April 4.

Proposals for papers and panels will be accepted until January 15, 2013. Proposals should be sent via email to the program chair, Richard Gribble, C.S.C., at rgribble@stonehill.edu.

Causes of Saints

Pope Benedict XVI authorized the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on June 28 to promulgate several decrees, one of which concerns the "heroic virtues" of nine Servants of God. Among them are Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen and Mother Marie of the Sacred Heart (née Marie Josephe Fitzbach, 1806–85), the Canadian widow and foundress of the Congregation of the Handmaidens of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, known as the Good Shepherd Sisters of Quebec.

Grants

The National Endowment for the Humanities has announced a matching grant of $100,714 to the College of William and Mary for the preparation for publication of volumes IV, V, and VI of the papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737–1832).

Publications

"Inculturation" is the theme of the five articles published in the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for winter 2012 (vol. 30, no. 1): "The Concept of

Inculturation in Roman Catholicism: A Theological Consideration" by Dennis M. Doyle (pp. 1–13); "'Take the Word of God to the Heart of the City': Cincinnati's Catholic Bible Center Apostolate, 1964–1971" by David J. Endres (pp. 15–34); "Making Mexican Parishes: Ethnic Succession in Chicago Churches, 1947–1977" by Deborah Kanter (pp. 35–58); "Inculturation as Evangelization: The Dialogue of Faith and Culture in the Work of Marcello Azevedo" by Jorge Presmanes, O.P. (pp. 59–76); and "*Ralliés* and *Réfractaires*: (Anti) Inculturation in Contention" by C. J. T. Talar (pp. 77–89).

Vol. 77 (2011) of *Historical Studies*, the journal published by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, contains the following articles: "The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II" by Gregory Baum (pp. 7–22); "'Purified Socialism' and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Philip Pocock and Hospitalization, 1944–1948" by Peter Meehan (pp. 23–39); and "Miracles and Wonders: Finding Canadian Medical History in the Vatican Archives" by Jacalyn Duffin (pp. 41–58). Also included are a "Historical Note" on "'As a Bird Flies': The Writings of Marie Barbier, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Montreal Woman Religious and Mystic" by Colleen Gray (pp. 59–70) as well as an "Oral History Note" on "Oral Sources for Religious History" by Terence Fay, S.J., Nicole Vonk, and Gwyn Griffith (pp. 71–84). The same volume comprises the *Études d'histoire religieuse, Revue publiée par la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique.* Seven articles are included: Emmanuelle Friant, "«Ils aiment bien leur chapelet»: le discours jésuite sur la transmission du religieux aux Hurons par l'objet de piété (1634–1649)" (pp. 7–20); Guy Laperrière, "Le congrès eucharistique de Montréal en 1910: une affirmation du catholicisme montréalais" (pp. 21–39); Christian Samson, "La Mission Chinoise Catholique de Québec (1914–1938): prosélytisme et integration" (pp. 41–54); Amélie Bourbeau, "Les catholiques montréalais et la secularization de l'assistance privée, 1930–1970" (pp. 55–70); Véronic Papineau Archambault, "L'action missionnaire catholique québécoise au Chili (1948–1990): politisation du discours et de l'action sociale des oblats de Marie Immaculée" (pp. 77–83); Dominique Quirion, "Spatialisation du sacré et cohabitation interreligieuse dans l'espace montréalais" (pp. 85–100); and Richard Leclerc, "Les municipalités à vocation religieuse au Québec" (pp. 101–16). Between the English and French sections is "A Current Bibliography of Canadian Religious History, 2010–2011" (pp. B1–B27).

Personal Notice

Father Michael Roach, chair of the Department of Church History in Mount Saint Mary Seminary, Emmitsburg, MD, received the thirty-seventh annual John Cardinal McCloskey Award from the seminary's National Alumni Association at its last meeting.

Obituaries

Morimichi Watanabe (1925–2012)

Morimichi Watanabe, president emeritus of the American Cusanus Society and a forty-year member of the American Catholic Historical Association, passed away peacefully in his sleep on April 1, 2012, at his home in Port Washington, NY. He is survived by his wife, Kiyomi Watanabe, MD; his son, Tsugumichi D. Watanabe of New York City; and his granddaughter, Izumi Watanabe.

He was a retired professor of history and political science from the C. W. Post campus of Long Island University. President of the American Cusanus Society from 1983 to 2008, he also served as editor of the *American Cusanus Society Newsletter* from its debut in 1984 to his death. His research on the historical context of the life and political thought of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) set the standard for all work done in this field in the English language.

Watanabe produced three books and numerous articles and reviews. His dissertation (under Paul Oskar Kristeller, among others), *The Political Ideas of Nicholas de Cusa with Special Reference to his* De concordantia catholica (Columbia University, 1963; Geneva, 1963), was published the same year as Paul Sigmund's Harvard dissertation, *Nicholas of Cusa and Medieval Political Thought*. Reviewers accordingly scrambled to show the complementary nature of the two works, and the pure coincidence solidified a lifelong friendship between Watanabe and Sigmund. Watanabe's work dug deep into the medieval philosophical roots based on his quest to understand better the emerging and multifaceted points of entry to Western medieval political thought seen through the lens of Cusanus's early writings.

From the beginning, he depended greatly on European scholarship and made it more accessible to a non-European audience. His bonds of friendship and professional exchange with Erich Meuthen, Hermann Hallauer, Hans Gerhard Senger, and Walter Andreas Euler are particularly noteworthy examples of how he utilized the best of European scholarship and commended it to the attention of other scholars in the United States even while continuing to refer to himself as an "outsider" to this world of Cusanus studies. This is not to say that he was just a passive conduit for European scholarship. He approached this world as a highly curious and critically engaged discoverer of a new world of learning. This irenic but resolutely critical spirit is very much a part of his legacy. In print, he showed the utmost admiration for finely crafted exchange of differences, even when spawned by Cusanus's critics. For example, in the preface to his volume *Concord and Reform*, he defends unapologetically his decision to focus on Gregor Heimberg, whom he labels "Cusanus's arch-enemy." "Why not listen to the severest critic of Cusanus?" he writes. "After all, I have often tried to understand other writers and theorists,

such as Marsilius of Padua, Panormitanus and Martin Mair, in conjunction with or in comparison with Cusanus."[1]

Watanabe's research grew out of a fascination with the historical shape of Western legal and political theory that started in his childhood in Japan. He straddled these two cultures his whole life. The obituary posted by the Institut für Cusanus-Forschung in Trier correctly opines that what weighs heavier even than the loss of an extraordinary scholar is "the loss of the man Morimichi Watanabe, who in his personality brought into harmony the most charming facets of Japanese and US-American tradition." This all-too-true statement points nonetheless to a source of tension that Watanabe sensed in his own biography. In *Concord and Reform*, Watanabe posed and answered the question of how a native of Asia became interested in the legal and political thought of a Western cardinal from the late Middle Ages. His answer began with these characteristically simple words: "Born as the second son of a Protestant pastor in the capital of a rural province in northern Japan" (*Concord*, p. xi). The autobiographical account highlights both his father as a convert from Buddhism to the Christianity of German Reformed missionaries and his maternal grandfather, who "had become a Christian after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867 as a result of meeting a Dutch Reformed missionary" (p. xi). His mother married a pastor, and his three maternal uncles were all Protestant pastors. This was his world as a child. His father's library was his introduction to, *inter alia*, both Confucianism and Calvinism. This coincidence of opposites awakened an intellectual curiosity—indeed, a passion—to grasp more deeply the arc of the Western intellectual and religious heritage that had made him and his family rather unique in his mid-twentieth-century Japanese context. He quickly trained a critical eye on the categories with which this missionary intellectual heritage had been traditionally transmitted: "I began to have some doubts about the neat tripartite division of Western history into the exuberant Ancient Times, the dark Middle Ages, and the progressive Modern times after the brilliant Renaissance and the revolutionary Reformation" (*Concord*, p. xi). The intentionally exaggerated adjectives in this sentence point indirectly to the very fissures in existing historiography that eventually intrigued and motivated his study as a scholar.

A distinctive feature of Watanabe's scholarship was his "following [in] Cusanus' footsteps," as he termed it in the June 2000 *American Cusanus Society Newsletter*. These historical essays about the actual locations of Cusanus's life and career began as contributions to the newsletter and were recently revised and collected together with other introductory essays in the beautiful and useful volume *Nicholas of Cusa—A Companion to His Life and Times* (Burlington, VT, 2011; see review in this issue). The presence of Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki as the editors of this work speaks

[1]Watanabe, *Concord and Reform* (Burlington, VT, 2001), p. xvi.

to an intense spirit of mutual collaboration with colleagues in the United States that was nurtured over many decades and in countless other projects. The pieces that began in the newsletter contained original research and extremely useful references to secondary literature. But they also were framed by charming vignettes about bus tours with English tourists, the "spooning white and black smoke" of Mount Aetna in the distance, and black-and-white photographs of "the editor" on location. As scholars, we followed in these footsteps to gain secure knowledge about Cusanus's context, but we also were drawn not a little bit by the "editor's" palpable sense of adventure and wit. He will be deeply missed.

DePaul University PETER CASARELLA

Ann Miriam Gallagher, R.S.M. (1931–2012)

Ann Miriam Gallagher, R.S.M., died April 10, 2012, at Mercy Center in Dallas, PA, where she had entered the Sisters of Mercy of the Union (Scranton Province) in 1954. She became a member of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1974 and served on its Executive Council from 1980 to 1982.

Sister Ann Miriam was born in nearby Plymouth, PA, on November 22, 1931. She graduated from College Misericordia (now Misericordia University) with a major in elementary education in 1953. She obtained both her master's degree and doctorate from The Catholic University of America in 1959 and 1972. Her doctoral dissertation focused on "The Family Background of the Nuns of Two Monasteries in Colonial Mexico: Santa Clara, Querétaro, and Corpus Christi, Mexico City, 1724–1822." She became expert in the history of women religious in Latin America and did postdoctoral work in Spain and Mexico. Sister Ann Miriam also obtained a diploma in educational management from Harvard University. In the late 1970s, she served as president of College Misericordia. She came to Mount Saint Mary Seminary in Emmitsburg, MD, in 1979 and taught church history for twenty-five years. While at Emmitsburg, she researched the splendid archives of the Daughters of Charity and became well versed in the life of Catherine Josephine Seton, the only long-lived daughter of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton, who became the first candidate of the Sisters of Mercy in New York. Sister Ann Miriam delivered one of the annual Catholic Daughters of the Americas lectures at The Catholic University of America on this topic.

Sister chaired the Department of Church History at the Mount and assisted in formation and spiritual direction of seminarians. She generously served as director of research and planning, performing endless hours of preparation for accreditation reports, and conducted seminars on the Church in Latin America. Sister was particularly beloved by her students for her kindness, openness, and cheerful demeanor. She, however, maintained strict decorum and permitted neither gum chewing nor drinking of coffee or soda in her classroom.

At her Funeral Mass on April 13, 2012, some of her former students from the Archdioceses of Baltimore and Hartford as well as the Diocese of Scranton concelebrated the liturgy. Sister Ann Miriam was a fine daughter of Venerable Catherine McAuley, to whom she had a particular devotion, and a great woman of the Church.

Mount Saint Mary Seminary MICHAEL ROACH
Emmitsburg, MD

John W. Bowen, S.S. (1924–2012)

John W. Bowen, a Sulpician priest, died on May 6, 2012, after a brief illness. He was eighty-seven years old and had been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1978.

Born and raised in Baltimore, he was the eldest of three children born to John and Anna Bowen. He was educated at Mt. St. Joseph High School; St. Charles' College, a minor seminary; and St. Mary's Seminary & University. He was ordained for the Archdiocese of Baltimore in 1949. He immediately entered the Society of St. Sulpice and became a full member in 1952. His first assignment was to teach high school English, history, Latin, and religion at St. Charles' College, where he remained for the next fourteen years. During that time he was sent to The Catholic University of America to earn his licentiate's degree in sacred theology and a M.A. degree in church history. He wrote his thesis on the Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Baltimore, a subject on which he remained the expert for the rest of his life.

In 1963 he was transferred to St. Edward's Minor Seminary in Kenmore, WA, where he served as principal of the high school division (1968–1976). When St. Edward's closed in 1976, he remained to assist with transitioning students, serving on the staff of St. Edward's Hall (a formation program) and teaching at Kennedy High School in Seattle. He became the historian for the U.S. Province of the Sulpicians when he returned to Baltimore in 1980 and joined Vincent M. Eaton, S.S., in organizing the province's archives at its new home in the basement of Our Lady of the Angels Chapel in Catonsville, MD. Together, they transformed it into a model program for religious archives. He soon became noted for his encyclopedic knowledge of the history of the Sulpicians, the alumni of their institutions, and the Archdiocese of Baltimore, which he shared generously with visiting researchers and thousands of others who requested information from him over the years.

He was a frequent contributor of articles to publications of Sulpician seminaries and *Whence*, a newsletter published by the Sulpician Archives. He worked closely with Christopher Kauffman (The Catholic University of America), who was commissioned to write a history of the U.S. Province of the Sulpicians; they forged a close friendship. He retired as archivist in 1995, but maintained an office in the archives, always making himself available

when his expertise was required. Visitors well remember the knee-high piles of newspapers from dioceses around the country that covered the floor in his office. In his role as alumni news editor for St. Mary's Seminary & University for more than twenty years, he spent countless hours going through them in search of announcements and articles regarding the alumni of St. Charles' College and St. Mary's.

He remained actively engaged in ministry until shortly before his death. For more than thirty years, he celebrated daily Mass at St. Mark's Church and the motherhouse of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, both located in Catonsville. Several days a week, he went to Calvert Hall College High School in Towson, MD, to celebrate Mass for the Christian Brothers, and he regularly assisted at several parishes in the Baltimore area. He also was an extraordinary confessor for the seminarians at St. Mary's. He was vice-postulator for the canonization cause of Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange (*c.* 1784–1882), foundress of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first religious community for women of color in the country and a community that has had close ties to the Sulpicians over its history. From 1982 to 2009, he served as priest-moderator to the board of the Mother Seton House on Paca Street, Inc., a group that restored and maintained the Sulpician-owned house where St. Elizabeth Ann Seton lived from 1808 to 1809; it is located on the grounds of the original campus of St. Mary's Seminary (est. 1791). Father Bowen frequently gave tours of the house and the historic site to many visitors.

In honor of his distinguished service, he was awarded the Cross Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice, a papal honor recognizing his distinguished service to the church, and the Olier Medal as an outstanding priestly alumnus of St. Mary's Seminary & University.

He was priest, educator, archivist, and historian. To those who knew him, however, he will be remembered as a good and faithful servant of the Lord, of humble manner and generous spirit.

Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary & University TRICIA T. PYNE
Baltimore

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