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THE PLACE OF JERUSALEM IN WESTERN CRUSADING RITES OF DEPARTURE (1095–1300)

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Crusaders underwent a liturgical rite of departure that was built upon the rite for departing pilgrims in which a cross blessing was added to the blessing of scrip and staff. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the symbolism of the cross and the meaning of the rite were developing and fluid, but became increasingly associated with Jerusalem pilgrimage and Jerusalem crusade. In turn, the evocation of Jerusalem was increasingly associated with the physical and obtainable place of Christ's life (rather than the eschatological Jerusalem of the salvific future). The rite also reflected developing values of crusading spirituality.

Keywords: crusades; Durandus, Bishop William; Jerusalem; liturgy; taking the cross

> One of the biggest problems currently faced by historians of the crusades is to define the exact role played by the city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Land generally, in the evolution of the crusade movement.
>
> —Norman Housley[1]

The role of Jerusalem in crusading—that is, its place in the origins of, motivations for, and conceptualizations of the practice of crusading—has been an open and debated question ever since Carl Erdmann

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[1]Norman Housley, *Crusading and Warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot, UK, 2001), pp. 17–40, here p. 27.

published his groundbreaking *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade* in 1935.[2] The issue at stake is the very definition of crusading to those who lived during the crusader period. Erdmann, of course, argued that even in 1095 Jerusalem was not the original objective of the crusade, but rather served as a rhetorical or ideological device that overlaid Pope Urban II's initial goal of reconciliation with the Eastern Church. This claim has been much debated in the context of Urban's own thinking and more broadly in the history of the crusades. H. E. J. Cowdrey has argued repeatedly for the centrality of Jerusalem in Urban's thinking.[3] Jonathan Riley-Smith has taken an expansive view of crusading (known as the "pluralist view") that sees many fronts of crusading,[4] whereas Norman Housley has argued that crusade very quickly became disassociated with Jerusalem. Hans Eberhard Mayer and Jean Flori maintain that no matter how Jerusalem crusade infected larger *mentalités* of holy war, sacred violence, conquest, and notions of *Christianitas,* the Holy City always lay at the heart of the pure idea of crusade.[5] Increasingly, we have come to understand crusading as an activity and a form of spirituality rather than as defined by a specific goal.[6] Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there existed all variety of crusading—that is, papally sanctioned holy war against an enemy of "the faith," "the church," or "Christ" that incurred a spiritual benefit for the fighter that came to

[2]Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977).

[3]H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," *History*, 55 (1970), 177–88; H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade," *Studi Medievali,* 3, n.s. 36 (1995), 721–52; H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Reform Papacy and the Origins of the Crusades," in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23–25 juin 1995) organisé et publié evec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvregne* (Rome, 1997), pp. 65–83.

[4]See, in particular, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: a Short History* (New Haven, 1987); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders: 1095–1131* (New York, 1997); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 2008).

[5]Housley, *Crusading and Warfare*; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988); Jean Flori, *La guerre sainte—la formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001). See also Christopher Tyerman, "The Holy Land and the Crusades of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff, UK, 1985), pp. 105–12.

[6]For instance: Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA, 2006); William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095–1187* (Woodbridge, UK, 2008).

be known as the indulgence. People "took the cross" to the Holy Land, certainly, but also to southern France, the Baltics, and Spain. The language that developed around 1200 to refer to crusaders—*croisé, kreuzfaher*, *crucesignatus*—was used for all such varieties of crusaders, not just Jerusalem crusaders.[7] But Jerusalem—because it was the first, because it was where Christ had lived and died, because it was the center of the Earth—retained a special character, a goal apart.

This article examines rituals of departure for pilgrimage and crusade to see what the liturgical material has to tell us about the place of Jerusalem in the developing conceptualization of crusade, both in terms of the strict directives given in the manuscripts about the function of the rite as well as the role that Jerusalem played within the poetic and rhetorical imagination of the texts themselves. What did the cross—and thus the cross blessing of the departure rite—signify, and where did Jerusalem fit in its symbolic matrix of ritual meaning? The article begins with a review of the origins of the pilgrimage-turned-crusading blessings to establish the ritual, textual, and symbolic contexts for these crusader rituals; it then turns to the texts to reveal the increasing focus on Jerusalem.

Crusaders often departed on their journey by undergoing a ritual in which the insignia of their status as pilgrim and crusader was blessed and thus sanctified by the bishop (or abbot or priest) and handed over to the crusader from the altar. In general, the rite of departure grew out of pilgrimage rituals (the blessing of the scrip and staff) that stemmed from the early blessings of safe journey for monks or the votive Mass for travelers found in early sacramentaries.[8]

[7]This seems to be the case in particular after the pontificate of Innocent III. Michael Markowski, "*Crucesignatus:* Its Origins and Early Usage," *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 157–65, especially 163–65; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Toronto, 1998).

[8]For scholarship on the rite for scrip and staff for pilgrimage: Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Histoire de S. Louys IX, dv nom Roy de France, ecrite par Iean sire de Ioinville, Senéchal de Champagne* (Paris, 1824), Dissertation XVI: 234–38, "De l'escarcelle et dv bovrdon des pélerins de la Terre Sainte"; Luis Vázquez de Parga, José M. Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948–49); Cyrille Vogel, "Le pèlerinage pénitential," in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei Santi in Europa fino alla 1A Crociata* (Todi, 1963), pp. 86–96; Francis Garrisson, "A propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique," in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dediées à Gabriel Le Bras* (Paris, 1965), pp. 1165–89; Henri Gilles, "Lex Peregrinorum," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Le Pèlerinage*, 15 (1980), 161–89; Robert Plötz, "'Benedictio perarum et baculorum' und 'coronatio peregrinorum; Beiträge zu der Ikonographie des Hl. Jacobus im

The rites are found in pontificals—that is, service books for bishops—and occasionally also in rituals, sacramentaries, and missals, which suggest that bishops were not the only churchmen to perform these ceremonies (see appendix A). The rite of blessing the scrip and staff as the *signum peregrinationis* was in place by the Second Crusade and standard (at least for kings) by the Third Crusade.[9] The ritual could be more or less elaborate depending on the circumstance and the local liturgy, but broadly speaking the ritual evolved over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to accommodate crusaders, usually by adding a cross blessing to the scrip-and-staff rite on which the pilgrimage ordo was built.[10] The departure rite (often described inaccurately as the rite for taking the cross[11]) was separate from the moment when a crusader "took the cross"—that is, made the vow to go on

deutschen Sparachgebiet," in *Volkskultur und Heimat. Festschrift für Josef Dünninger zum 80 Geburtstag* (Würzburg, 1986), pp. 339–76, here pp. 349–50.

[9]Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem; The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 16–17. Rigord, *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste, publiées pour la Société de l'histoire de France par H. François Delaborde*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882–85), 1:98–99. For Richard the Lionheart (June 1190), see Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger of Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe*, 2 vols. (London, 1853), 2:141, who says Richard was in Tours; see also *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. A.D. 1169–1192: Known Commonly under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough,* ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1867), 2:11, which states Richard was in York. For Frederick Barbarossa (April 15, 1189, Hagenau), see Gislebertus of Mons, *Gisleberti Chronicon Hanoniense*, ed. Willhelm Arndt, MGH SS 21 (1869), p. 566 [= *Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab a. C. 500 usque ad a. 1500, Scriptores,* 32 vols. (Hannover, 1826–1934)].

[10]For previous discussions of the departure rites, see James A. Brundage, "'Cruce signari': The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 289–310; Kenneth Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century," *Traditio*, 30 (1974), 429–35; Lucy Pick, "*Signaculum Caritatis et Fortitudinis:* Blessing the Crusader's Cross in France," *Revue bénédictine*, 105 (1995), 381–416; Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 22–23, 78–82; William Chester Jordan, "The Rituals of War: Departure for Crusade in Thirteenth-Century France," in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Book*, ed. William Noel and Daniel H. Weiss (London, 2002), pp. 98–105; William Chester Jordan, *Crusader Prologues: Preparing for War in the Gothic Age—A Lecture Presented at the Moreau Center for the Arts, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, November 3, 2009* (Notre Dame, 2009); Anne Lester, "A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), 365–67; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure," *Speculum,* 88 (2013), in press.

[11]This is seen, for example, in the titles of two articles on the subject: Brundage, "'Cruce signari': The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," pp. 289–310; and Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross," pp. 429–35.

Crusade, which could happen months or even years prior to actual departure.

Overall, the rites underscore the extent to which Jerusalem was central to the concept of crusade and became even more so as the activity of crusading became more diffuse. Local traditions always constituted exceptions, and these testify to the variety of ways in which crusading cultures could instantiate the many possibilities of crusade ideals. But broadly speaking, the crusader's rite of departure involving cross, scrip, and staff developed over the course of two centuries to focus on the geographical goal of Jerusalem and to valorize the holy city in crusader ideology and spirituality.

Pre-1095 Origins and Pilgrimage to Rome

As Hans Mayer has insisted, the practice, ideology, and spirituality of pilgrimage was at the heart of the advent and meaning of early crusading.[12] Pilgrimage to Jerusalem had a long tradition, even during Muslim control of the Levant, and seems only to have become more vigorous in the century preceding Clermont.[13] Jerusalem pilgrimage was at the heart of the early conceptualization of crusade. Crusaders were routinely referred to as *peregrini,* and it seems that even in the earliest years departing crusaders submitted to pilgrimage rites involving a blessing of scrip and staff that had emerged in Europe over the course of the eleventh century.[14]

Yet, surprisingly, the ritual tradition for pilgrimage that became so central to crusade did not originally prioritize Jerusalem, but rather

[12]Mayer, *The Crusades*. Many have followed in this estimation. For a local case study, see Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford, 1993). One dissent, arguing that Urban did not pitch the First Crusade as a pilgrimage, is Janus Møller Jensen, "Peregrinatio sive expeditio: Why the First Crusade Was Not a Pilgrimage," *Al-Māsaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 15 (2003), 119–37.

[13]Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), 695–713.

[14]The narrative and charter evidence has been reviewed by Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Burlington, VT, 2008), p. 99. A charter of 1101 has a knight receiving a ring and a cross from his bishop. Another knight of 1120 received the cross "as a sign of pilgrimage, as requires the custom of this kind of pilgrim." Ekkehaud of Aura speaks of crusaders departing in a "new rite" (*novo ritu*) in which their swords, scrips, and staves were blessed; see MGH SS 6:214 [=*Monumenta Germanicae historica inde ab a. C. 500 usque ad a. 1500, Scriptores*, 32 vols. (Hannover, 1826–1934), 6:214]

grew out of traditions that assumed Rome as destination. A series of manuscripts survive from the late-tenth century (from Spain) and eleventh century (from France, Germany, and England) that include rites of scrip and staff for pilgrims seeking the suffrages of the saints. Some early ones, reflecting their expansion from the broader "travel blessings," were labeled "For Those Going on a Journey" and others simply "Blessing for Scrip and Staff."[15] The majority indicated in either their rubrics or their texts that the goal was the idiomatic *limina apostolorum* or *limina beatorum Petri et Pauli*—the threshold of the apostles, that is, Rome. So, for instance, an eleventh-century addition to the famous Romano-Germanic Pontifical [RGP] was titled "Benediction upon the Scrip and Staves and upon Those who with These Seek the Threshold and the Prayers of the Holy Apostles,"[16] and the prayers themselves assumed the *limina apostolorum* and the *limina beatorum Petri et Pauli*.[17] The assumption was that Roman pilgrimage (whose heyday was also the eleventh century) was associated more often than Jerusalem with the penitential and sin-forgiving aspects of pilgrimage and the suffrages of the saints.[18] Indeed, the earliest (that is, precrusade) remits for sins (later known as indulgences) generally invoked the authority of Peter, Paul, and perhaps Mary—pre-

[15]For example, Alejandro Olivar, *El Sacramentario de Vich*, [Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie liturgica, 4] (Barcelona, 1953); J. R. Barriga Planas, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda: cod. 16 de l'arxiu de la catedral de Lleida, c. 1000* (Barcelona, 1975), pp. 541–44; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 341, fols. 2v–3r; Milan, Ambrosiana A92, fols. 115r–116v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nationale 678, fols. 67r–68v; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 6748, fols. 51r–54r.

[16]Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds., *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 2 vols., [Studi e testi, 226–227], (Vatican City, 1963). Hereafter abbreviated as *RGP*. "T" ms (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Pal. 701), "Benediccio super capsellas et fustes et super eos qui cum his limina ac suffragia sanctorum apostolorum petituri sunt" appears twice (same rubric). On the RGP, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey, Niels Krogh Rasmussen, and John K. Brooks-Leonard, [NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy], (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 230–39; Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN, 1998), pp. 201–07.

[17]Vienna ÖNB Pal. 701 (Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*); Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (1909; repr. Bonn, 2006), 2:275, representing one eleventh-century manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6427) and several from the twelfth; Gebhard Hürlimann, *Das Rheinauer Rituale (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.)*, [Spicilegium Friburgense, 5] (Freiburg, 1959), pp. 142–43.

[18]Debra Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, UK, 1998). For Carolingian roots to Roman pilgrimage (and the role of devotion to relics in its development), see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), especially pp. 11–12, 53–54, 82–86.

cisely those called upon in the German and English versions of the eleventh-century rites.[19] The ubiquity of the scrip and staff as the core elements of the rite is obscure but consistent and may be related to the practice of the newly appointed bishop's journey to Rome. It was certainly (and invertedly) related to Christ's injunction to the apostles to "take nothing for their journey except a staff; no bread, no scrip, no money in their belts" (Mark 6:8; *cf.* Luke 9:3), underscoring an apostolic model for pilgrimage.[20] But quite early the rite sought to accommodate other holy destinations in both rubrics and texts. The rubric for the text noted above was expanded in some manuscripts to read "For Those Going to the Limits of the Apostles or to Other Places for the Purpose of Praying."[21] Another core text took different forms but had common origins and can be found in German, French, and Spanish texts dated prior to the crusades. It asked (twice) that the pilgrim might "arrive at the threshold of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul or other saints to whom [he] might desire to go."[22] Notably, the Ordo for Scrip and Staff did not enter the *Roman* (and thus, papal) liturgy until the second half of the thirteenth century—presumably because one did not need a blessing to reach Rome if one was already *in* Rome[23]—and it did so only later, in the company of a cross blessing that assumed Jerusalem crusade.[24]

Taking Up the Cross and Going to Jerusalem

The point to be emphasized is that none of these texts or traditions was initially composed with Jerusalem as the explicit goal. This

[19]Robert W. Shaffern, *The Penitent's Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom 1175–1375* (Scranton, 2007), p. 45. For examples, see Vienna ÖNB Pal. 701 (Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 163 (p. 288) and 146 (p. 4); (the manuscript is paginated).

[20]Mark 6:8: "tollerent in via nisi virgam tantum non peram non panem neque in zona aes"; Luke 9:3: "nihil tuleritis in via neque virgam neque peram neque panem neque pecuniam neque duas tunicas habeatis."

[21]Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:275: "Pro fratribus in viam, id est ad limina apostolorum vel lias causa orandi dirigendis." Citing Munich Clm 6427 (11c), 22040 (12c), and 9563 (12c).

[22]Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, p. 216; Planas, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda*, p. 543: "pervenire merearis ad limina apostolorum petri et pauli vel ad aliorum sanctorum quo pergere cupis."

[23]A point made by Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:288.

[24]M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Origins and Development of the Pilgrimage and Cross Blessings in the Roman Pontificals of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (RP12 and RP13)," *Mediaeval Studies,* 73 (2011), 261–86.

changed as the rites were adapted for this new form of pilgrimage. Initially, during the inchoate period of the First Crusade, a crusader may have set off in any number of ways since there was no limit to the variety of different rituals a priest or bishop could have confected from the available blessings in his sacramentary or pontifical. Sacramentaries from the Gelasian or Gregorian tradition, and pontificals, particularly those having grown out of the traditions of the RGP, included all sorts of appropriate blessings, including benedictions for scrip and staff, but also for arms, war, crosses, and tribulations (along with blessings for patens, a new well, exorcism, and so forth).[25] We assume that many crusaders would have also, perhaps separately, had their weapons blessed.[26] Ekkehard of Aura, a German abbot who went to Jerusalem in 1101, talked about crusaders leaving in a "new rite" [*novo ritu*] where their swords were blessed along with their scrips and staves.[27] Indeed, several manuscripts brought together travel blessing, or scrip-and-staff blessings, with various prayers for the rites of war.[28]

But from the start the quintessential symbol for crusading had been the cross. In 1095, Urban II enjoined crusaders to sew a cross on their outer garments, and the cross quickly—naturally—became the outward *signum* of the crusader, the insignia added to the scrip and staff that denoted this new type of Jerusalem pilgrimage. And so it made plenty of sense to simply bless the crusader's cross, along with the scrip and staff, as the insignia of this particular type of pilgrimage. The chief association of the cross rite, then, when paired with scrip and staff, was with pilgrimage, not with fighting. In time, newly made pontificals (and later, missals) began to reflect this expanded ritual, copying in sequence the "benedictio crucis," "benedictio perae," and "benedictio baculi," sometimes in conjunction with older blessings for travelers known from sacramentaries. In France cross blessings were added to scrip-and-staff blessings in manuscripts by the early-thir-

[25]For sacramentaries, see, for example, Antoine Dumas, *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 2 vols., [Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159–159A], (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 298, 299, 370, 430, 431, 438. For the RGP: Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*, pp. 55–61, 74, 78–80, 88, 94–105, 362.

[26]Vogel, "Le pèlerinage pénitential," p. 90; Jordan, *Crusader Prologues*, pp. 12–15.

[27]See Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*; MGH SS 6:214.

[28]For example, Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 58, fol. 64r–v; Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit 60, fols. 108v–109v; Walter Von Arx, *Das Klosterrituale Von Biburg (Budapest, Cod. lat. m. ae. Nr. 330, 12 Jh.)*, [Spicilegium Friburgense, 14], (Freiburg, 1970), pp. 260–63. See Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade."

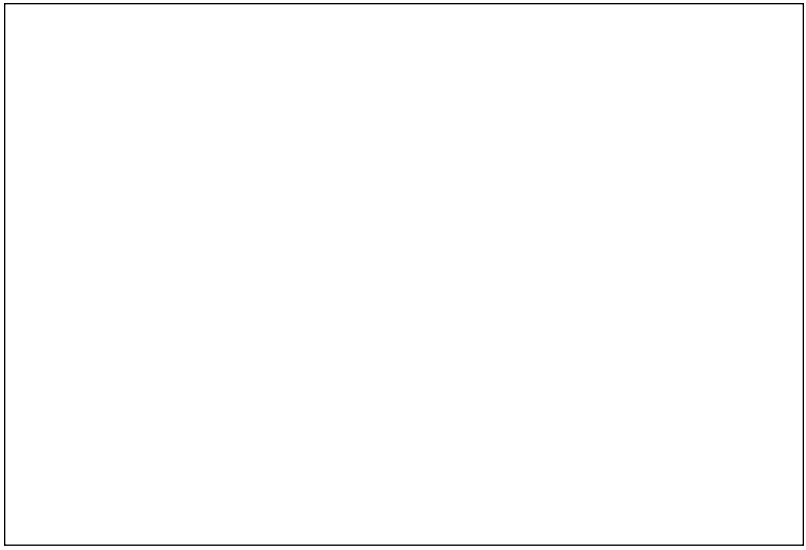

FIGURE 1. A bishop blessing a pilgrim's cross. Besançon BM 138, fol. 157v, from the Ordo for the *Benedictio Crucis*. Reproduced by permission of CNRS-IRHT, Bibliothèque municipal de Besançon.

teenth century (see figure 1).[29] In England, a new blessing titled "*Benedictio crucis peregrinorum*" (the Blessing of the Pilgrim's Cross) was added in a later hand to a pontifical emanating from around Canterbury.[30] In Norman Sicily a new rite found in pontificals from Messina and Palermo that was in place before the Third Crusade accreted to the old Mass for travelers the blessing for a new liturgical cross from the RGP (also titled the "*Benedictio crucis peregrinorum*").[31] In most of the compositions, the cross blessing added to the

[29]Pick, "*Signaculum Caritatis,*" pp. 381–416.

[30]Oxford, Magdalene College 226. H.A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College: With an Appendix of Extracts from Other English Mss. of the Twelfth Century* (1910), p. 207. See also Brundage, "Cruce signari," pp. 303–07.

[31]The rites are found in three "Beneventan" pontificals from southern Italy: Milan, Ambrosiana A92, fols. 115r–116v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nationale 678, fols. 67r–68v; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 6748, fols. 51r–54r. For date, see Richard Kay, *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals* (Lawrence, KS, 2007), p. 93, no. 473. A more developed form of the same rite is found in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 614; see Derek A. Rivard, "*Pro Iter Agentibus*: The Ritual Blessings of Pilgrims and Their Insignia in a Pontifical of Southern Italy," *Journal of Medieval History*, 27 (2001), 365–98. Richard Gyug, "From Beneventan to Gothic:

scrip-and-staff rite was usually a pre-existing blessing for a liturgical cross whose history went back to the seventh and eighth-century development of the rite for the Holy Cross, which emphasized the salvific, eschatological, transcendental, and victorious powers of the cross,[32] although a number of new cross blessings (discussed below) were composed at this stage that were clearly responding to this new kind of pilgrimage.

The Symbol of the Cross and the Idea of Jerusalem

The question is what exactly did the *signum crucis* specify in this context? Did it signify Jerusalem pilgrimage specifically, or could it be used by other pilgrims? Or, contrariwise, did it assume belligerent pilgrims (i.e., crusaders) or also "merely" devotional pilgrims? The answer for the twelfth and first part of the thirteenth century is certainly fluid, local, and variable, since the kind of effective standardization that would occur at the end of the thirteenth century with the papacy's adoption of a cross-scrip-staff rite and the spread of its influence was in the future. Even then, there was a huge amount of variety. This was unavoidable given the enormous range and powerful association of the symbol of the cross.[33] But it seems that in the wake of the first crusade, after the language of the cross had been established for this new kind of pilgrimage, the cross was adopted—here and there—both by "merely" devotional pilgrims and by crusaders to places other than Jerusalem. Christopher Tyerman has brought attention to Godfrey of Finchale, who "took the cross" as part of his devotional pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[34] Crusade hosts generally consisted of fighters proper as well as large numbers of "hangers-ons," but all were considered pil-

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Continuity and Change in Southern Italian Liturgical Ceremonies," in *Classica et Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Frank Thomas Coulson and Anna Grotans (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 293–310.

[32]For the themes in earlier cross texts, see Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, [Liturgia Condenda, 11], (Leuven, 2000). Pick has made the point that these texts, when adopted for the crusades, emphasized the protective powers of the cross; see "*Signaculum Caritatis*," pp. 398–400.

[33]Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 76–83; Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, pp. 70–73; Giles Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," in *Crusaders and Crusading the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, UK, 2008), pp. 45–91; Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven, 2008), pp. 54–80.

[34]Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 21–22.

grims, and quite possibly all underwent the rite together. We know that both priests and monks took the cross, even though this was discouraged.[35] A rite for taking the cross *to Jerusalem* survives from a monastic sacramentary (perhaps from St. Michel de Cuxa) that clearly assumed a monk; that same sacramentary included an oration for those taking the cross to Spain.[36] Contrariwise, the cross might have been worn for non-Jerusalem crusaders. An extraordinary rite from Coventry *c.* 1200 added two cross prayers (one adapted from the RGP, one newly composed) to the scrip-and-staff rite *Ad benedicendum peregrinos* known elsewhere in England; the rubric for the cross blessings included this extraordinary explanatory rubric: "Blessing for the cross to be given to those who are going to the Holy Land or those going to other lands for the purpose of destroying the enemies of the cross."[37] The new prayer stressed Christ's passion on the cross and the crusader's remission of sin, but *not* Jerusalem, making it appropriate for any crusade. This was one solution, as crusaders who were described as *peregrini* and wore the cross yet were on a crusade into the Baltic states or against the Cathars, for example, did not really fulfill the paradigm of pilgrimage. But this rubric is also the only piece of direct evidence of a practice of receiving the cross blessing for a crusade destination other than Jerusalem.

These examples represent local solutions from this period of fluid experimentation, dependent on available liturgical texts and local contexts. The larger trend, however, points to Jerusalem as the goal and a sharpening in this ritual context of the meaning of the cross toward Jerusalem crusade. Although the twelfth century saw considerable experimentation, by the end of the century and certainly in the thirteenth, we see increasingly that the crusade is linked to the cross as the symbol and to Jerusalem as the destination. This is in some contradistinction to the expansion of crusading to fronts as far flung from Jerusalem as the Baltic states, southern France, and Spain, to which

[35] Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Studia Gratiana,* 29 (1947), 123–45; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Burlington, VT, 2005), pp. 133–40.

[36] Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale 178, fol. 154v ("Oratio ad dandam crucem ante altare, his qui cupiunt pergere ad Ispaniam"—a single line taken from the RGP); 115r (ad dandam his qui vadunt in Iherusalem). For partial transcription, see Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, p. CVIII.

[37] Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 6.9, fols. 85r–86r: "Benedictio crucis dande ituris in sanctam terram vel ituris in aliam terram ad expugnandum inimicos crucis." Brundage, "Cruce signari," pp. 306–07.

crusaders also wore the cross. As pontificals and sacramentaries adapted in response to these new practices, some rubrics began to explicitly label Jerusalem as the intended goal. This started earliest in southern France, Italy, and Sicily. The rite for Norman Sicily that was in place by *c*. 1167 was built upon the old Mass for travelers (*Missa pro iter agentibus*), to which was added a blessing for the "cross of pilgrims," and the text referred to those heading toward the "Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ."[38] Two Italian pontificals of the twelfth century titled their crusading rites "The Ordo for Taking up the Sign of the Holy Cross for Those Going to Jerusalem" and "The Office for Those who Are Going to Jerusalem."[39] The sacramentary from southern France titled its rite "For Giving the Cross to Those who Go to Jerusalem." The text here adapted the old blessing for the liturgical cross taken from old Gelasian sacramentary, changing "this your cross [*hanc crucem tuum*]" to "the sign of this holy cross worn by those travelling *iherosolimitani* to Jerusalem."[40] A pontifical from Caromb in southern France, included the "Ordo for Giving the Cross as the Sign of Pilgrimage or for Visiting the Holy Sepulcher of the Lord," which was followed by the "Prayer upon Those Taking up the Cross."[41] Traditional pilgrimage prayers were updated to include the *sepulchrum domini* as well as the *limina apostolorum* in several German and Austrian manuscripts of the twelfth century, and Italian and French rites of the thirteenth century.[42] A ritual from the Benedictine

[38]Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A92, fols. 115r–116v.

[39]Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 186, fols. 81r–84r: "Ordo ad suscipienda signacula sancte crucis euntibus iheruslaem"; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 239, fols. 143v–146v: "Officium pro illis qui vadunt Ierusalem"; Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross," pp. 429–35.

[40]Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale 178, fol. 155, rubric: "Ad dandam crucem his qui vadunt in Ieruslaem"; text: "Benedic domine hoc signum sancte crucis habitum in Ierusalem, iherosolimitani itineris." For the source in the Gelasian tradition, see Dumas, *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 370, rubric 2447; O. S. B. Heiming, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, [Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 49B], (Turnhout, 1984), p. 174, rubric 1485; Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis: manuscrits B.N. Lat 816, Le sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême* (Turnhout, 1987), pp. 310–11, rubric 2050. A version of this also is found in the RGP, *Benedictio Crucis*, 1:157 (XL.97).

[41]Avignon, BM 143, fols. 172r–175r: "Ad sportas et baculos peregrinorum benedictio/ benedictio panis/Oratio ad cruces benedicendas/Ordo cum datur crux in signum peregrinationis vel visitationis sancti sepulcri domini/Oratio super crucem accipientes."

[42]Adolph Franz, *Das rituale von St. Florian aus dem zwölften jahrhundert*, [Saint Florien, XI 467], (Freiburg, 1904); Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:273; Von Arx, *Das Klosterrituale Von Biburg,* p. 261; Rivard, "*Pro Iter Agentibus*," p. 391. Avignon, BM 143, fols. 172r–174r.

monastery of St. Cugat in Spain incorporated a standard prayer for handing over the scrip that dated from the eleventh century, substituting the phrase "to the limits of the Holy Sepulcher, or Saint James, or Saint Hilary [of Poitiers], or any other saint that you might desire to go visit" for "the limits of the apostles" (*ad limina apostolorum*). The rite was titled "Benediction of the Cross of Those Who Desire to Travel to the Holy Land."[43]

Jerusalem in the Devotional Imagination

As the liturgy developed in response to the practice of Jerusalem pilgrimage, Jerusalem was increasingly incorporated into the poetic and devotional imagination of the rites. Deep traditions of liturgical poetry had, of course, long evoked Jerusalem in its transcendental guise—to call to mind the future, Heavenly Jerusalem.[44] By its very meaning Jerusalem could always—*would* always—evoke the eschatological future. A prayer for "those who set out to travel abroad," which included the blessings of script and staff found in Spanish sacramentaries from *c*. 1000, makes this clear; it indicated specifically that the goal was not so much the earthly city, but the future, celestial, and eternal Jerusalem.[45] Pre-existing pilgrimage traditions had often evoked Jerusalem through metaphor and allusion to Old Testament travel and travelers. The Archangel Raphael—who had accompanied Tobias on his long journey to Medea—was, in travel and pilgrimage rites, called upon to guide the traveler and keep him safe as he had done for Tobias.[46] Even more resonant of pilgrimage and Jerusalem

[43]Barcelona, Archives of the Crown of Aragon, San Cugat 73, fols. 23v–24r: "*Benedictio crucis illi qui volunt pergere ad Terram Sanctam.*"

[44]On liturgical evocations of Jerusalem, see Paul F. Bradshaw, "The Influence of Jerusalem on Christian Liturgy," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York, 1999), pp. 251–59, here p. 251. See also Joshua Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sll'Alto Medioevo*, 26 (1980), 739–95; Francis Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton, 1985); Schein, *Gateway*.

[45]Lerida, Arxiu de la Catedral 16 (olim 38), fol 138v, from the "Ordo de his qui peregre proficiscuntur." Planas, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda*, p. 542. The prayer also is found in the Vich Sacramentary. See Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, pp. 215–16.

[46]The reference to Raphael was widespread, rooted in the travel prayers from the Gelasian tradition. Sometimes the reference is only to Tobias and "the angel." Citing here only printed sources: Dumas, *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 439, no. 2794; Heiming, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, p. 223, no. 1810; Planas, *El*

was the figure of Abraham, the paradigmatic *peregrinus,* the patriarch to whom God had promised the Holy Land—the Promised Land—and thus, Jerusalem, and who was routinely evoked in the early pilgrimage rites.[47] In Spain the Vich sacramentary of 1038 enjoined God to watch over "your male and female servants" just as [he] watched over Abraham, [his] son, led from Ur of the Chaldeans, through all the paths of pilgrimage."[48] The core prayer that entered the tradition of the Romano Germanic Pontifical (RGP) cited God's promise to Abraham that he travel to the Promised Land, but did so very much in the context of Roman pilgrimage. The text beseeched God (who had ordered Abraham, his son, "so that he might go from the land of his birth and arrive at the Promised Land, which [God] had promised to him") to watch over the pilgrims traveling to worship him at the threshold of blessed Peter and Paul, keep them safe from all sins, and protect them from perturbation.[49] In these, the emphasis was more on Abraham as pilgrim than on the Holy Land as destination. In fact, the RGP, in comparing the pilgrim to Abraham, also compared Rome to the Promised Land, explicitly elevating Rome to a level with Jerusalem.

This conception shifted in the crusade period. Jerusalem took on new meanings—often more concrete ones echoing larger themes of crusading spirituality—as these rites evolved in the context of crusade: not only the heavenly Jerusalem of transcendental metaphor but also the historical Jerusalem of the promise to Abraham and the geographical Jerusalem of the Lord's tomb. As these texts were incorporated into crusading rites and were used in the context of the goal of Jerusalem, the timbre of the Old Testament imagery surely changed;

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sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda, pp. 544, 547; Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, p. 217; Reginald Maxwell Woolley, ed., *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl, ms. 2892)* (London, 1917; repr. Woodbridge, UK, 1995), p. 126; Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, p. 277; Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*, p. 362.

[47]Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, p. 274; Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, 215; Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*, CCXII, 361; Planas, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda*, p. 541.

[48]Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, p. 215: "Deus qui Abraham puerum tuum de Hur Caldeorum eductum per omnes sue peregrinationis vias custodisti . . ."

[49]Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*, p. 362, no. CCXII: "qui Abrahae puero tuo, ut iret de terra nativitatis suae et veniret in terram reporimssionis, quam ei daturus promiseras, precepisti, necnon et populum Israhelicticum in deserto te adorandum multi prodigiis venire fecisit, hos, quesumus, ad beatorum Petri et Pauli liminina te adorare pergentes a periculis omnibus eruas, et a peccatorum nexibus solvas, et tu, qui es vera via in te fidentibus, eorum iter bene dispone, ut, inter omnes huius seculi perturbationes, tuo protegantur auxilio."

the reference to the Promised Land became more resonant and less metaphorical, and God's promise of the *terra repromissionis* to Abraham was newly evocative of the new context. As crusader texts were expanded and new texts were written for the cross in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Abraham as pilgrim and Jerusalem as goal became more pronounced. So a blessing for the "*signaculi crucis*" used in Paris and Cambrai in the early-thirteenth century compared the sanctification of the crusader's cross with God's sanctification of "Abraham our patriarch, with the sign of just faith."[50] The Norman-Sicilian rite began with a reading from Genesis 12:1–4, in which God famously commanded Abraham to "go forth out of the country and from thy kindred and come into the land which I shall show you" and promised him: "I will make you a great nation, and I will bless thee, and magnify your name, and you shall be blessed."[51] This core, critical passage—God's promise of the "Promised Land"—to the line of Abraham was doubly powerful within the crusading context, in which the heirs of Abraham, the modern-day Israelites, sought precisely to reclaim that Promised Land.[52]

The idea of Abraham's possessing the Promised Land was at the heart of a new, powerful cross blessing composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century for the liturgy at Ely. Brundage, who published these texts, identified this as the earliest adoption of the cross-rite in England.[53] The cross text followed the traditional rite for scrip and staff, associating the pilgrim with Abraham and linking possession of the Holy Land with salvation.

> Take up the yoke of Christ [*iugum Christi*], the burden of which is light [*leve onus*] to the faithful, with the sign [*signo*] of the holy cross having been ensigned [*insignus*], so that, going forth with the right side signed,

[50]Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 223, fols. 146r–147r; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 332, fols. 24v–25v; Pick, "*Signaculum Caritatis*," pp. 413–15.

[51]On the Norman-Sicilian rite, see note 30.

[52]On contemporary parallels between the Crusaders and the Old Testament, see Paul Alphandéry, "Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 99 (1929), 139–57.

[53]The two manuscripts in which these are found are Cambridge, Trinity Library B.11.10, fols.74r–75v, 77v–78r; and Cambridge, University Library Ll.2.10, fols. 100v–103v. The manuscripts contain identical scrip-and-staff rites. Brundage believed the cross rites were found in B.11.10 and not Ll.2.10, but was mistaken. He missed the identical cross prayer on Ll.2.10, fols. 77v–78r. Curiously and atypically, the cross text does not appear in direct succession to the scrip-and-staff texts. See Brundage, "Cruce signari," p. 293, no. 13, and pp. 303–06 for edition.

> you, like Abraham,[54] may, with the aid of our Lord Christ, merit to possess [*possidere*] the land of the living [*terram viventius*], where the most beloved haven of faithful souls is.[55]

The prayer directly references crusading goals. The crusader is "signed" with the cross on his right that, according to narrative sources, is where crusaders often wore their cross. The crusader hopes to be worthy of possessing (*possidere*) the land of the living (*terra viventium*) and is compared to Abraham sent to possess Palestine. The *terra viventium* was an Old Testament phrase designating the earthly world, although medieval liturgical use of the phrase tended to allegorize it to heaven.[56] Here, the benediction, by evoking the *portus animarum* (haven of souls), melded the temporal Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem, which was, of course, a devotional goal of serving Christ through crusade. Over the course of the eleventh century, particularly for Western pilgrims seeking to end their lives in Jerusalem, terrestrial Jerusalem came increasingly to be seen as the gateway to the heavenly Jerusalem.[57] This prayer appropriated that notion of salvation to crusade: to possess the (temporal) land of the living, following Abraham, so as to possess the heavenly reward.

Other newly composed benedictions centered squarely on Jerusalem absorbed developing ideals of crusading in different ways. A twelfth-century rite from southern Italy brought together traditional prayers for the rite of scrip and staff known from the RGP and ninth-century additions to the Gellone Sacramentary[58] with newly composed texts centered on the cross, thus connecting Christ, his life, and his geographical location in Jerusalem. After the richly chosen

[54] *Cf.* Abraham marked by faith in Heb. 11:8; James 2:23.

[55] Brundage, "Cruce signari," p. 305: "Ad dandam crucem: Suscipe iugum christi quod est fidelibus suis leve onus, signo sancte crucis insignante, quatinus fide abraham exeuntis dextera insignitus, terram viventium merearis possidere, ubi est fidelium animarum gratissimus portus, prestante domino nostro ihesu christo."

[56] Job 28:13; Ps. 26:13, 51:7, 141:6; Is. 38:11, 53:8; Jer. 11:19; Ezek. 26:20, 32:23–27, 32:32. On allegorization, see Albert Blaise, *Le Vocabulaire latin des principaux thè`mes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966), p. 297, §167.

[57] On the development of this strand of interpretation, see Schein, *Gateway*, pp. 114–30.

[58] Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross," pp. 431–32. Graz, Universitätbibliothek 239, 143v–146v, perhaps from Bari); see manuscript description at http://www-classic.uni-graz.at/ubwww/sosa/katalog/. For earlier texts, *cf.* Dumas, "Item Orationis ad Iter Agentibus," *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, pp. 39–40; Heiming, ed., "Item Oraciones ad iter agentibus," *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, p. 24, no. CCCXIIII.

psalmody that resounded with such timely themes as "May He send help from the sanctuary, and defend thee out of Sion" [Psalms 19:3, itself a reference to Jerusalem], and "The enemy shall have no advantage over him; nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him" [Psalms 88:23], the opening prayer speaks of the supplicant:

> Who, because of the love of Your name rejects all impiety and secular desires, and desires to hurriedly go to the place where our Lord God Jesus Christ, Your son, Born of the Virgin, died and rose in the flesh. According to the revelation of the prophet that said concerning Him: "*We will adore in the place where his feet stood*" [Psalms 131:7], hear, kindly, his prayers and clemently breathe life into his vows, and because human frailty is to do no worthy fruit of penitence without you.[59]

The rest of the prayer—in which the supplicant asks God to protect him on the journey—echoed the traditional pilgrimage theme on which the rite was based, but the additions were pointed. Psalms 131:7—"We will adore in the place where his feet stood"—was, because of its focus on Jerusalem, a standard of the devotional literature for Holy Land pilgrimages often deployed in crusading formulations. In 1100 crusader Stephen of Neublens cited it in a charter to Cluny in explaining why he was going on crusade.[60] Fulcher of Chartres cited Psalm 131 in describing Bohemond and Baldwin on pilgrimage to Jerusalem after its fall to crusaders.[61] In mid-century St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in a letter to Peter the Venerable, used Psalms 131:7 to underscore the need to defend the Church in the East.[62] The focus here was on Jerusalem as the place where Christ had lived and died, emphasizing Christ's humanity, his lived life in the Holy Land, and the physical geography that was the very goal of the crusade.

[59]Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 239, fols. 144r–v. Pennington, "The Rite for Taking The Cross," p. 431: "qui propter amorem nominis tui omnem impietatem et secularia desideria abnegans, ad locum ubi dominus noster Iesus Christus filius tuus secundum carnem ex virgine nasci, mori, et resurgere atque in celum ascendere voluit ire festinate. Iuxta prophetie vaticinium de eo dicentis, 'Adorabimus in loco ubi stereunt pedes eius,' [Ps. 131:7] exaudi propitius preces eius et vota clementer inspira, et quia humana fragilitas nichil sine te potests dignum fructum penitentie facere, tribue ei auxilium eumque virtute custodiendo protege et protegendo custodi, quatinus per viam mandatorum tuorum iugiter gradiens a te venie largitore et omnium bonorum datore, peracto presentis vite cursu, suorum mercedem laborum recepturus feliciter valeat."

[60]Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, p. 99.

[61]Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), p. 131 (book 1.33).

[62]Schein, *Gateway*, p. 77–78; Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," p. 318; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 96, 114.

The themes were overwhelmingly devotional. They centered on the cross; the living Christ as human, temporal, sufferer, and redeemer; and the penitential disposition of the crusader himself. This valuation of Jerusalem drew on a strand of devotional thought that prioritized the humanity of Christ and in turn underscored the penitential and devotional elements of crusading ideology. The emphasis on the *humanity* of Christ—over the salfivic, eschatological powers of the cross evoked by cross prayers inherited from the RGP—was in line with larger trends in late twelfth- and especially thirteenth-century devotion that grew along with the apostolic poverty movement and the increased weight given to suffering (and suffering through crusade) as a passion in imitation of Christ's Passion, all of which prioritized the geographical space of the Holy Land.[63] Intended for a monk ("frater"), a twelfth-century sacramentary for a monastic house in the Narbonnais—perhaps St. Michel de Cuxa in the Pyrenees—emphasized Christ's passion and humility:

> Brother, accept the sign of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and proceed forth to the church of Jerusalem, in which the glorious tomb of our redeemer is known to all humanity, in so far as before him the rivulets of your tears streams forth, may you be able to wash away the filth of your crimes, as the Lord our Jesus Christ nods down on you [in approval].[64]

The text, and its context in a *monastic* sacramentary, underscores the extent to which the cross was about Jerusalem pilgrimage, not just crusade, and in turn the extent to which, ritually, Jerusalem crusade continued to draw much of its devotional meaning from the paradigms of pilgrimage. Here as elsewhere, the emphasis was on Jesus's life and death, rather than on the Salvific power of Christ and the eschatological powers of the Cross, and these prayers specified explicitly the Church of Jerusalem as the goal. Likewise, a thirteenth-

[63]The increasing importance of the humanity of Christ in crusading ideology is primarily evident in sermons; see Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991); Christoph T. Maier, "Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade," in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John Moore (Brookfield, VT, 1999), pp. 351–60. This also is discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, pp. 63–90.

[64]Avignon, BM 178, fol. 155r: "Alia: Iesu Christi domini nostri passionis signum accipe frater, et perge ad ecclesiam iherosolimitanum, in qua gloriosum sepulcrum nostri redemptoris secundum humanitatem constat adesse, quatinus profusis coram eo riuulis tuarum lacrimarum, abluere valeas sordes tuorum facinorum annuente ipso domino nostro Iesu Christo. Qui cum patre et filio." See Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, p. cviii.

century pontifical from the Tarentaise (in the Savoy) spoke of Jerusalem in the "*Benedictio crucis peregrinorum*" as the "*locum venerabilem passionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi.*"[65] As with the monastic example, this focused the prayer more fully on the spatial, temporal, and geographical Jerusalem as the locus of the Passion than on the heavenly, eschatological, and transcendental Jerusalem.

Papal Practices: Toward Durandus

These were all local traditions, local adaptations to developing devotional practices spurred by crusade. Surprisingly, the papacy lagged in adopting either a rite for scrip and staff or one for the cross, but when around 1250 it finally incorporated a rite for departing pilgrims and crusaders into the Roman Pontifical of the Thirteenth Century (RP13), it offered both a generic rite for scrip and staff that could be used for any pilgrimage and, separately, a rite "for the Cross of those who are about to leave for Jerusalem."[66] This adoption of a cross-scrip-staff rite was important because of the influence of the Roman liturgy throughout Europe as local churches increasingly adopted Roman rites.[67] The blessing itself did not specifically evoke Jerusalem, but its rubric for the cross did. In RP13, the rubric for the scrip and staff reads "the Blessing for the scrip and staff of pilgrims which is not found in the Lord Pope's Ordinary"; as it did not specify Jerusalem, it thus was appropriate for any pilgrimage. In contrast, the two prayer items for the cross following the scrip-and-staff rite make clear a Jerusalem destination: the blessing "upon the cross of those who are to go to Jerusalem." Here, the pontifical is clear—scrip and staff is the *signum* of any pilgrimage, but the cross designates *Jerusalem* pilgrimage specifically. The verb for the cross text designates simply movement or travel (*iturus*—he who is about to leave), which made it appropriate for both devotional pilgrims and fighting pilgrims, although the terms used for crusade in this period were

[65]Aosta, Bibliothèque du Chapitre de la Cathédrale 5, fols. 95v–96r; Robert Amiet, *Le Pontifical d'Emeric de Quart* [Monumenta liturgica ecclesiae augustanae, XIV], (Aoste, 1992), p. 116.

[66]Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age: Tome II: Le Pontifical de la Curie Romaine au XIII^e siècle*, [ed. Studi e Testi, 87], (Vatican City, 1940), Ordo XX, pp. 418–20. On RP13, see the introduction to Andrieu's edition; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 252. This development is covered more fully in Gaposchkin, "Origins and Development."

[67]Kay, *Pontificalia*. Kay's repertory lists eighty-four pontificals that represent all or parts of RP13. To be sure, the majority will not include this rite; the number simply represents the relative influence of this family of texts. Andrieu's edition alone uses fourteen exemplars.

overwhelmingly ones that designated "journey" or "travel" (*profiscor; iter*).[68] The imagery of the cross blessing, deploying a language of victorious arms and the "standard" of the cross, thus became part of the broader discourse of crusade.

The generic scrip-and-staff rite, paired with a blessing for the cross specific to Jerusalem, probably reflected a notional division, where the cross blessing could be used to turn a pilgrimage rite into one specifically for Jerusalem pilgrims, but also might be used without the cross texts for other pilgrimages. Manuscripts throughout the period did not necessarily bundle the cross rite with the scrip-and-staff rite into one overall rite with a single unifying rubric. Instead, "benedictio crucis," "benedictio perae," and "benedicti baculi" (with a variable number of prayers, or "alia") were simply copied in sequence. Because others *did* group blessings together in a single rite and a chronology can be outlined showing when cross and scrip/staff blessings began to be copied in sequence, we can trace the developing practice for departing Jerusalem pilgrims and crusaders. But there is no reason that the two rites—cross on the one hand, scrip and staff on the other—could not also be performed separately. Because of liturgical fluidity, the possibilities were infinite. Since rubrics for the scrip-and-staff prayers for the most part never routinely adopted a language that indicated Jerusalem, they could be used independently for, say, pilgrimage to Canterbury.

The watershed moment came with William Durandus, bishop of Mende, *c.* 1293 (two year after the fall of Acre and thus at the end of the classic crusade period), when he rewrote the Pontifical for Mende. This pontifical, which effectively replaced RP13, standardized the Roman Pontifical and was wildly popular on the continent throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even more than the curial liturgy of the thirteenth century, the rite spread to the north in the later Middle Ages, particularly after the papacy moved to Avignon.[69] Durandus titled the rite "On the Benediction and the Placing of the Cross of Those Departing in Aid of the Holy Land."[70]

[68]Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 50–51.

[69]Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age:* Tome III—*Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand* [ed. Studi e Testi, 88], (Vatican City, 1940), hereafter cited as Andrieu, *PWD*; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 253–55. Kay's repertory contains eighty-eight examples of manuscripts that either represent the Durandus Pontifical or incorporate elements of it. See Kay, *Pontificalia*.

[70]Andrieu, *PWD*, p. 541, XXX: "De benedictione et imposition crucis proficiscentium in subsidium terre sancte."

This was finally, clearly, and definitively, a "crusading" rite, and it was a rite that specifically demanded Jerusalem. The term Durandus used is "*subsidium terrae sanctae*"—the same language used routinely for crusade (and other forms of aid, financial and otherwise) to the Holy Land.[71] According to the instructions offered for the celebrant, the blessing is "for those who wish to depart [*proficisci*] for the aid of the Holy Land, the cross that is to be placed on him is blessed and placed on him in this way."[72] *Proficisci*—meaning "to depart" or "to set out"—was another one of those simple "movement" words (with *iter*) that constituted the principal signifier of crusading.[73] Durandus's texts incorporated, but reworked, many of the important texts from the Roman liturgical tradition—including texts from the mass of inherited travel and pilgrimage traditions that reached back into the ninth and tenth centuries—but in a new and elegant formulation and—critically—with resonant additions. The central prayer for the handing over the cross to the crusader added an explicit crusading reference to Matthew 10:38, in which Christ enjoins his followers to "pick up the cross and follow" him. The line had been a rallying cry for crusade since 1095, and it is singularly remarkable that this is the first text to incorporate it into the rite for blessing that very cross.[74] Durandus addressed "those who take up the cross to follow You and hurry towards Your tomb"[75]—an explicit reference to Jerusalem crusading, since it was precisely the *sepulcher domini,* the Holy Sepulcher, that was the goal of Jerusalem conquest. The bishop recited:

> So that he who wishes to come after You, might deny himself and follow You by carrying his cross, we beseech Your immense clemency, in order that this faithful servant of yours, who in following Your words desires to deny himself and take up his cross and follow You, and to hasten towards

[71]Björn Weiler, "The 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae' in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215–1311," *The International History Review*, 25 (2003), 1–36, here 3. Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (Leiden, 1975), p. 142.

[72]Andrieu, *PWD*, p. 541: "Si quis proficisci desiderat in subsidium terre sancte, crux illi imponenda hoc modo benedicitur et ei imponitur."

[73]Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 50–51.

[74]This is an important theme in Purkis's *Crusading Spirituality.* Purkis, in the early chapters, follows the use of this language through to the Third Crusade and argues that, although it was used widely for the First Crusade, under the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, the term was increasingly reserved for monastics. Purkis's investigations do not extend into the thirteenth century.

[75]Andrieu, *PWD*, p. 542.

> Your tomb, may always and everywhere be protected by you; pluck him from every danger, and absolve him from the chains of sin, and lead him in the vow he has taken to the desired end.[76]

With Durandus, there is no doubt. This is a rite for crusaders who are on Jerusalem crusade, owing everything to the penitential tradition of pilgrimage, but centered squarely within the thirteenth-century spirituality of crusade that mixed passion and humanity with devotion to Christ. As had been consistently the case in the rites that borrowed from the deep inheritance of travel and pilgrimage, the prayer asked God to protect the pilgrim/crusader from physical and spiritual dangers, requesting in particular absolution from the pains of sin. In this, we have a deep continuity with the now ancient pilgrimage entreaties. But we have moved from Rome to Jerusalem, from the threshold of the apostles to the tomb of Christ.

Durandus's rite was widely distributed in the fourteenth and fifteen centuries, and his texts were often incorporated into further localized traditions that transmitted the rite's direct focus on Jerusalem.[77] And directives to Jerusalem were increasingly common even for rites not dependent on Durandus. A fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript titles its rite "Blessing of the Cross of Those who Desire to Go to the Holy Land"; a southern French manuscript is titled "The Ordo for the Placing of the Cross of the *Crucesignatus*"[78] (a specific term that distinguished *crusader* from *pilgrim,* developed *c.* 1200[79]). In England, by the fifteenth century, the rite was called "The Ordo of Blessing for Pilgrims Who [Are] Sailing to the Holy Land," and, in another rite, the instruction for blessing the cross was "The Blessing of the Cross of Those Journeying to Jerusalem."[80] At the end of the fif-

[76]Andrieu, *PWD*, p. 542: "ut quicumque vult post te venire, seipsum abneget et suam crucem tollens te sequatur, quesumus immensam clementiam tuam, ut hunc famulum tuum, qui iuxta verbum tuum seipsum abnegare suamque crucem tollere et te sequi desiderat, et ad tuum properare sepulcrum, semper et ubique protegas et a periculis omnibus eruas et a vinculo peccatorum absolvas acceptumque votum ad effectum deducat optatum."

[77]Pick, "*Signaculum Caritatis*," p. 395.

[78]For example, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Lat. 966, fols. 152r–153r: "Benedictione et imposicione crucis proficiscencium in subsidium terre sancte. Pick, "*Signaculum Caritatis,*" pp. 412–13.

[79]Markowski, "*Crucesignatus:* Its Origins and Early Usage"; Vatican City, Ottobon. Lat. 330, fol. 273r, "Ordo ad imponendam crucem crucesignandis."

[80]For the "Lincoln Pontifical" (Cambridge, University Library Mm.3.21, fols. 194v–196v), see Brundage, "Cruce signari," p. 309: "Benediccio crucis pergentis Jerusalem." For

teenth century a German rite was titled "Ordo of Blessing Pilgrims Desiring to Sail to the Holy Land."[81]

By the sixteenth century the hope of regaining Jerusalem had been so subordinated to the greater, nearer, Ottoman threat that the Roman liturgy of 1520, in replacing Durandus, titled the crusading rite "the Benediction and Placing of the Cross of *Those Going in Help and Defense of the Christian Faith or the Recapturing of the Holy Land*," explicitly emphasizing holy war.[82] Whereas the goal remained, elusively, the recapture of the Holy Land, the rite had been fully disassociated from pilgrimage. No mention was made of a scrip-and-staff rite, but following the cross-blessing were blessings for arms, blessing of the sword, and the blessing and handing over of the war standard.[83] This is mirrored in a different way by blessings for the crusader's cross that become separated in the manuscripts from scrip-and-staff rites.[84] Four centuries on, Jerusalem crusade was no longer keyed to the paradigm of pilgrimage that had created it.

York, see W. G. Henderson, ed., *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis* [The Publications of the Surtees Society, 63], (Durham, 1875), p. 104: "Benedictio crucis et eorum qui in Hierusalem Proficiscuntur."

[81]Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:284: "Ordo benedictionis ad peregrinos navigare volentes ad terram sanctam."

[82]Alberto da Castello, *Pontificale s[ecundu]m Ritu[m] Sacrosancte Romane ecclesie* (Venice, 1520), fols. 172r–v, emphasis added: "De benedictione et impositione crucis profiscentibus in subsidium et defensionem fidei christiane seu recuperationem terre sancte." The text is reprinted in Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, pp. 200–01. Columbia University owns a copy of the pontifical; the author thanks Consuelo Dutschke for verifying that the volume does not contain a rite for pilgrims. See also the first printed edition of the Roman Pontifical (1485), where the rubric reads "De Benedictione & imposition Crucis proficiscentibus in subsidium terre sancte." Manilio Sodi, ed., *Il "Pontificalis Liber"* di Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini E Giovanni Burcardo (1485), [Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica], (Vatican City, 2006), 485 (no. 1506).

[83]Alberto da Castello, *Pontificale s[ecundu]m Ritu[m] Sacrosancte Romane ecclesie*, "De benediction armorum" (fol. 173r), "De benedictione ensis" (fol. 173r), "De benedictione et traditione vexilli bellici" (fol. 173r–v).

[84]Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 56, fols. 171v–173r (printed in Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:283–84); Trier, Bistumarchiv, MS. 570, fol. 282r–v, although the rite is incomplete since the end of the manuscript is missing (both second half of the fourteenth century or late-fourteenth century); the rites are closely related and are both titled "Ordo ad suscipiendum signum crucis"; London, British Library, Add. 39762, fol. 162r, "Benedictio ad imponendam crucem."

Final Thoughts, Further Questions

Given the necessarily fragmentary and often local liturgical evidence pertaining to scrip, staff, and cross, it can be dangerous to formulate generalizations. But there are trends, and these trends point toward the increasingly explicit focus on Jerusalem. Fundamentally, the history of the rite underscores the dominance of the pilgrimage paradigm in Jerusalem crusade through to the sixteenth century and thus the importance not so much of Jerusalem in defining crusade, but of pilgrimage in defining Jerusalem crusade. Jerusalem crusade thus could always be associated with the prayers of the saints and the remission of all sins that had been promised in the pilgrimage rites well before 1095. The addition of the cross blessing to the old scrip-and-staff rite was probably an early, instinctive, spontaneous, and inchoate liturgical response to the importance of the new symbol of crusade, the badge of the cross. But once established, the rite then set its own parameters, and its debt to the pilgrimage form meant that it was difficult to disassociate the meaning of the departure ritual from the focus on Jerusalem. There were clearly exceptions and local practices. Experimentation and invention, however, seemed to mark the period from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century. These changes to the rite tended to invoke Jerusalem. As the rite focused on Jerusalem, despite the many other theaters of crusade that emerged during the thirteenth century, it structured a hierarchy of crusading, valorizing, and sacralizing Jerusalem crusade as the model for "taking up the cross."

This was all complicated in so far as crusades were soon called to destinations other than Jerusalem—that is, to geographical locations without association with a holy space or saint's shrine and thus not considered a pilgrimage per se. As these new crusades did not involve devotional shrines, the rite of cross, scrip, and staff always remained centered on the Holy City. The imprecise language applied also obscured the issue. Throughout the crusading period, especially in the twelfth century, crusaders were designated as *peregrini* without distinguishing between armed and unarmed pilgrims to Jerusalem. As new fronts of crusading emerged, crusaders—that is, people who made a vow to crusade ("took the cross")—continued to be called "pilgrims" even if they traveled to places other than Jerusalem or to destinations other than a holy site or shrine. The vocabulary that developed at the end of the twelfth century did provide some separation between the "mere" devotional pilgrim and the armed pilgrim

(that is, crusader). Notably, these terms were based on the language of the "cross bearer" or "cross wearer"—*croisé, kreuzfahrer, crucesignatus.* The language of the *crucesignatus* was in one sense a response to the expansion of crusade, since one could now be *crucesignatus* but not a pilgrim. This distinction between the crusader and the pilgrim allowed for forms of crusade (that is, papally sanctioned holy war against enemies of the Church that incurred spiritual benefit known as the indulgence) other than Jerusalem crusade. Therefore, the language of crusading—applied to an individual signed by the cross (*crucesignatus*)—did not distinguish, but the rite that blessed that sign of the cross (*signum crucis*) increasingly and stubbornly did. It was the Holy Land of the Crusades—the geographical location where Christ had lived and died, the Holy City of his tomb, and the gate to the Heavenly Jerusalem—that promoted and preserved the tie between pilgrimage and holy war. In conjunction with the increasingly central place of Jerusalem, the prayers that explicitly identified Jerusalem concretized it as a physical, obtainable space. This was not the eschatological Jerusalem of transcendental metaphor, but rather the setting of Christ's life and death; the place of his tomb; the site of special proximity to the Savior.

APPENDIX A: Notes on Sources

This study is drawn from research done for a larger project on the transformation of rituals of departure for pilgrimage and crusade. Listed here are only those sources pertinent to the discussion in this article. Many, but not all, of the most interesting texts have been published. For the earlier period, the relevant sources are generally found in sacramentaries, drawn here from editions of the Gelasian, Gregorian, and Mozarabic sacramentary traditions. Starting in the eleventh century, the relevant rites are principally found in pontificals. Thus the work here has relied heavily on the editions of the Romano Germanic Pontifical (RGP) prepared by Cyril Vogel and Reinhart Elze,[85] as well as Michel Andrieu's editions of the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century (RP12),[86] the Roman Pontifical of the Curia of the Thirteenth Century (RP13),[87] and the Pontifical of

[85]Vogel and Elze, eds., *RGP*.

[86]Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age:* Tome I—*Le Pontifical Romain du XII^e siècle*, [Studi e Testi 86], (Vatican City, 1938).

[87]Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age:* Tome II—*Le Pontifical de la Curie Romaine au XIII^e siècle*.

William Durandus (PWD).[88] There were, however, many local traditions that are not yet in print. Here, the catalogs and handlists of Victor Leroquais (for France), John Brückmann (for England),[89] and José Janini and his collaborators (for Spain)[90] have facilitated location of relevant sources in the manuscripts. James Brundage has edited relevant texts for England.[91] Lucy Pick examined much of the French materials and published the relevant texts.[92] Adolf Franz's still important study of rituals and blessings also has been an important source, particularly for German materials.[93] Kenneth Pennington published two extraordinary rites from Italy.[94] Although Germany and Italy are less well served by comprehensive and highly granulated catalogs, Richard Kay's recent repertory of medieval pontificals and benedictionals has enabled the discovery of many relevant texts.[95] In most cases, the original or a digital or microfilm copy of the text has been acquired and consulted. Below is a list of the sources identified in the article by their manuscript shelf-mark. When available, editions of manuscripts have also been noted.

Sacramentaries

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Phillipps 1667 (105), the Autun Sacramentary, also known as the Phillipps Sacramentary 9 c. Odilo Heiming, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, [Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 49B], (Turnhout, 1984).

Paris, BNF Lat 12048, the Gellone Sacramentary (*c.* 800, France) (9 c). Antoine Dumas, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*. 2 vols., [Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159–159A], (Turnhout, 1981).

Gregorian Sacramentary. Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 2nd ed., [Spicilegium Friburgense], (Fribourg, 1979).

[88]Andrieu, *PWD*.

[89]John Brückmann, "Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales," *Traditio,* 29 (1973), 391–458.

[90]José Janini, José Serrano, and Anscario Mund, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Biblioteca nacional* (Madrid, 1969); José Janini, Ramón Gonzálvez, and A. M. Mundó, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Toledo, 1977); José Janini, *Manuscritos liturgicos de las bibliotecas de España*, 2 vols. (Burgos, 1977–80).

[91]Brundage, "Cruce signari," pp. 289–310.

[92]Pick, "*Signaculum Caritatis*," pp. 381–416.

[93]Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:271–89.

[94]Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross," pp. 429–35.

[95]Kay, *Pontificalia*. Available at http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/4406/3/PONTIFICALIA.pdf

Lerida, Arxiu de la Catedral, ms. 16 (olim 38), the Roda Sacramentary (Roda, *c.* 1000). J. R. Barriga Planas, ed., *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda: cod. 16 de l'arxiu de la catedral de Lleida, c. 1000* (Barcelona, 1975), pp. 541–44.

Vich, Museo episcopal 66, the Vich Sacramentary (1038, Vich, Spain). Alejandro Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, [Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie liturgica 4], (Barcelona, 1953).

Pontificals

Aosta, Bibliothèque du Chapitre de la Cathédrale ms. 5, fols. 95v–96r (Tarentaise Pontifical, 1246–71). Robert Amiet, ed., *Le Pontifical d'Emeric de Quart*, [Monumenta liturgica ecclesiae augustanae XIV], (Aoste, 1992), pp. 118–19.

Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 143, fols. 172r–175r (Sacramentary from Caromb, 13 c) (unedited).

Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 178, fols. 154r–155r (Pontifical from the Narbonnais [St. Michel de Cuxa?], 12 c). Partial transcription in Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, CVIII.

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek ms. Lit. 56, fols. 171v–173r (Bamberg Pontifical, 14 c). Partial ed. in Franz, *Die kirchlichen*, 2:283–84.

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek ms. Lit. 58, fols. 64r–64v (Salzburg Pontifical, 12 c) (unedited).

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek ms. Lit 60, fols. 108v–109v (Benedictional from Séez, 12 c) (unedited).

Barcelona, Archives of the Crown of Aragon, San Cugat, ms. 73, fols. 23v–24r (Pontifical from San Cugat, 1218) (unedited).

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, lat. med. aev. ms. 330, fols. 153r–156r (Biburg Rituale, 12 c). Walter Von Arx, ed., *Das Klosterrituale Von Biburg (Budapest, Cod. lat. m. ae. Nr. 330, 12 Jh.)*, [Spicilegium Friburgense 14], (Freiburg, 1970), pp. 260–63.

Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 223, fols. 146r–147r (Cambrai Pontifical, first half 13 c). Pick, ed., pp. 413–14.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 146, p. 4 (Canterbury Pontifical, 1025–75) (unedited).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 163, p. 288 (Winchester Pontifical, late 11 c) (unedited).

Cambridge, Trinity Library ms. B.11.10, fols.74r–75v, 77v–78r (Ely Pontifical, late 12 c). Brundage, ed., pp. 303–06.

Cambridge, University Library ms. Ll.2.10, fols. 100v–103v (Ely Pontifical, late 12 c). Brundage, ed., pp. 303–06.

Cambridge, University Library ms. Mm.3.21, fols. 194v–196v (Lincoln Pontifical, 15 c). Brundage, ed., pp. 307–10.

Cambridge, University Library ms. Ff.6.9, fol 85r–86r. (Coventry Pontifical, *c.* 1200.). Brundage, ed., pp. 306–07.

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek ms. 186, fols. 81r–84r (Southern Italian, Beneventan? Second half 12 c; "The Lambrecht Pontifical"). Pennington, ed., pp. 433–35.

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek ms. 239, fols. 143v–146v (Southern Italian, Beneventan? Second half 12 c, "The Bari Pontifical"). Pennington, ed., pp. 431–32.

London, British Library Add. ms. 39762, fol. 162r (Trier Pontifical, 15c) (unedited).

London, British Library Harley ms. 2892, fols. 200r–v. Reginald Maxwell Woolley, ed., *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl, ms. 2892)* (Woodbridge, UK, 1995), p. 126.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nationale ms. 678, fols. 67r–68v (Messina Pontifical, *c*. 1200) (unedited).

Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana ms. A92, fols. 115r–116v (Palermo Pontifical 12 c, before 1167) (unedited).

Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek Clm ms. 6427, fols. 133r–134r (11 c). Published in Franz, *Die kirchlichen,* II:275–77; see also Clm ms. 9563, fol. 94v and Clm ms. 22040, fol. 103r (both 12 c).

Oxford, Magdalene College ms. 226, fols. 246r–246v (late 12 c, from the Diocese of Canterbury). H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Pontifical of Magdalen College: With an appendix of extracts from other English mss. of the twelfth century*, (London, 1910), pp. 206–07.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat ms. 966, fols. 152r–153r (Verdun Pontifical, 16 c). Pick, ed., pp. 412–13.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal ms. 332, fols. 24v–25v (Paris Pontifical, second half 13 c). Pick, ed., pp. 413–14.

Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 341, 2v–3r (Reims Pontifical, *c*. 1100) (unedited).

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense ms. 614, fols. 18r–22r. Derek A. Rivard, ed., "*Pro Iter Agentibus*: The Ritual Blessings of Pilgrims and Their Insignia in a Pontifical of Southern Italy," *Journal of Medieval History,* 27 (2001), 388–92.

Saint Florian ms. XI 467, fols. 120r–122v. Adolph Franz, ed., *Das rituale von St. Florian aus dem zwölften jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1904), pp. 113–15.

Trier, Bistumarchiv ms. 570, fol. 282r–v (German Pontifical, 1389–1419) (unedited).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Lat. ms. 6748, fols. 51r–54r (Montereale, 14 c) (unedited).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottoboni. ms. 330, fols. 273r–v (Maguelonne Pontifical, 15 c) (unedited).

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ms. Pal. 701, fols. 3r–3v, 134r–134v, doublet (Mainz, 11 c). Ed. in *RGP*, CCXII, p. 362.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Rheinau ms. 114, fols. 63r–65r. Gebhard Hürlimann, ed., *Das Rheinauer Rituale (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.)*, [Spicilegium Friburgense 5], (Freiburg, 1959), pp. 142–43.

"TEARS OF THE INDIANS" OR SUPERFICIAL CONVERSION? JOSÉ DE ACOSTA, THE BLACK LEGEND, AND SPANISH EVANGELIZATION IN THE NEW WORLD

BY

GREGORY MURRY*

The author analyzes the changing English perceptions of Spanish evangelization in the Americas, arguing that José de Acosta's work marked a fundamental shift in English attitudes toward Catholic claims of native conversions. Whereas the earliest Black Legend stories had emphasized Spanish rapacity and native rejection of Christianity, later English controversialists seized on Acosta's admissions of superficial conversions to argue that Spaniards had succeeded in partial conversions only because Catholicism was marked by the same forms of idolatry and superstition as native religions.

Keywords: Acosta, José de; Black Legend; missionaries; religion

> Upon these lambes [the Indians] so meeke, so qualified et endowed of their maker and creator, as hath bin said, entred the Spanish incontinent as they knewe them, as wolves, as lions, et as tigres most cruel of long time famished: and have not done in those quarters these 40. yeres be past, neither yet doe at this present, ought els save teare them in peeces, kill them, martyre them, afflict them, torment them, et destroy them, by straunge sortes of cruelties.[1]

So wrote the controversial champion of native rights, the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas, unintentionally injecting the "tears of the Indians" motif into the virulent and persistent anti-Spanish tradition

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[1]Bartolome de las Casas, *A briefe Narration of the destruction of the Indes, by the Spanyardes*, English trans. by M. M. S. from the French translation of the Castilian original by Jacques de Miggrode (London, 1583), sig. A[1v]. Accessed through Early English Books Online, hereafter abbreviated as EEBO (December 8, 2006).

known as the Black Legend—the enduring English characterization of Spaniards as intolerant, cruel, and violent religious fanatics.[2] Given Las Casas's obvious importance in forming English perceptions of Spain in the Americas, it is no surprise that scholars of the Black Legend have focused so heavily on him and the two things that his scathing pen so acerbically denounced: Spanish rapacity and cruelty.[3] Perhaps less appreciated is the fact that to a large degree, Englishmen also formed their first impression of the Indian from Las Casas's tract. Docile and intelligent, Las Casas's native was ready at any moment to adopt Christianity if only it was brought to him by a gentle and willing soul. Thus, as Englishmen gobbled up the continual reprints of Las Casas's general indictment of the Spanish conquest, they were supplied in turn with a ready-made indictment of Spanish evangelization; in short, it was widely believed that Spanish greed and cruelty had ruined a promising situation for Christianity.

As will be seen, the tropes of Spanish rapacity and Indian docility did not go away. However, these were not the only tropes that seeped out of Spanish sources. As historians of colonial Latin America have noted, optimism about the potential for native conversion did not last. Spanish clergymen like José de Acosta slowly began to understand that many natives had only been superficially converted to Christianity. When Acosta's admissions were transmitted to England, English thinkers seized on them to argue that Spaniards had succeeded in partial conversions primarily because of the essential congruity between Catholicism and the superstitious Indian religions. Moreover, if Englishmen had absorbed the conception of the docile, blank-slated Indian from Las Casas, then just as quickly did they absorb the opposite from Acosta. Acosta's Indian was a weak creature, often irrational and frequently in the snares of the devil.[4] Accepting this characteriza-

[2]Las Casas first published the *Brief Narration* in 1552, but it was not translated into English until 1583. However, it should not be assumed that educated Englishmen were unaware of the pamphlet or its contents before the translation. The phrase *Tears of the Indians* is one of the many titles of the English translation of Las Casas's work. It also was a title chapter of William Maltby's influential *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham, 1971).

[3]See Maltby, *The Black Legend*, pp. 12–28; Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Leyenda negra: Historia y opinión* (Madrid, 1992), pp. 221–38; Julian Juderias, *La Leyenda Negra: Estudios acerca del concepto de España en el Extranjero,* 13th ed. (1914; repr. Madrid, 1954), pp. 233–43; and Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia, MO, 2002), pp. 54–76.

[4]See Claudio M. Burgaleta, *José de Acosta S.J. (1540–1600): His Life and Thought* (Chicago, 1999), p. 110; Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and*

tion, English Protestants exploited the fact that many Indians had seemed to take so readily to Catholicism to argue that Catholicism was—like Indian religion—essentially "savage" and pagan. In the process, they were able to pair this new argument with old staples of antipopery (such as the charge that Catholics were idolaters[5]); to sharpen their views on emerging elements of antipopery (such as the claim that miracles were not a necessary feature of the true Church); and to adopt novel categories of antipopery (such as the charge that transubstantiation was theoretically akin to Indian cannibalism). In the end, these charges helped to demarcate more sharply between Roman Catholic and English creeds by linking the presumed exotic savagery of the natives to the more familiar savagery of Catholic doctrine.

Gold Was Their God: Spanish Rapacity and Indian Innocence

The Black Legend was an important aspect of English identity, composed as it was of a mix of xenophobia directed against the national enemy of Spain and religious antagonism directed against the "menace" of Catholicism. Thus, Las Casas's tract condemning Spanish actions in America provided welcome grist for both anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propaganda. Moreover, Las Casas's work provided a perfect response to Spanish missionaries' claims of massive native conversions, claims that English Protestants could not afford to ignore. Indeed, the issue at hand was no minor point of abstruse theological disputation; rather, Catholic claims of missionary success struck at the very heart of Protestant ecclesiastical legitimacy. Divisions of opinion on which church was the true church abounded in early-modern Europe, but most English Protestants agreed with their Catholic antagonists that the church ought to be one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. If Protestants most often leveled the charge that Roman Catholicism was neither holy nor apostolic, then Catholics found their most devastating response in charges that Protestantism was neither one nor catholic, which everyone understood to mean universal. Catholic controversialists did not bypass the opportunity to point out that Catholicism alone had made converts among the newly discovered peoples, an argument

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Imagination in Early Colonial Peru (Princeton, 1991), p. 269. See also José de Acosta, "*De Procuranda Indorum Salute*," in *Obras del P. Jose de Acosta* (1589; repr. Madrid, 1954), p. 568; José de Acosta, *The Naturall and Moral Historie of the East and West Indies*, trans. E.G. (London, 1604); EEBO (March 4, 2010), p. 379.

[5]See Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (New York, 1995), p. 189.

clearly designed to bolster their claims of unity and universalism. Arguing along these lines, the English Jesuit John Fisher claimed that overseas conversions had been made, "onely by those, who were membres o the Romaine Church, et chiefly by Iesuites sent thither by the auctoritie of the Pope."[6] Thus, English Protestants faced accusations that their inability to mount effective campaigns of overseas conversion delegitimized their claim to authentic Christianity.

For a time, Las Casas's critique of Spanish behavior in the New World provided a ready-made response—native peoples had in fact rejected Christianity, so Englishmen could claim, because of the Spaniards' own bad example. How could the Spaniards bring Christ to the Indies when they had no other God but gold? Las Casas's story of the apostate Cuban lord was one of the most oft-cited plays on this theme. Told that Spaniards went to heaven when they died, one quick-witted cacique apparently quipped that he therefore wished to go to hell, rather than anyplace where such people should be.[7] The story first seems to have entered into controversialist literature in 1589, in an antipapal tract by Thomas Rogers.[8] William Burton repeated it in 1593,[9] and thereafter it seems to have become common currency. By 1633 the Puritan divine Thomas Adams could repeat the story in a passing phrase, as if he expected that his readers were already familiar with it.[10] Since Samuel Annesley was still repeating the story in 1661,[11] it is clear that attacks on Spanish rapacity and cruelty never went out of fashion.

Moreover, whereas Las Casas had distinguished betwixt the conquistadors and missionaries,[12] Protestants generally made no such distinction. For instance, in 1624 John Reynolds wrote:

[6]John Fisher, *A Treatise of Faith* (St. Omer, 1605); EEBO (December 6, 2006), p. 122.

[7]Las Casas, *A Brief Narration*, sig. B[4r].

[8]Thomas Rogers, *An Historical Dialogue Touching Antichrist and Poperie* (London, 1589); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 113.

[9]William Burton, *David's Euidenence* (London, 1592); EEBO (December 6, 2006), p. 25.

[10]Thomas Adams, *A Commentary Or, Exposition Upon The Divine Second Epistle General Written by . . . St. Peter* (London, 1633); Digital Library of Protestant Texts hereafter abbreviated as DLPT (March 3, 2010), p. 12. The citation is in the context of an attack on Jesuit morals standards. Adams noted that the Jesuits must have been more interested in gold than souls and cited as evidence the fact that the "the poor Indian refused to go to heaven . . . if Spaniards should be there."

[11]Samuel Annesley, *The Morning Exercises at Cripplegate* (1661; repr. London, 1844); DLPT (March 3, 2010), p. 506.

[12]Las Casas, *A Brief Narration*, sig. F[3r]-G[3r].

> . . . behold the horrible Hipocrisie of these insulting and vsurping *Castillians*; for demaund them the reason of these their bloudy and execrable Massacres, of those poore armelesse and harmlesse *Indians*, and of the rooting out and exterminating of all their Princes and Nobility, they with as much falshood as impiety will affirme, that sith their King is the Catholique King, so this is to plant the Catholique faith in the remote, and new found Worlds of the World; whereby we may obserue, that Religion must still be the pretext, and cloke of their bloudy Vsurpation, when Heauen and Earth knowes and sees, that it is first gold, then a greedy desire of Dominion and Empire, which is the true cause, and sole obiect thereof.[13]

Gone is Las Casas's distinction between soldier and friar; Reynolds and others flattened the whole conquest into a monolithically Spanish endeavor, in which the missionaries were just as gold-hungry as the conquistadors. As Thomas Adams rather vividly put it, missionaries like the Jesuits "went not to fetch sheep to Christs fold, but to sheere their wool and flay their skins."[14] Having taken this line, further comment on the success of evangelization was unnecessary; Spanish rapacity had made the endeavor both hypocritical and futile.

José de Acosta and Changing Views of Indian Evangelization

Reynolds's argument also brought another characterization to the fore—the picture of the docile and innocent Indian. Many early accounts had indeed reported the more frightening aspects of Indian religion,[15] but Englishmen had taken little notice of these. Far more popular was the picture lifted straight out of the pages of Las Casas,[16] who claimed that the naturally docile Indians rejected Christianity only because it was brought on the point of a sword. Led to it gently, they would quickly become the best Christians in the world. In the *Brevissima Relacion*, he wrote:

[13]John Reynolds, *Vox Coeli* (London, 1624); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 6; emphasis in original. To some extent, this is a characterization that persists today in the collective Anglo-American historical consciousness. However, few would suggest that either of the two missionary protagonists of this article, Las Casas and Acosta, were insincere in their missionary endeavors.

[14]Adams, *A Commentary*, p. 12.

[15]Miguel Molina Martinez, *La leyenda negra* (Madrid, 1991), p. 56.

[16]Las Casas did treat Indian idolatry extensively in his unpublished *Apologética Historia* but preferred to see it in a rather positive light. See Cárcel, *La Leyenda*, pp. 225–26; and Sabine MacCormack, "Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes," *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67 (2006), 631–38.

> [The Indians] have their understanding very pure and quicke, being teachable and capable of all good learning, verye apt to receive our Holy Catholique faith, and to be instructed in good and vertuous manners, having lesse encombrances and disturbances to the atteyning thereunto, then al the folke of the world besids, and are so enflamed, ardent, and importune to knowe and understand the matters of the faith, after they have but begunne once to taste them.[17]

No doubt, this was most Englishmen's first perception of Native American peoples, a view certainly gleaned by reading the reports of the earliest Spanish missionaries, who had been blissfully confident in the sincerity of mass native conversions. However, by the 1560s, their initial enthusiasm had been badly shaken by a number of spectacular failures. Scandal rocked the valley of Mexico as early as 1539 when the cacique of Texcoco admitted to encouraging fellow natives to continue their practices of indigenous idolatry.[18] Much the same happened elsewhere. After discovering the persistence of idolatry in the Yucatan, the Franciscan Diego de Landa had instituted a brutal inquisition in 1562.[19] By the late-sixteenth century, worries about the perseverance of native religion had developed into full-fledged inquisitions in the Andes as well.[20] It is not too much to say that by Acosta's time, some of his fellow clergymen had begun to harbor serious disillusionment toward the prospect of real and lasting native conversion. Thus, alarmed Spanish missionaries belatedly revised Las Casas's original conception of the docile Indian. The new view posited that superficial conversion to Christianity belied a perverse attachment to idolatry and heathen deities. Some Spanish clergymen were so disillusioned that they argued further attempts at conversion were a waste of time. Others remained optimistic but argued that moving beyond a mere superficial conversion would be more difficult and require much more time than expected.

The most important interlocutor for this point of view was almost certainly Acosta, who as the holder of the chair of theology in Lima

[17]Las Casas, *A Brief Narration*, sig. A[1v].

[18]Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523–1572* (1933; repr. Berkeley, 1966), pp. 272–74.

[19]Matthew Restall, *Maya Conquistador* (Boston, 1998), pp. 14–15.

[20]See MacCormack, "Gods, Demons, and Idols," p. 639; and Kenneth Mills, "The Naturalization of Andean Christianities," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* Vol. 6: *Reformation and Expansion, 1500–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (New York, 2007), pp. 504–35.

had extensive firsthand experience in both the Andes and Mexico.[21] Acosta rejected both the naiveté of the early missionaries and the despair of some of his own contemporaries, arguing instead that converting natives was possible but would require patience, a virtuous clergy, and daily repetition of Christian doctrine. Had not the ancient Britons, so Acosta asked, practiced ceremonies just as brutal? Had not they been successfully converted centuries before?[22]

In 1589 Acosta published his *de Procuranda Indorum salute*, hotly followed by his more wide-ranging *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, first published in 1590. Rather tellingly, it did not take long for Acosta to make the jump into English, and his larger volume was translated and published in London in 1604. Among other claims, Acosta distinguished between three types of Indian: the literate, the semi-civilized, and the barbarian. Literate pagans, like the Japanese and Chinese, could be converted without state backing, for these were the most akin to the Greeks and Romans of antiquity. Semi-civilized sedentary societies that were nonliterate, like the Mexica and the Inca, needed the constant support of a Christian political system if they were not to quickly slip back into idolatry. Force was only licit against the wildest barbarians and only if they had rejected peaceful advances by killing and eating the missionaries.[23] Acosta was not the first to link the Indians of the New World to the pagans of antiquity; Las Casas had done the same. However, whereas Las Casas had argued that the American natives were essentially similar to the Romans,[24] Acosta never shared such an optimistic view of any American civilization.[25] Acosta agreed with Las Casas's assertion that violence against the natives had harmed the cause of the faith,[26] but he also realized that conversion would not be as easy as Las Casas had expected, especially since many of the original missionaries had baptized the Indians without properly instructing them.[27]

[21]For a description of Acosta's career in Spanish America, see Burgaleta, *José de Acosta*, pp. 33–55.

[22]Acosta, *The Naturall*, p. 346.

[23]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 392–93, 453.

[24]Càrcel, *La Leyenda*, p. 226.

[25]Apart from suggesting that the devil had used the same tricks on both the Incas and the Romans. Acosta, *The Naturall,* p. 337.

[26]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 418–20.

[27]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, p. 581.

Acosta's work focused most heavily on those Indians he knew best: the nonliterate "semi-civilized." Although quick to accept baptism, Acosta realized that these Indians were not blank slates and that they often reverted to idolatry.[28] Believing that the Indians' bad customs were caused more by nurture than nature and that they were capable of understanding Christianity,[29] Acosta underscored the need for patience. He argued that conversion would be slow, difficult, and discordant because of a number of things, not least of which were the disconcerting similarities between native religions and Catholicism.[30] Moreover, the realization that natives were not *tabulae rasae* presented itself to Acosta as a double-edged sword. On one hand, aspects of native religion that were superficially similar to Catholic teaching made conversion easier. For instance, because natives believed in a supreme God, "the Preachers of the Gospel have no great difficultie to plant et perswade this truth of a supreame God, be the Nations of whome they preach never so barbarous and brutish." Indeed, Acosta found that some native beliefs could be entirely reconciled to Christianity. On the other hand, much survived that could not; for instance, although it was easy to persuade Indians of the truth of the one supreme God, "it is hard to roote out of their mindes, that there is no other God, nor any other deitie then one."[31] Thus, Acosta approached native religions with a cautious ambivalence.

Of special concern were the many customs that bore superficial resemblance to Catholic rites, for Acosta noted that native Mesoamerican religion had a dizzying array of similarities to Catholicism, including a hierarchical priesthood, a celibate monastic life, confession, unction, the jubilee feast, and a type of Eucharist made

[28]"quia morum et ritum et legum monstra tot tantasque apud hosce sunt, et tanta in subditos saeviendi licentia, ut nisi potentia superiore et autoritate regantur, vix aut Evangelij lucem aut homine ingenuo vitam dignam accepturi videantur, aut si semel acceperint, non facile in ea perservaraturi intelligantur"("because they keep such a monstrosity of morals, rites, and laws, and among the subjects have such a license for violent disobedience, if they are not ruled by a greater power and authority, it will be difficult for them to receive the light of the gospel and the life worthy of men, and if they will receive it once, they will not easily understand how to perservere in it."). From *de procuranda salute de India*, cited in Diego Pirillo, "Il battesimo degli Indios: polemiche di fine Cinquecento," in *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi; un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa, 2006), 425–48, here p. 431. Translation provided by the author.

[29]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 393, 426–27.

[30]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 568–69.

[31]Acosta, *The Naturall,* p. 335.

from maize cakes.[32] Whereas some had thereby suspected that the Indians had learned about Christianity before the Spaniards' arrival, Acosta was skeptical of such arguments.[33] How then to explain the similarities? In his *Natural and Moral History*, Acosta claimed that the pagan rites were all the result of diabolic counterfeit. Seeking to be like God, the devil had in his pride imitated the Church's most holy rites.[34] However, dealing with these similarities was a tricky business because it was plain to see that the preexistence of similar indigenous rites facilitated acceptance of the corresponding Catholic rites. Thus, Acosta recommended a judicious mix; destruction of idols was to be coupled with the channeling of old customs into acceptable Catholic practice.[35] For instance, a candle could be lit for health, but only to God and only inside the Church,[36] whereas the excessive brutality of Indian confession was to be fought by encouraging Catholic confession.[37] On this account he wrote:

> There should be great care that in place of the old pernicious rites we introduce other more salubrious ones and replace some ceremonies with others. As to Holy water, images, rosaries, holy beads, candles, and all the rest that the holy Church approves, priests should be persuaded that they are very good for the neophytes.[38]

[32]Acosta, *The Naturall,* pp. 358–75, 391–420.

[33]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, p. 397.

[34]See Acosta, *The Naturall*, p. 393 and 505, where he writes, "without doubt it is a true thing, that the Divell the prince of pride, hath laboured by the superstitions of this Nation, to counterfaite & imitate that which the most high God did with this Nation: for as is said before, Satan hath a strange desire to compare and make himself equal with God." See also Burgaleta, *José de Acosta*, p. 110: "Acosta reminds his readers in the *Historia* that it should not shock them that so many of the idolatrous practices of the Aztecs and Incas remind one of the sacraments of the Catholic Church, since it is well known that the devil proceeds by imitating and mocking the order that God had established." Another secondary source on this matter is MacCormack's *Religion in the Andes*. In places, MacCormack has claimed that the influence of demons was not important in Acosta's thought; however, Burgaleta has challenged this reading. See Burgaleta, *José de Acosta*, p. 123. At any rate, MacCormack is inconsistent in her treatment of the role played by demons and diabolic counterfeit in Acosta's perception of native religion. See MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes,* pp. 269, 277–79.

[35]Although Acosta was adamant that confiscating idols from nonconverted natives was counterproductive, he did allow for the confiscation of idols from converted natives. See Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 564–65.

[36]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, p. 564.

[37]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 596–97.

[38]Acosta, *de Procuranda*, p. 565: "*hay que tener gran cuidado de que en vez de los ritos perniciosos se introduzcan otros saludables, y borrar unas cerimonias con otras. El agua benditas, las imágenes, los rosarios, las cuentas benditas, los cirios y*

The strategy of channeling native rites into Catholic piety was not Acosta's own invention;[39] however, this was the first time this strategy would have entered English consciousness, and the English would seize upon this admission with vigor.

Indian Idolatry, Catholic Idolatry, and Superficial Conversion

The English seized upon Acosta's admission because it seemed to confirm their worst fears about Catholicism, and although they accepted Acosta's admissions about partial conversion, they accentuated the idea that Catholic preaching was superficially successful because of its similarities to native religions. Whereas Acosta identified the nub of the problem in ineffectual instruction, Protestants cited the resemblances between Catholicism and native religions as proof that Catholicism was as heavily imbued with superstition and prone to the snares of anti-Christ as Indian religion. Protestants who read Acosta certainly agreed that some natives were being converted, but not to true Christianity; rather, natives had just exchanged one set of superstitions for another. Much of this rhetoric centered on the charge of idolatry, which is only natural since it was idolatry that, according to Anthony Milton, was the Roman error that "loomed larger than all the others—an error that made Rome's guilt almost uniquely despicable."[40]

One of the first to grasp the implications of Acosta's admissions was the highly learned George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. Responding to Catholic charges that Protestants had not mounted successful campaigns of conversion because it was impossible for heretics to make converts, he shot back:

> your Indian Converts of whom you boast, gaine but a little by you; for you mingle to their handes the doctrine of the Gospell, with many pollutions of vile Idolatry, et most horrible superstition, like to that of the olde Heathens.[41]

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las demás cosas que aprueba y frecuenta la santa Iglesia, persuádanse los sacerdotes que son muy oportunas para los neófitos." Emphasis in original.

[39]Apart from the many medieval precedents, this had already been done in the context of Latin America as well. See Amos Megged, "'Right from the Heart': Indians' Idolatry in Mendicant Preachings in Sixteenth-Century Mesoamerica," *History of Religions*, 35 (1995), 61–82.

[40]Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 187.

[41]George Abbot, *The Reasons which Dr. Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry* (Oxford, 1604); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 172. Abbot cites Acosta in several places in his work.

Abbot's argument often was repeated throughout the first half of the century. In 1618 the Puritan divine Thomas Cartwright wrote, "what are those by you converted but Popish Proselites, translated out of the state of Heathenish, to Anti-christian idolatries and superstitions."[42] Thus, some Protestants grew willing to grant that Catholics had made conversions, but only because, as the moderate puritan Andrew Willet put it, "They make their converts, by superstitious doctrines."[43] The end result was that conversion to Catholicism was no conversion at all since Indians, "in their first conversion to Christianity do drink in [Catholic] drugs and errors of doctrine."[44] Richard Baxter, an avid reader of Acosta, expressed the sentiment a little more picturesquely when he wrote:

> . . . *two Things spoiled their success* [of the Iberian missionaries] . . . *1. That when they took down the Heathen Images, they set them up others in the stead; and made them think that the main difference was, but whose* Image *they should worship: And withal, by their* Agnus Dei's*, and such like Trinkets, made Religion seem childish and contemptible*.[45]

Thus, the most common charge centered on presumed similarities between Catholic and native idolatry; indeed, Acosta's proposed strategy of using Catholic ritual to replace native ritual only reinforced Protestant assumptions that Catholics had won over their converts by simply neglecting to explain true Christianity fully. To Protestants, such a situation had surely arisen both because of Catholic missionaries' duplicity and Catholicism's deviation from true Christian norms.

However, the associations did not stop there. As Milton notes, Protestant critiques of Catholic idolatry were not limited to images. Protestants also tended to see idolatry in the doctrine of Roman primacy since Catholics had in effect set up the pope over God.[46] In his *Felicitie of Man*, Sir Richard Barcklay juxtaposed the claims over nature made by Mexica emperors and claims of temporal power made by popes, writing:

[42]Thomas Cartwright, *A Confutation of the Rhemist Translation* (Leiden, 1618); DLPT (December 7, 2006), p. 258.

[43]Andrew Willet, *Hexapla* (Cambridge, 1620); DLPT (March 5, 2010), p. 713.

[44]Willet, *Hexapla*, p. 298.

[45]Richard Baxter, "The Reasons of the Christian Religion," in *The practical works of the late reverend and pious Mr. Richard Baxter* (London, 1707); DLPT (March 5, 2010), p. 164. Emphasis in original.

[46]Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p 184.

> Who will marvell at the promises that the kings of Mexico make when they are first chosen, that will compare them with the power the Popes arrogate to themselves: that the Sunne shall hold his course and brightnesse, that the clouds shall raine, the rivers shall run, and the earth shall bring forth all kinds of fruit. But what is it that these flatterers of the Popes will shame to speake, to win or continue their favour.[47]

Whereas Acosta had solved the problem of native religion's likeness to Christianity by arguing for diabolic counterfeit, thereby driving a wedge between Catholicism and native religions, Protestants paired native idolatry with their most enduring and important critique of Catholic practice, thereby driving a wedge between themselves and their Catholic opponents.

Jesuit Lies and Miracle Stories

In Acosta's schema, the licitness of force in conversion depended upon local circumstances. Although not necessary in the East Indies, he argued, the backing of the Christian monarchies was certainly necessary in the West. Not everyone shared his opinion, however. Critics of the use of force deemed any such backing unnecessary and appealed to the apostolic age as proof. Had not the apostles converted a large portion of the known world without any political help, they argued. Acosta countered by claiming that such comparisons were fallacious. Although the Chinese and Japanese civilizations may have been comparable to the Greeks and Romans of antiquity, the conversion of natives in the West was a different matter. Western Indians could not be treated like Greeks and Romans because they did not possess sufficient reason.[48] Developing this argument, Acosta admitted something that really attracted the attention of English Protestants—the situation in the New World was different than the apostolic age because the missionaries could not perform miracles. On this account he wrote, "the other cause [of failure] is in ourselves, for the apostolic preaching cannot be done entirely apostolically, because there be no ability to do miracles, of which the Apostles did many."[49] From English Protestants' point of view, Acosta's argument was a bombshell, and Protestant writers instantly seized on it, for

[47]Richard Barckley, *The Felicitie of Man,* 2nd ed. (London, 1631); EEBO (February 25, 2010), p. 187.

[48]Acosta, *De Procuranda*, p. 443.

[49]Acosta, *De Procuranda*, p. 434.

Catholic controversialists had long made the miracles done in the Indies a mark of Catholicism's apostolic legitimacy.

One of the first to seize on Acosta's admission was the famous poet and Catholic abjurer John Donne, who wrote:

> Acosta makes vs doubt of the truth of those miracles, which are related, because he spends a Chapter in giuing reasons, why in our age, in preaching the Gospell in the Indies, there is not that strength of miracles, which was in the primitiue Church.[50]

Donne may have been one of the first to use Acosta explicitly in this line of argument, but he was by no means the last. In 1617, Joseph Hall made a similar claim, writing:

> Even Card. *Bellarmine* can abide to come in as an auoucher of these couzenages; who dares auerre that his fellow *Xauier* had not only healed the deafe, dumb and blinde, but raised the dead; Whiles his brother *Acosta* after many yeeres spent in those parts can pull him by the sleeve, and tell him in his eare, so lowd that all the world may heare him, *Prodigia nulla producimus, neque verò est opus*.[51]

Limitations of geographic knowledge aside, Donne and Hall were not content to use Acosta merely to question the veracity of the Jesuits; naturally, they extended the argument to attack Catholic claims of apostolic legitimacy as well. In 1609 William Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, hit the mark far more squarely, arguing:

> As for telling tales in the *Indies*, that is *proprium quarto modo* to the *Iesuites*,[52] who make it a principall part of their profession to winne credit to their Societie by *Indian Fables*. Were it not for *Congo*, or *Cochachine*, or *Iaponia*, or the *Maluchees*, or other part of the Indies, East or West, *Bozius* had lost that signe of the true Church.[53]

The Bozius to which Barlow was referring was Thomas Bozius, an Italian Oratorian who had explicitly tied miracles to apostolic legitimacy in his 1591 *De Signis Ecclesiae Dei*.[54] Although Barlow was cer-

[50]Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, p. 126.

[51]Hall, "*Quo Vadis?*," p. 652, emphasis in original.

[52]A Latin idiom that loosely translated means a property widely shared.

[53]William Barlow, *An Answer to a Catholic Englishman* (London, 1609); EEBO (December 7, 2006), p. 146. Emphasis in original.

[54]Sabine MacCormack, "*Ubi Ecclesia?* Perceptions of Medieval Europe in Spanish America," *Speculum,* 69 (1994), 74–100, here 79.

tainly ridiculing the claim that Indian miracles marked the Roman Church out as the true one, his sarcasm betrays a deeper theological split; indeed, many Protestants had long evinced skepticism toward all Catholic miracle claims, overseas or elsewhere.

Although English Protestants were glad to use Acosta to answer Catholic claims, many Protestants had never really considered miracles a necessary sign of the true church in the first place. Although no one denied that Jesus and the apostles had performed miracles, many were unconvinced that such feats needed be duplicated in every age, and Reformed ministers increasingly returned to the subject to combat the persistent popularity of miracles in English lay piety. Although most educated Reformed opinion affirmed that miracles had ceased after the Apostolic Age, Patricia Shaw has shown that on a popular level, the actual practice of miraculous healing continued well into the seventeenth century, especially among Baptists.[55] Thus, Acosta's admission not only entered into the dialogue between Protestants and Catholics but also into an internal dialogue in the English church that sharpened Reformed opinion against the necessity of miracles in general, especially since the false claims of miracles on ''"superstitious" Indians resonated so perfectly with Protestant conceptions of "superstitious" Catholic lay piety.[56]

Thus, the equation between Catholic miracle stories and Indian credulity often occurred in more wide-ranging indictments against miracles in general, directed as much to pious English ears as to the controversial pamphlet wars raging across confessional lines. Andrew Willet perhaps made the connection most explicitly.[57] Willet not only denied the necessity of miracles in true Christianity but also argued just the opposite: Catholicism's association with miracles made it seem more pagan. Thus, he wrote "wee thinke it not strange, that Poperie so aboundeth with miracles, the Pagan Idolaters shall vie with them at this stake, and the best cards take all." [58] In simple language, it was no coincidence that only Catholics and pagans believed in mir-

[55]See Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 21–50.

[56]For examples of this, see Patricia Shaw Fairman, *España vista por los Ingleses del Siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1981), pp. 285–87.

[57]Andrew Willet, *An antilogie or counterplea to An apologicall (he should haue said) apologeticall epistle published by a fauorite of the Romane separation* (London, 1603); EEBO (December 2, 2006), p. 80.

[58]Willet, *Antilogue*, pp. 82–85.

acles. Or, in the words of the Catholic abjurer Thomas Abernethie, Jesuits went "to Mexico and Peru . . . but not so to . . . England and Holland," because they were interested in money, not souls, and they needed a "good fat Subject" to ply their trade upon.[59] Donne added in a sermon, "we remember [Catholics] of their own authors, who do not onely say, that themselves do no miracles, in these latter times, but assigne diligently strong reasons, why it is that they doe none."[60] Finally, Edward Stillingfleet picked up Acosta's argument in the context of a more wide-ranging attack against miracles by arguing:

> Of all cases we might most reasonably suppose that God should, if ever, renew this gift in the conversion of Infidels; and yet . . . *Josephus Acosta* at large debates this case, *why God doth not now give the power of miracles among those who preach to Infidels as he did of old?* and he offers at several reasons for it, of which this is the chief, *That miracles were necessary in the beginning of Christian Religion, but not now*. And if the Church be defective in the power of miracles where it is the most necessary, what reasonable ground can there be to think that God should imploy his power not for the satisfaction of Infidels, but of the credulous and superstitious? As God never works miracles to convince obstinate Atheists, so neither doth he to gratifie the curiosity of old Women.[61]

Thus, Acosta's arguments were not only used to buttress the English church against the miracle claims of the Catholics but also to speak to an internal audience. Moreover, the whole discourse served to allow Protestants to place Catholic miracles safely in the realm of the superstitious and irrational, a realm in which Catholics unwittingly found themselves the bedfellows of similarly "irrational" Indians and old women. Indeed, Acosta's admissions were not only embarrassing for the English Jesuits, but they also provided grist for a characterization of Catholics as primitive.

"God's Flesh with Fangs to Tear": Eucharistic Cannibalism

Idolatries and superstitions were not the only associations that Protestants drew between Catholics and Indians. Perhaps more novel was the increasing frequency of the association between Indian can-

[59]Thomas Abernethie, *Abjuration of Poperie* (Edinburgh, 1638), p. 36.

[60]John Donne, *Fifty Sermons* (London, 1649), p. 113. Donne was referring explicitly to Acosta here.

[61]Edward Stillingfleet, *A second discourse in vindication of the Protestant grounds of faith* (London, 1663), pp. 613–14, emphasis in original.

nibalism and Catholic Eucharist. The idea of man-eating had not been unknown before the discovery of the West Indies. In fact, reports of cannibalism were at least as old as the discipline of history itself; Herodotus had been the first to write about man-eating tribes, which he called the *androphagi*—a savage people who putatively lived north of the wild Scythians.[62] However, it seems clear that interest in man-eaters was piqued by reports coming from the West Indies, for it was in 1552 that English writers first adopted the Greek word *anthropophagi* into the English language.[63] In 1553, the term *cannibal*, a corruption of the name for the Caribe Indian, entered the vernacular through the medium of Sebastian Munster and Pietro Martire Anghiera's descriptions of the voyages of discovery.[64] Thereafter, the usage of both terms became relatively common.

From the point of view of Protestant controversialists, this was a new and fruitful addition to the lexicon of antipopery since its introduction into the English language and imagination coincided perfectly with the ongoing debates over transubstantiation.[65] Indeed, early English references to Eucharistic cannibalism almost always drew on information about Caribbean and Indian man-eaters. As early as 1580, Foxe's *The Pope Confuted* had already made the association, arguing "doest thou cruell Caniball [Roman Catholic] conceive and eate nought else but the fleshe of Christe?"[66] Foxe was quickly echoed in 1581 by Thomas Lupton, who argued:

> If the Canibals are to be abhorred, bicause they devour and eate mans flesh, their enimies whome they take in the warres: are not you then much

[62]Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt and revised with introductory matter and notes by John Marincola (London, 1996), p. 223.

[63]*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Anthropophagi," http://dictionary.oed.com (December 7, 2006).

[64]*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Cannibal," http://dictionary.oed.com (December 7, 2006).

[65]The English Protestants were not the first to make this claim. Zwingli himself had made the charge early on with reference to the Anthropophagi. See Merrall Llewelyn Price, *Consuming Passions: The Uses of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2003). However, English writers did not pick up on this rhetoric until they read reports from the Indies, and then they normally used the trope with specific reference to Indians. Since medieval ideas of cannibalism usually were linked to the blood libel, this difference between English and continental reformers can probably be explained by the relative absence of Jews in England.

[66]John Foxe, *The Pope Confuted*, trans. from the Latin by James Bell (London, 1580); EEBO (December 6, 2006), p. 76v.

> more to be detested, that are not ashamed to eate and deuoure with your mouthes and teeth the very bodie of Christ?[67]

Obviously, neither of these Reformed theologians was actually charging Catholics with real cannibalism; rather, the charge struck at the doctrine of transubstantiation itself, further tainted in English eyes by its association with idolatry and the wild savages of distant lands. That such charges came relatively early is not surprising since the association was an obvious one and could hardly be missed by Reformed theologians.

In the seventeenth century English Protestants became increasingly inclined to pair cannibalism and Eucharist in their disputations. For instance, in 1609, the minister Henoch Clapham insisted that Catholic Eucharist "should be a Christians shame, to seeke vnion with Christ in such a Caniball manner."[68] Francis Mason argued:

> If your Priests eate Christ properly with their bodie, then are you not men, but monsters of mankinde. For is not this to make the Priest a Cyclops, or a Caniball, or rather worse than a Caniball? For a Caniball deuours the flesh onely of a meere man, but this is to deuoure and consume the flesh and blood of the Sonne of God.[69]

In 1624, George Goodwin let the argument flow far more poetically off of his pen:

> With *Murther*, stain'd is this *Christ-killing Hoste*:
> Whilst hee [the bishop] God's *Flesh* with's *Fangs* to teare doth boaste.
> Indeed, besides this Popish *Caniball*.
> Of *Men*, not *God-devourers*, read wee shall.[70]

It is interesting to see here that new arguments pairing Catholics and cannibals did not replace the old ones; Protestants continued to find ways to work in charges of greed and cruelty.

[67]Thomas Lupton, *A Persuasion from Papistrie* (London, 1581); EEBO (March 2, 2010), p. 235.

[68]Henoch Clapham, *A Chronological Discourse* (London, 1609); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 27.

[69]Francis Mason, *Of the Consecration of Bishops* (London, 1613); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 238.

[70]George Goodwin, *Babel's Balm* (London, 1624); EEBO (December 6, 2006), p. 65. Emphasis in original.

When Catholics countered by claiming that transubstantiated Eucharist was nothing like cannibalism because the body and blood were consumed, in Aristotelian language, under the species (appearance) of bread and wine, Daniel Featley returned to the West Indian example to find an answer, and demonstrating a marked lack of understanding of Aristotelian metaphysics, he wrote:

> What though a mans body in some fight were so mangled, and battered, that it had lost all humane shape, would you warrant an Indian to eate this mans flesh, or excuse him from an horrible crime if he should eate it, because it was not in propriâ specie?[71]

However, Featley's work did not, as promised, lay the issue entirely to rest, and the bitter argument continued to drag on into the century. In 1668 Henry More utilized cannibalism and transubstantiation to show Catholics that they were much more barbarous than the Indians they sought to convert.

> Was there ever any *Indian* so imposed upon by their Priests, as to believe they had a power by a certain form of words to turn a Cake of Maize into a living Man, and that the Miracle is done by them, though the Cake of Maize appear still to their Sight, to their Touch, and all their other Senses, as perfect a Cake of Maize as before? And how can these look upon the *Indians* as such a barbarous people, for either feeding on their Enemies, or burying their dead Friends in their own Bowells, whenas they themselves profess that they eat and grind a-pieces with their teeth, not dead, but living Man's-flesh, and that not of an Enemie, but their dearest Friend and Saviour? Can any thing seem more barbarous then this?[72]

It is plain to see that the association between Eucharist and cannibalism was a fruitful and welcome conceptual pairing for English Protestants; indeed, the cannibalism of the newly discovered world worked in tandem with the Catholic doctrine of Eucharist to promote the view of the Catholic Spaniard as simultaneously barbarous and gullible.

English Evangelization in North America

Recovering the importance to English thought of later Spanish sources like Acosta helps resolve another problem with the current

[71]Daniel Featley, *Transubstantiation Exploded* (London, 1638); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 84. *In propria specia* here means something along the lines of "it did not resemble man's flesh."

[72]More, *Divine Dialogues* (London, 1668); EEBO (March 3, 2010), p. 426, emphasis in original.

account of the Black Legend: Why did early English explorers not share the optimistic view of natives that they had putatively learned on the pages of Las Casas? Why did they not take to proselytizing with the same sort of abandon? Many valid reasons can be proposed, including the differing natures of their colonial endeavors, the differing types of native populations encountered, the differing levels of crown support, and differing ecclesiology. However, to this list might be added one additional item: in the English imagination, Acosta's more cautious view had already replaced Las Casas's optimism about the docile Indian. This is especially likely given that the natives of North America ostensibly would have been members of Acosta's third group—the nonliterate barbarians for whom Acosta reserved his deepest pessimism. Indeed, Acosta had taught prospective English Protestant missionaries before they even set out that converting natives was a long, difficult, and arduous task.

Moreover, if it had been hard for Catholics to preach just another brand of idolatry to the Indians, so much harder would it be to preach real gospel-based Christianity. For instance, after many years of trying to rally support for a mission to the heathens, avid Acosta reader Richard Baxter characterized Spanish evangelism as the following:

> The Roman Jesuits and Fryars, who have greater Stocks of Money, have been encouraged by Kings, especially of *Portugal*, to go among some Heathens with their Ambassadors, or by their help: And to their due praise be it spoken, in *Congo*, *Japan*, *China*, and some other Countries, they took great pains, and did much: But most that they did was quickly undone, partly by the pravity of sensual Heathens, and partly by their depravation of the Christian Doctrine which they should have Preach'd. They consulting with Carnal Wisdom, durst not tell Men long of Christ's Crucifixion: And they did but change their Heathenish Images for Agnus Dei's, and Pictures of the Virgin Mary, and other Trinkets like their own; which was easily received, but made not sound Christians.

Thus after many years of trying, Baxter was heard to lament, "The heathen world is out of our reach."[73] Sustained funding for missionary projects from England would not occur until the eighteenth century.

Moreover, it seems that some English colonists brought Acosta's cautious evangelization strategy to their own colonies. Although the Virginia

[73]Richard Baxter, "Obedient Patience," in *Practical works* (1683; repr. London, 1707); DLPT (December 7, 2006), p. 842, emphasis in original.

Company was not composed of missionaries in the Catholic sense of the word, evangelization was a central part of their self-constructed legitimating mythology. The original charter had spelled out just this duty, and Virginians repeatedly returned to the ideal, at least on the rhetorical level.[74] Nevertheless, evangelization proceeded haltingly for much of the seventeenth century, delayed by the scattered nature of Virginian settlements and the low level of real interest among the colonists. In contradistinction to the earliest Franciscans in Colonial New Spain, English missionaries in Virginia never utilized the apostolic method. They were not inclined to baptize first and instruct later. Indeed, Acosta and other sources had already taught them that nonliterate Indians needed to be "civilized" before conversion would stick. Thus, most evangelization proposals involved programs of extensive contact between settlers and natives, the kind of extensive contact that would prove too great a burden for the general run of Virginia's colonists.[75]

This meant that although conversion was an essential feature of colonial rhetoric, it effected very few of the tangible results and mass baptisms so common in the early Spanish experience. In 1610, when the first Anglo-Powhatan war broke out and the Council of Virginia felt the need to justify the company's presence in the New World, it did so by remarking on its Christian duty to evangelize. Indeed, one author went so far as to claim that the company's "primarie end is to plant religion."[76] However, the author of the tract took a markedly Acostian view of conversion, arguing for the necessity of daily and methodical repetition of Christian norms.[77] Against the apostolic model that had been so favored among the earliest Franciscans in Mexico and Peru, the anonymous author argued thus:

> there is no Apostolicall preaching, but where wee may expect eitheir their conuersion, or our martyrdome . . . the Iesuite *Acosta* confesseth (notwithstanding *Bellarmines* relation of Indian miracles) that they haue no tongues, they haue no signes from heauen, and they can haue no martyrdome, and by consequent there is no meanes left of Apostolicall preaching.[78]

[74]See Bernard W. Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1980), pp. 117–22.

[75]See Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln, NE, 2000), pp. 69–72. See also Sheehan, *Savagism*, pp. 124–27.

[76]Counseil for Virginia, *A true declaration of the estate of the colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610), p. 6.

[77]Counseil for Virginia, *A true declaration*, p. 10.

[78]Counseil for Virginia, *A true declaration*, pp. 7–8, emphasis in original.

Although apostolic preaching could not be done, and force was seldom licit, the author of this tract found a third way, borrowed from Acosta's own resolution to the same problem. Acosta had proffered mercantile activity as a legitimate means whereby Europeans might enter native territory and expose its inhabitants to European civilization and Christianity. The author of this tract took Acosta's argument as his own, arguing that this was the only legitimate means whereby Europeans could perform the necessary civilizing groundwork that must precede conversion.[79]

A few years later, one petitioner, who had resided in Virginia at some point, published the pamphlet *Virginia's Cure*. Although he primarily aimed to garner support for arranging the Virginia plantations according to a more urban basis, he supported his view with an eye to propagating the gospel among the Indians. Again eschewing miracles and martyrdom, the author had recourse to the ingenuous Jesuit Acosta, claiming that conversion could only be effective by bringing Indians into daily contact with worthy ministers of the Word. Although he folded this argument into his own desire that such contact happen in towns, he again rejected the apostolic model of preaching, opting for Acosta's strategy of slowly transforming native society by repetition of Christian norms and by contact with good Christians. On this account he wrote:

> . . . the accute *Acosta*, after he had spent 17 years in conversing with the Heathen in that new world (though he was of a Church that pleads much for Miracles) ingenuously [confessed], that the greatest, and even the only Miracle necessary to the Conversion of those Heathen, is the gracious lives of Christians, agreeable to that Christian Faith they professe.[80]

Thus, Acosta's work enjoyed an afterlife never intended by its author. Initially attractive to Protestant Englishmen caught up in the heat of religious controversy, Acosta's work became a blueprint for evangelization and a cautionary tale against naive enthusiasm. Because of this, Englishmen in Virginia would be saddled with a difficult model of evangelization that would prove to be beyond their means. Consequently, the English would not enjoy the superficial success in conversion boasted by early Catholic missionaries.

[79]Counseil, *A true declaration,* pp. 9–10; Acosta, *de Procuranda*, pp. 450–51.
[80]R. G., *Virginia's Cure* (London, 1662), pp. 12–13, emphasis in original.

Conclusion

Although Acosta's Indian never entirely displaced Las Casas's Indian in the English imagination, some Protestant writers did drop the idea that Spanish greed had ruined Spanish evangelization and instead seized upon the image of the superstitious Indian converted to superstitous Catholicism. This pairing helped Reformed theologians to solve one of their most pressing dilemmas: how to maintain Rome as a church with valid baptism while decrying it as antichrist.[81] Indeed, Rome's errors were not the only things that disturbed Protestants; the points of congruity between the Roman and English church could be just as thorny a dilemma. Therefore, although Rome was rhetorically decried as anti-Christ, "it was particularly rare to find direct denials that Rome was in any sense a Church."[82] Solving this paradox was not easy. Casting Catholicism as primitive was one solution to the paradox, as English controversialists could keep Catholicism as a valid religion, but safely at arm's length.

This conclusion has broader implications in the context of the New World's importance in the intellectual formation of the Old World. Scholars have long debated whether the discovery of America provoked a revolution in European thought, or whether Europeans utilized old categories to assimilate information coming from the New World. Following J. H. Elliot's work, many historians now seem to favor the latter option,[83] and no doubt there is much truth to this. How else can one characterize the attempts to view the Indians as some ilk of Old World peoples, whether that be the lost tribes of Israel or descendants of the Celtic captain Madoc? This also is almost certainly true of Acosta and other thinkers' obsessive attempts to link the new civilizations to the pagans of antiquity.[84] However, this study points to another dynamic—it seems that the discovery of the New World helped Protestants to conceive the familiar religion of Catholicism as unfamiliar and exotic. Although charges of idolatry and superstition

[81]Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* pp. 128–72.

[82]Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* p. 133.

[83]Karen Kupperman, Introduction, *America in European Consciousness: 1493–1754*, ed. Karen Kupperman (Chapel Hill, 1999), pp. 1–29. See also Michael T. Ryan, "Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 23 (1981), 519–38.

[84]See Sabine MacCormack, "Limits of Understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian Paganisms in Early Modern Europe," in *America in European Consciousness: 1493–1752*, ed. Karen Kupperman (Chapel Hill, 1997), pp. 79–129.

were not new at the end of the sixteenth century, exactly where this placed Catholicism on the scale of civilization was unclear. The discovery of the New World helped to clarify it. After reading accounts such as Acosta's, English Protestants began to see Catholicism as very much like Indian religion—wild, superstitious, silly, and cannibalistic. In this case, then, the discovery of the New World did help to reinterpret the old, not in a revolutionary way, but by helping to turn the familiar into the unfamiliar.

A "*TRAITEROUS RELIGION*": INDULGENCES AND THE ANTI-CATHOLIC IMAGINATION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

BY

MICHAEL S. CARTER*

Anti-Catholicism, or antipopery, was one of the broadest and deepest cultural biases in the early-modern English-speaking world. Eighteenth-century New England, in particular, evinced a strong concern with and opposition to imagined Catholic teaching regarding indulgences, believed by many Protestants of the period to mean license to commit sin in advance. This perception informed many aspects of anti-Catholic legislation, history, and literature prior to the American Revolution. These perceptions, inseparable from emerging tropes of the Protestant Reformation as they developed in early-modern England, also provide a key to understanding Protestant apprehensions and fears about unrestricted Catholic religious practice and participation in civic life during the colonial period and into the early republic.

Keywords: Anti-Catholicism; indulgences; popery; print culture

The religious milieu of the early-modern British Atlantic world was more notable for its ever-shifting complexity and divisiveness than anything else. However, one issue—opposition to Roman Catholicism—united the vast majority of the era's English-speaking Protestants. After King Henry VIII's break with Rome in the 1530s, anti-Catholicism, or

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"antipopery," became the single banner under which English Protestants could rally.[1] For these Protestants, Catholicism was not even a religion at all, but a form of spiritual and intellectual "slavery" that was the antithesis of their free, rational, and pure religion. Enlisted consistently over a long period often for quite different reasons, antipopery was expressed in an astonishingly diverse array of venues, from political, legal, historical, and theological publications to sermons, street performances, popular festivals, and even everyday material objects. Recent scholarship has emphasized that although antipopery was a form of bigotry and prejudice (interestingly, these very nouns were used as synonyms for Catholicism), it possessed an interior logic of its own. This logic was expressed through a rhetoric of antipopery that was, for early-modern Britons and their colonial American compatriots, a coherent "vocabulary," as Francis Cogliano has argued, which gave meaning to the world in which they lived.[2]

[1]The term *antipopery* is useful and more apt as it indicates that the anti-Catholicism of the early-modern English-speaking world rarely had anything to do with actual Roman Catholics or with Catholicism itself. Rather, it was an opposition to *imagined* Catholic beliefs, practices, and political realities that developed a life of its own, as England and its possessions became ever more distant from its own medieval past. In the past several years, antipopery has been receiving the scholarly attention it deserves as scholars begin to more fully appreciate the subtlety of period anti-Catholic rhetoric. In September 2008, for example, the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania sponsored the three-day conference "Anti-Popery: The Transatlantic Experience, c. 1530–1850."

[2]Cogliano, writing about eighteenth-century New Englanders, argues that English-speaking Protestants of this period "were Protestants in the most fundamental sense. They were opposed to the Roman Catholic Church. Whatever their other theological, intellectual, political, or social differences, almost all New Englanders agreed on this point. For New Englanders, antipopery provided a vocabulary of good and evil which they used to define their enemies and themselves and to order their world. This vocabulary found expression in learned treatises, sermons, the law, and in the streets during popular demonstrations and celebrations. The vocabulary of antipopery helped New Englanders define the parameters of what was acceptable and unacceptable in their society." See Francis Cogliano, *No King, No Popery: Anti-Catholicism in Revolutionary New England* (Westport, CT, 1995), p. 2. Other recent scholarship on early-modern British and American antipopery includes Jason K. Duncan, *Citizens or Papists? The Politics of Anti-Catholicism in New York, 1685–1821* (New York, 2005); Raymond D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1660–1745* (New York, 1998); Clare Haynes, *Pictures and Popery: Art and Religion in England, 1660–1760* (Hampshire, UK, 2006); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992); Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester, UK, 1993); John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1973); and Charles Metzger, *The Quebec Act* (New York, 1936).

However, the fears and anxieties behind much British antipopish ideology have yet to be adequately explored and its language properly deconstructed, especially in its colonial American context. As Cogliano and others have rightly implied, cultural constructs such as antipopery cannot be dismissed due to a perceived lack of serious ideological content simply because they were prejudicial or bore little connection to reality in terms of the fears they expressed. With this in view, this article explores a range of anti-Catholic sermons, religious tracts, fiction, histories, and political polemics, especially as they invoke one of the most prominent concepts in the rhetoric of early-modern antipopery: Catholic belief in the doctrine of indulgences, which was intertwined with the idea that Catholics, in the phrase of the day, did not "keep faith with heretics." It is argued in this article that this idea and its role in early-modern British publications were deeply rooted in the collective English Protestant imagination's perception of Catholic belief and practice, inseparable from emerging historical tropes of the Protestant Reformation as they developed in the early-modern British Atlantic World, particularly in New England, which is the main focus of this study. In addition, the article also seeks to offer a more precise lens through which to make sense of the Protestant majority's fears about indulgences and Catholicism during the eighteenth century—especially in places further removed from the imperial center in London such as New England, where antipopery was an essential part of the cultural fabric since its Puritan and Separatist beginnings. Although screeds against indulgences were common in anti-Catholic literature along with warnings about the "delusions and dangers" regarding popish "priestcraft" (such as confession, relics, Eucharistic devotion, and holy water), fears about indulgences occupy a particularly significant place. As expressed in *The Pope's Cabinet Unlocked* (1680) by John Sidway (who claimed to have uncovered the Titus Oates-fabricated "popish plot" against King Charles II), "wouldest thou know wherefore [Catholics] invocate and adore Saints, the Host, the Crucifix, Holy Relicks and Images, 'tis because of indulgences."[3] The Protestant hostility to indulgences

[3]John Sidway, *The Pope's Cabinet Unlocked; or, a Catalogue of all the Popes Indulgences Belonging to the Order of S. Mary, Together with a List of all the Indulgences daily, yearly, and for ever, to be had at Rome, St. James of Galatia in Compostella, Jerusalem, and all places in the Holy Land* (London, 1680), preface. In this work, Sidway adds an appendix, "in which the grounds and foundation of the said *Indulgences* being examined, are utterly overthrown, and by consequence *Indulgences* themselves apparently proved to be meer [sic] Cheats: And also shewing that the Church of Rome doth lay the chief basis of their Religion on Indulgences." Interestingly,

came to encompass all the other practices perceived as the fruits of popish priestcraft. At its heart lay fear of the pope's power over the consciences and loyalties of men. The position of John Locke, a major figure in the last years of the Catholic James II and a key player in both the formation of the Whigs and the Glorious Revolution, perfectly expressed this fear. As John Marshall has written, for Locke and his fellow Whigs,

> [p]apal claims of infallibility, the power to dispense with oaths, and promise of eternal reward for those who "did not keep faith with heretics" meant that Roman Catholics could not be tolerated. This early political opposition to toleration for Catholics because they did not need to keep faith with heretics was to be extremely important and to persist throughout Locke's life.[4]

The pope's power to grant indulgences, seen by Protestants as a claim to dispensation over the entire moral law, raised the specter of priestcraft and its perceived dangers from mere superstition and backwardness to a terrifying "arbitrary" tyranny that would, if allowed to infiltrate the monarchy or other positions of power, destroy all British liberties and even true Christianity itself. Given that the religious and political identity of the Puritans, the largest population in British America, sprang from a rejection of the dominant vision of church and state in England (itself a rejection of the English Catholic past that the Puritans believed had not gone nearly far enough), these fears preoccupied the colonial American mind with an especial intensity.

What did antipopish literature say about indulgences? Why were these seen as so threatening, and what did this mean for debates about Catholic fitness not only for positions of authority but also for subjecthood? What were its implications near the end of the colonial period for citizenship in an independent American republic that still professed to celebrate cherished British concepts of liberty and individual rights?

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the work is dedicated to the earl of Shaftsbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper), a founder of Whiggism whose private secretary during this period was John Locke. John Marshall has written about Locke's concern that Catholics did not "keep faith with heretics."

[4]John Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (New York, 1994), p. 7.

Historian Peter Marshall has suggested that an excellent case could be made for the English Protestant Reformation ending as late as the Glorious Revolution.[5] Indeed, studies of the emergence of the Whig party, like those by Peter Lake and Mark Goldie, have characterized the invocation of traditional antipopish tropes of the Reformation era as politically expedient during the late 1670s and 1680s, when Parliament was at odds with the Stuarts. As Lake has argued in a masterful essay on the late Stuart era, "to many, if not most, educated Protestant English people" of the seventeenth century, "popery was an anti-religion, a perfectly symmetrical negative image of true Christianity." This negative image provided an ideal foil for a positive English identity that offered the hope of binding the nation amid the nearly constant turmoil of the period's political and religious conflicts.[6] Given the Irish rebellion of 1641, Parliament's struggles with Charles I, the Civil War and Interregnum, the controversy over James II's conversion to Catholicism, war with France and Spain, and other domestic conflicts involving religion and government, seventeenth-century antipopery in England has received much more attention than such activities in the eighteenth century. However, as Linda Colley has made clear, antipopery was no less central to British identity in the eighteenth century, especially after the Act of Union in 1707, when the challenges of empire made cultural unity increasingly important.[7] The two major attempts by Stuart Pretenders to capture the British throne also were pivotal, given the Stuarts' Catholic affiliation as well as the influence of historical polemics describing in lurid, gruesome detail the storied persecutions of an earlier time in which England had switched from a Protestant to a Catholic monarch—the reign of "Bloody Mary" Tudor (1553–58).[8] Still less understood is the

[5]Peter Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 564–86, here 568. Although the Act of Settlement of 1701 barred the future possibility of a Roman Catholic monarch, the attempted Jacobite invasions of the eighteenth century underscored that the religious politics of succession could easily far outside the control of legislative acts.

[6]Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (New York, 1989), pp. 72–106, here p. 75.

[7]Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992).

[8]This was due in no small part to the influence of the *Book of Martyrs* by John Foxe, first published in 1563 and one of the best-selling works of the period. This book encouraged the widespread belief among English Protestants that their Catholic countrymen were bent on returning England to the Catholic fold, even if that meant resorting to treason—including regicide. Invoking the brief reign of Mary I, such works purported that should any Catholic ever hold the throne, he or she would immediately

way antipopery was expressed in the North American colonies during the eighteenth century. The sources cited in this article, however, make clear that fears of the practical political threat of popery at home continued to be taken very seriously by writers and readers on both sides of the British Atlantic throughout the eighteenth century. This article will examine the place of perceptions of the Catholic belief in indulgences in the general context of the eighteenth-century English-speaking world, particularly focusing on colonial-era publications that appeared in New England and considering especially their reflections of the period's shifting political concerns.

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Goldie's work on the religious and political context of the birth of Whiggism in the late-seventeenth century ably demonstrates the importance of antipopery in shaping political factions and discourse. The word *priestcraft*, which he argues was coined in 1657, emerged in the context of arguments among English Protestants about the rights of the state and the laity to claim some influence upon the Church of England's governance. During the Restoration era, many argued that a church governed by clergy alone without state intervention was a sign of degeneracy and that the Anglican church was in danger of slipping into much the same condition of "corruption" into which, according to the prevailing Protestant view, Catholicism had deteriorated from the fourth century to the Reformation era. Goldie notes that the word *priestcraft* and books containing this word in their titles had their heyday around the time of the Exclusion Crisis and became commonplace by the 1690s . For period writers, Goldie argues, "the essence of the Whig struggle was to prevent English churchmen building a Protestant popery." Indeed, "[p]riestcraft was popery universalised."[9]

Likewise, as Lake has argued, antipopery needs to be taken seriously as an ideology so that seventeenth-century English political history can be properly understood on its own terms. Lake identifies the main elements of the "structure" of the prejudice of antipopery, find-

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commence a relentless and violent persecution of Protestants. Eamon Duffy has provocatively and persuasively argued for a revised view of Mary's reign in *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, 2009).

[9]Mark Goldie, "Priestcraft and the Birth of Whiggism," in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge, UK, 1993), pp. 209–31, here pp. 216–19.

ing disdain for "priestcraft" prominent among them. English Protestants believed that "popery, through magic, symbols, false miracles and seeming common sense, appealed to the lower, carnal and corrupt side of human nature," whereas their religion sought to raise humanity to the superior realm of word and spirit—and of rationality, enlightenment, and liberty.[10] For Lake, the perceived futility of popish priestcraft and its incapacity for genuine and effective spiritual nourishment were seen as its primary danger to individuals. In the colonial American context, Mary Augustina Ray remains one of the few scholars to connect anti-Catholic thought, indulgences, and Protestant perceptions of the Church's claim to authority over the moral law. Proponents of antipopery, she writes, believed that "not only were the grossest vices practiced with impunity" within Catholicism but also

> the Church's traffic in dispensations and indulgences offered positive encouragement to a vicious life . . . so numerous were their opportunities for spreading vice under the cloak of religion, that their presence in a community might be likened to a hidden cancer secretly spreading its virus through the entire social organism.[11]

Fears of Catholic doctrine's corrosive influence on the moral order by no means disappeared with the American Revolution, which ostensibly celebrated individual liberties, including religious ones. In the early U.S. republic, even after the enactment of the Constitution and adoption of its Bill of Rights in the early 1790s, personal religious affiliation still affected the ability of citizens to participate fully in civil affairs. Seven of the fourteen state constitutions ratified between the American Revolution and the signing of the U.S. Constitution barred Catholics from holding state office of any kind.[12] In several states, such restrictions remained in effect well into the nineteenth century.

[10]Lake, "Anti-Popery," pp. 76–77. For a related exploration of a concept that Lake invokes in connection with the dichotomy between Protestant "light" and popish "darkness," see Rolf Reichardt and Deborah Louise Cohen, "Light against Darkness: The Visual Representations of a Central Enlightenment Concept," *Representations*, no. 61 (1998), 95–148.

[11]Mary Augustina Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century.* New York, 1936), p. 14. Philip Hamburger has also more recently written that Protestants of the eighteenth century associated reason with "the purity of their own faith," condemning popery as unfree, irrational, superstitious, and "a worship of things human, in response to terrors knowingly imposed by force and mental stultification rather than a free, rational, and pure faith." Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), pp. 204–05.

[12]David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York, 2011), p. 29.

Although the enactment of federal and state constitutions represented a measure of improvement for the situation of American Catholics and their religious liberties, it also demonstrated the persistence of antipopery beyond the colonial period.

It is important to note that indulgences were believed, within the lexicon of antipopery, to include license to commit sin given in advance, as well as reduction or removal of the supernaturally-imposed temporal punishment due for sins already committed and sacramentally absolved through confession to a priest. As explained by opponents of Catholicism, the Church thereby granted its members freedom to commit sin without penalty—even adultery, murder, and regicide. Indeed, according to anti-Catholic polemicists, the Catholic hierarchy arbitrarily could declare when a sin was not a sin, as long as the proper "indulgence" had been procured. Without a Catholic voice in period culture to offer an opposing view or counter-argument that reflected the Church's authentic teaching, such notions spread, fueling attacks on Catholic belief and practice as well as offering powerful justification for the retention of penal laws well into the nineteenth century. Whereas the origins of English Protestant preoccupations with the issue of indulgences dates to the sixteenth century and Henry VIII's break with Rome, a close look at anti-Catholic literature between the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggest that the appearances of such arguments in print ebbed and flowed with other political concerns relating to the rise and fall of the Stuart monarchs, their attempts to recapture the throne, the extension of religious tolerance to Quebec in the 1770s (see figure 1), and other events that raised the specter of popery.

The Doctrine of Indulgences

Obtaining a full picture of the English Protestant opposition to imagined Catholic teaching regarding indulgences requires some discussion of the actual Catholic understanding of the concept. Much developed during the Middle Ages, the teaching was articulated more clearly by the Council of Trent (1545–63), a watershed event that defined doctrines and sought to address many issues raised by reform-minded figures inside and outside the Catholic fold. From the sixteenth century onward, Catholics and Protestants found the Council's rulings equally useful as they printed material related to theological controversies. Trent's decrees often were cited in Protestant rebuttals of Catholic theology that circulated in England and America during

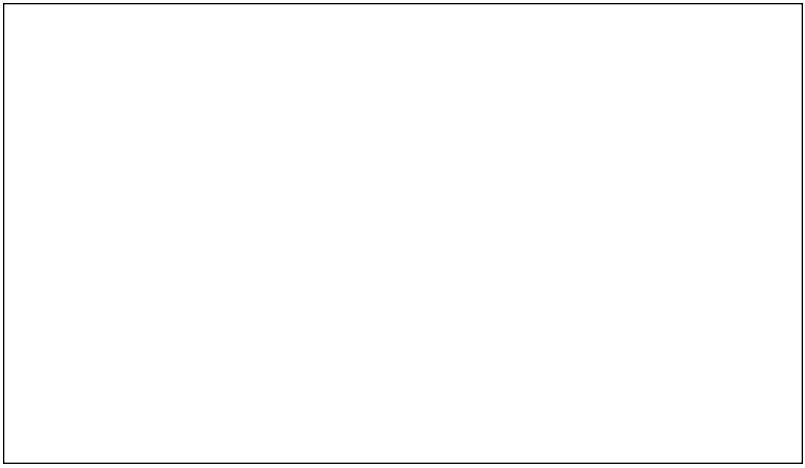

FIGURE 1. "The Mitred Minuet," *London Magazine*, May 1774. Catholic bishops, center, are depicted as dancing around the Quebec Act granting religious tolerance to French Canadians. At left are John Stuart, earl of Bute (playing bagpipes), and the hatless Frederick, Lord North, the British prime minister. The devil hovers in the background. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-USZ62-45376.

the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The Catechism of the Council of Trent declares that as

> St. Bernard affirms . . . in sin are found two things, the stain and the scar; that the defilement itself is indeed removed through the mercy of God, whilst to heal the scars of sins the medicinal care applied by penance is most necessary; for as after a wound has been healed, some scars remain, which also themselves require care; so with regard to the soul, after the guilt is forgiven, it leaves remains to be cleansed away.[13]

An indulgence, then, was a way of making satisfaction before God for sins already freely forgiven through his mercy by ordinary sacramental confession to a priest. The Catholic Church traditionally cited the words of Christ to St. Peter in the gospel to explain its authority to grant indulgences: "I will give you the keys to the kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[14]

[13](J. Donovan, translator), *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (London, 2006), p. 284.

[14]See Matthew 16:13–19. *New Testament of the New American Bible,* rev. ed. (New York, 1986), pp. 52–53.

Theological controversies relating to indulgences date from the earliest days of the Reformation and can be found in both internal Catholic criticisms of excesses and abuses, as well as in the familiar and influential objections of John Calvin and Martin Luther to aspects of their application. Luther's famous ninety-five theses of 1517 did not find fault with the theological concept of purgatory or with the ideas of merit, or even penance as prescribed by priests, but protested against the granting of indulgences in connection with monetary donations. This practice, for example, had occurred during the rebuilding of Constantine's ancient basilica of St. Peter in Rome, a project that languished for decades because of a shortage of funds.[15] English Protestant historical tropes of the eighteenth century celebrated the virtues of the printing press that had placed books into the hands of the people and thus liberated them from the "shackles" of popish superstition, yet it was the printing press that had helped spread enthusiasm for indulgences. It enabled an unprecedented distribution of exaggerated or even spurious decrees of indulgence that were never issued by any pope or other legitimate ecclesiastical authority. In addition, the press made private devotional reading, by which indulgences could be gained,more widely available and less expensive, thus *offering* indulgences to greater numbers of the Catholic faithful.[16]

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In the British Atlantic region, most early-modern antipopery literature was printed first in London, then reprinted in Ireland and the American colonies (the latter usually in New England). The prolific Presbyterian minister John Flavel wrote one of the earliest and most colorful discussions of indulgences. *Tydings from Rome: or, England's*

[15]Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York, 2003), p. 124. See also Reinhold Kiermayr, "How Much Money Was Actually in the Indulgence Chest?" *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17 (1986), 303–18.

[16]See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, 2005), pp. 289–90. According to Duffy, "the proliferation of indulgenced devotions in successive editions of the *Horae* is readily understandable. The indulgences were prominently advertised on the title-pages or colophons of Sarum primers, and clearly constituted one of their principal selling points. Equipped with his or her primer and an hour or two to spare for pious browsing, the devout lay person could clock up an impressive tally of days of pardon. But it would be a mistake to see this as a merely mechanical process: the indulgences were not intended as an incentive to mindless parroting of the maximum number of prayers. They could not be gained without inner devotion."

alarm (London, 1667) was reprinted in 1668 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Samuel Green, who also produced Puritan minister John Eliot's famous 1663 Algonquin Bible. This work is notable for several reasons. First, it associates indulgences proclaimed by the pope with the idea of advance permission to commit sin—the first appearance of this idea in printed form in America. Second, four ministers oversaw the entire production of Cambridge's printing presses, authorized by a 1662 decree of the Massachusetts General Court. Given that only thirteen publications were produced in New England in 1668—including Flavel's work—and that the Puritan ministry of Boston exercised tight rein over the output of its printers, the subject matter of *Tydings from Rome* takes on additional significance.[17]

Third, *Tydings from Rome* expresses the fear of Jesuit conspiracy by citing the anti-Jesuit polemicist and reformed theologian Rudolf Hospinian (1515–75), who claims to describe the process by which Jesuits were believed to commit assassination. The author's descriptions invoke the belief that indulgences could be obtained via political assassination—presumably only of Protestant monarchs, to make way for Catholic successors—as well as excuse such an act. Flavel relates Hospinian's description of a purported secret Jesuit ritual for preparing one of their own to commit assassination, writing that the Jesuits

> animate him, whom they employ for the murdering of Kings; they bring him into a Chappel, where the Knife lies wrapt upon a Cloath with *agnus Dei* engraven upon it; then they open the Knife and sprinkle it with Holy Water, fastning [*sic*] to the Haft some consecrated Beads, so many Souls he saves out of Purgatory.

This passage unmistakably associates indulgences with other aspects of priestcraft: holy water, rosary beads, ritual acts, and use of Latin-inscribed altar cloths. After relating the formula of the prayer that Jesuits are supposed to use upon commissioning the assassin, Flavel argues that

> [t]hese, and all other lusts are indulged, even by the Doctrines and Principles of Papists; for, if venial sins do not render a man unworthy of the love of God, [but] are but trifles, toyes, gnats, as [Jesuit Cardinal Robert] Bellarmine calls them,

[17]David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), p. 47.

then Catholics are exempt from observing the moral law that binds all other Christians. Flavel further notes:

> If the Pope can get g[r]eat Indulgencies, of which he hath so many kinds, Indulgencies for certain dayes, or years, some partial, some plenary; for all sins . . .What should hinder, but that they should take the bit in the mouth and rush into all wickedness, as the Horse into the battle?

After all, in Flavin's opinion, Catholics are free to "rush into sin, upon the hope of such Indulgencies," since they "may be nevertheless absolved."[18]

Historians of Restoration antipopery have situated works such as Flavin's in the context of fears about absolutism and popish influence in the court of Charles II, but such fears also had relevance in New England. The subtitle of *Tydings from Rome* leaves no ambiguity regarding the motivations for its composition—among them, "London's ruin" is "pathetically lamented." The Great Fire of 1666 that devastated the city was linked in the popular mind to rumors of a Catholic conspiracy. The Puritan leadership of colonial Massachusetts, during the era of Increase Mather (1639–1723), had made its initial migration to New England less than forty years earlier, and immigration resumed at its earlier pace between the demise of the Puritan domination of England in the 1650s and the Restoration in 1660. Interest by Puritans in stoking the fires of antipopery was the product of sincerely held belief, but no doubt they also recognized an effective political tool that could underscore the necessity of constant vigilance against a common enemy. As the collective Puritan mind saw it, an English political regression from parliamentary to absolutist monarchical rule under Charles II was analogous to the constant temptation of mankind's reversion from a gospel-based piety of "spirit and truth" to the carnal and primitive delights of popery. The fact that Charles II's wife, Henrietta Maria, also was a Catholic who was allowed to practice her religion openly at court added fuel to the fires of paranoia. The character of the civic body's collective personal piety shaped political realities.

[18]*Tydings from Rome: or, England's alarm. Wherein several grounds to suspect the prevalence of the popish interest are seasonably suggested; London's ruin pathetically lamented; arguments to dissuade from the popish religion, are urged; and the duties of Christians in this time of common danger, and distraction persuaded* (Cambridge, MA, 1668).

Flavin's was not the only work concerned with popish influence upon the nation. "There are many Excellent Tracts that discover the *Villanies* of Popery, and I wish they were more common," wrote the English Baptist preacher Benjamin Keach (1640–1704) in his tract *Sion in Distress or the Groans of the Protestant Church* (London, 1681). The tract was reprinted in New England shortly after its London publication. Keach stated:

> It is a great comfort that the Spirit of the Nation is so much (and justly) incensed against it. And that our Parliament is so Thorow and Resolved to crush that Interest, whose Principles teach them to be (to all *Hereticks,* for so they call Protestants) Traiterous *Subjects*, ill *Neighbours*, and worse *Soveraigns*.

In Keach's view, the primary threat of popery resides precisely in the belief in indulgences. According to Keach, Catholics, because of this aspect of their belief, are unfit as subjects, citizens, and monarchs.

The pamphlet appeared only one year after Charles II had dissolved Parliament for the second time, seeking to avert the passage of a bill that would exclude his brother, the duke of York and future James II, from the throne because of James's conversion to Catholicism. It was this bill, perhaps more than any other event, that initially split the nation into Whig and Tory camps and guaranteed the continuing importance of antipopery as a political issue.[19]

Keach's condemnation of Catholicism as a threat to the very fabric of the state encapsulates the major tenets of antipopery as expressed in the printed material of the period. Antipopery literature cast Catholics as potential rebels against the monarchy as well as people who condemned all Protestants as heretics and thus would not honor agreements made with their neighbors. Flowing from fears that Catholics can be released from loyalty to sovereigns by authority of the pope, this concept that Catholics are not obliged to keep faith with "heretics" appeared threatening in very concrete political terms. Finally, Catholics were characterized—as was James II by the supporters of the Exclusion Bill—as probable tyrants, weak-minded because of their beliefs, and callous and willing agents of Rome's presumed disregard for the gospel. The key Catholic belief identified by

[19] [Benjamin Keach], *Sion in Distress: Or, the Groans of the Protestant Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1682), emphasis in original. The work was reprinted in Boston by Thomas Baker in 1683. For background on the Exclusion Crisis and the parliaments of 1679–81, see Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, 2009).

early-modern English Protestant writers as most dangerous and threatening, as seen in Keach's tract, was indulgences. Although the fruits of "priestcraft" and attendant practices such as veneration of relics, use of holy water, and the role of blessed objects such as crucifixes, medals, and rosaries might be superstitious and void of authentic spirituality, it was the possibility of buying license to commit sin against Protestant neighbors that was most threatening to the social and moral fabric of the nation.

* * *

Antipopish writings that continued to appear after the close of the seventeenth century revealed concerns shaped by contemporary developments. Three major events involving religious identity and government converged in Britain during the second decade of the eighteenth century. Queen Anne—the last of the Stuart dynasty to sit on the throne, as well as the first married female monarch—died in 1714, leaving no heir. As of 1701, the Act of Succession had barred Roman Catholics from the throne. George I—Anne's distant cousin, a member of the German Hanover family, and someone whose position in the line of succession was more than fifty places behind blood-related but legally ineligible Catholic candidates—was crowned in Westminster Abbey. It was widely reputed at the time of George I's acscension to the throne that he could not speak English; religious affiliation trumped language and nationality. According to Thomas S. Kidd, efforts by New Englanders to identify with an "international Protestantism" had never been successful due to irreconcilable doctrinal differences between Puritans and other reformed Christians throughout the Atlantic world. But between the Glorious Revolution and the Seven Years' War, during which Catholic-Protestant conflicts raged across much of Europe, eighteenth-century Protestants, including New England Puritans, a new imperative for religious and international solidarity developed, as Protestants in Europe "often found themselves threatened by real or suspected agents of the Roman Catholic church."[20]

[20]Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 16–17. Kidd writes further that "Puritans certainly had seen Catholicism as a primary if not the ultimate enemy, but the wars of empire and the perceived and actual declining fortunes of the European Protestant community made the rising pan-Protestant cohort much less interested in combating other Protestants, especially if those Protestants defended the Protestant succession. This became increasingly true as New France and its Jesuit missionaries made the Catholic threat very near and personal to the early eighteenth-century New Englanders. If leading New Englanders imagined themselves as British nationals helping lead the international Protestant

During the First Jacobite rising in 1715, James Francis Edward Stuart, the "Old Pretender" (1688–1766), invaded Scotland, fleeing to France in defeat the next year. Another, ultimately unsuccessful, attempt in 1719 on behalf of the Stuart claimant was raised with assistance from Spain. The 1716 sermon *Menachem* (a name meaning "comforter" in Hebrew) by Cotton Mather (1663–1728) views the ascension of George I to the British throne and the Hanoverian succession as a triumph for pan-European Protestantism and invokes the previous year's Jacobite uprising. "At the same time" that a "KING, so well acquainted with, and so well affected to, the Protestant Religion, and so able to be a Defender of the Faith" had risen to the throne, "the Betrayers of the Nations" attempted to "pave the Way that a *Popish Pretender* might return from Exile, and Reign in Blood!"[21] What is most interesting about Mather's polemic is its emphasis on the significance of the reign of George I for the nascent concept that Kidd and other scholars have termed "international Protestantism." Writing in the early years of the period in which most historians seen New England Puritanism as in decline, Mather lavishes praise on a British monarch in unprecedented fashion. This was especially so for a Puritan divine born in 1663, only three years after the Restoration, when Puritan estimations of the monarchy were at their all-time nadir. Indeed, Mather had clashed with civil authority—in 1689, he was charged with holding a meeting of armed men at his house and thus accused as one of the "chief designers" of a plot against Edmund Andros, James II's royal governor of Massachusetts.[22] As Mather must have been aware, George I had not demonstrated any interest in reforming the Church of England, of which he was now head, according to Puritan or any other reformed model. But as the Puritan clergy's influence over New England politics waned during the early-eighteenth century, the ministry's support for the success of an international Protestantism took on a new seriousness. Like their fellow subjects in England, they were willing to go so far as supporting English monarchs such as William III and George I, who had been born in for-

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community, it was largely with the end of defeating the evil 'other' of international Catholicism, and especially their French Catholic neighbors" (pp. 17–18).

[21]Cotton Mather, *Menachem. A very brief essay, on tokens for good: wherein, together with the good signs which all good men have to comfort them, there are exhibited also some good things of a late occurrence, and of a great importance, which have a comfortable aspect on the Protestant religion in general, and more particularly on a countrey of distinguished Protestants. A sermon, delivered in an honourable audience at Boston* (Boston, 1716), p. 34. Emphasis in original.

[22]Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York, 1984), p. 69.

eign nations—so long as they were Protestant. British Protestant religious identity—predicated upon antipopery—had trumped national identity.

For Mather, the rise of George I and the Jacobite rebellion also had apocalyptical dimensions. "[T]he whole *Protestant Interest* has been Comforted," he wrote, invoking the title of the pamphlet, "in the Accession of our most *Rightful* and *Lawful* King GEORGE . . ."[23] The "Ancient Prophesies" had predicted that in "*an hundred and fourscore Years*" after the English Reformation in 1534, which adds up to 1714, the year of the crowning of George I, "the *Papal Empire* was entring [*sic*] into the last Half-Time assigned for it," which would "terminate in the Total Exctinction [*sic*] of it!" The wars fought between the Austrian Hanovers and France were, Mather argued, evidence of the fulfillment of these predictions. "Yet the prevailing of *Popery* has been very Formidable. In the direful Methods, of *Treachery*, of *Injustice*, of unparallel'd Barbarities, the *Protestant Interest*, has been reduced so Low" until very recently, as to barely show any progress since the first days of the Reformation. The Protestant world, he argued, had been waiting for the triumph represented by the Hanoverian succession in 1714. No wonder, then, that the "very deep *Confederacy* . . . intended to Root out the *Protestant Religion*" had conspired to bring a "*Popish Pretender*" to the throne in a plot "laid as deep as Hell."[24] Although Mather makes no direct reference to Catholic teaching about indulgences in this work, his broader, though explicit, condemnations of popery as a false religion and as a work of the devil resonate with much other anti-Catholic literature, including a shorter work he had published only six years earlier. In *The Fall of Babylon* (1708), a catechism intended for the Catholics of Maryland "who may be in danger of popish delusions," Mather wrote that "[t]he Church of *Rome* has openly declared against *Keeping Faith with* (the Faithful People of God, whom they call) HERETICKS." Furthermore, "it has Established its *Idolatries & Usurpations*, with such barbarous *Massacres & Martyrdoms* . . . that all who have the least Humanity in them, ought to Abhor such a Church."[25] Another ten years earlier, in

[23]Mather, *Menachem*, p. 33.

[24]Mather, *Menachem*, pp. 34–35. Emphasis in original.

[25]Cotton Mather, *The fall of Babylon. A short and plain catechism, which detects & confutes the principles of popery: and arms the Protestant from the Tower of David, for the defence of his holy religion Intended particularly for the service of the Christians in Maryland, who may be in danger of popish delusions* (Boston, 1707), p. 18. Emphasis in original.

his published sermon *Eleutheria* (1698), Mather had even more explicitly invoked the idea of the downfall of popery in relation to apocalypse. He believed that the time "left for the Reign of this Antichrist" would soon be entering its final period. In the meantime, those "too long slay'd by the Tyrannies of Rome" would begin to grow willing to restrain the power of his "*Ecclesiastical Harpies*."[26] It is unclear whether Mather's "Harpies" are agents of the pope, Church of England bishops who tended to be "high church" and thus targets of Puritan hostility, or both. Interestingly, according to the imprint itself, the work was printed in London, although meant for sale in both New England and Edinburgh.

Theological objections to Catholicism did not only take the form of sermons or politically oriented pamphlets, but pervaded nearly all forms of literature. For example, among the most commercially successful works of fiction produced during the "long" eighteenth century is *The French Convert*, probably first published in 1696 in London and written by A. D'Auborn, a French Protestant minister. It is unclear if D'Auborn was a pseudonym; some scholars have argued, based on the composition of early editions, that it may even have been written by a colonial American author. As was often the case with other antipopish literature, *The French Convert* was reprinted in New England—almost certainly in Boston in 1708—and again by John Peter Zenger, of libel trial fame, in New York in 1725. In fact, it was Zenger's first independently printed book. According to Kidd, who cites an explanatory note by one party responsible for the initial publication of the novel, the role of the author was subordinate to that of the reader and the printer, who in contributing to the spread of this purportedly authentic work, were doing so "most for God's Glory" rather than for personal gain.[27] With more than two dozen editions, it became the most commonly reprinted book on popery in eighteenth-century America.[28]

[26]*Eleutheria: or, An idea of the Reformation in England: and a history of non-conformity in and since that Reformation. With predictions of a more glorious reformation and revolution at hand. Written in the year 1696. Mostly compiled and maintain'd from unexceptionable writings of conformable divines in the Church of England* (London, 1698), p. 28.

[27]Thomas S. Kidd, "Recovering *The French Convert*: Views of the French and the Uses of Anti-Catholicism in Early America," *Book History*, 7 (2004), 97–111.

[28]For more on colonial and early American novels, see Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York, 1986).

This novel, claiming to be a "true" account, centers on the conversion of Deidamia, a French Catholic noblewoman (possibly a Latin approximation of "woman of God"). The intended audience would have seen the protagonist as intellectually and perhaps morally deficient on three levels—as a woman, a Catholic, and French. She is an ideal protagonist for anti-Catholic literature during this period. The reader no doubt is expected to sympathize with the heroine not only because she is the dupe of priestcraft but also because she is a weak woman.

In *The French Convert*, Deidamia discovers her Protestant gardener reading the Bible. She offers to toss it into the fire, as she believes that the Church does not allow the laity to possess Bibles, and she wishes to protect him from discovery and punishment. He asks her to toss his body into the flames, as he cannot bear to part with his Bible. After the woman's conversion, Jesuits are hired to assassinate her and the gardener.

The work's true purpose is quickly revealed in its tediously catechetical approach, portrayal of Catholic clergy, and depiction of Catholic teaching on indulgences. Deidemia resists the advances of a lecherous priest who "had not scrupled to proffer the Pope's Pardon . . . and that before it was committed . . ." She comes to understand through the Protestant gardener's instruction that priests "frequently tempted easy and ignorant People to the commission of many Sins"[29] by exploiting the power of indulgences.

The plot line of *The French Convert* relies heavily on the novelistic conventions of the period, and its anti-Catholic tropes—Jesuit assassins and all—are consonant with the anti-French sentiment that only intensified during the French and Indian War, the Revolutionary War, and the French Revolution. Its popular revival and continual reprintings thus make sense toward the end of the eighteenth cen-

[29] [Anonymous], *The French convert: being a true relation of the happy conversion of a noble French lady, from the errors and superstitions of popery, to the reformed religion, by means of a Protestant gardiner* [sic], *her servant. Wherein is shewed, her great and unparallel'd sufferings, on the account of her said conversion: as also her wonderful deliverance from two assassines hired by a popish priest to murther her: and of her miraculous preservation in a wood for two years; and how she was at last providentially found by her husband, who (together with her parents) was brought over by her means to the embracing of the true religion, as were divers others also. The whole relation being sent by a Protestant minister, now a prisoner in France, to a French refugee in London*. (Boston, 1725), p. 45.

tury, when, after initial American enthusiasm for the French Revolution's antimonarchial character, perceptions of the Catholic French as "bloody" and "barbarous" once more came to the fore.

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Events of the 1740s had a significant effect on antipopery literature. Charles Edward Stuart (1720–88), the "Young Pretender," led the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Although this military campaign to seat a Stuart king on the British throne ended unsuccessfully in 1746, it left a powerful psychological impression on English-speaking people of the time and propelled a new flurry of antipopish publications.

In October 1745, the pamphlet *The Question, Whether England can be otherwise than miserable under a Popish King?* appeared in London with a note on the title page that it was "printed at the desire of gentlemen who give them away" without charge. The work declares, "'Tis the business of our enemies to lull you into security, and blind you, but if ever there was a time for opening your eyes, it is *now*."[30] Although many have failed to take the threat to the throne seriously, writes the author, "[*P*]*opish* priests have succeeded too well, in bringing people over to their religion; and this is the second attempt within these two years of the *Pretender* to invade *England*." The author argues that all Roman Catholics are, at heart, Jacobite sympathizers, "tho' they often declare the contrary; but it is impossible, that a man can be *truly* a *Roman Catholic*, without wishing well to the Pretender."[31]

Similarly, the anonymously authored tract *A Protestant's Resolution: shewing his reasons why he will not be a Papist* (London, 1679; Boston, 1746) is preoccupied with the perceived dangers of priestcraft and is written in the traditional question-and-answer form of period catechisms. Along with *The French Convert*, it was one of the most frequently reprinted antipopish tracts of the eighteenth century.[32] *A Protestant Resolution* was in its nineteenth edition by

[30][Anonymous], *The Question, Whether England can be otherwise than miserable under a Popish King? Considered: In A Short Address to the People of England* (London, October 5, 1745). Emphasis in original.

[31]Anonymous, *The Question*, p. 3. Emphasis in original.

[32]The pamphlet had been printed in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, in nineteen editions, by the beginning of the reign of George I in 1714, according to the British Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1894), p. 185. The first American edition appeared in Boston in 1746.

1714[33] and was reprinted during the Jacobite risings of 1744 and 1745.It also had relevance to northern and southern colonists living near Catholic French and Spanish settlers, respectively.

Indulgences occupy a prominent place in the work. They "are the worst of Cheats, and abominable Injuries to Christ and Christians," declares the author. The proof for this is that "there is no Pardon of Sin, but by the Mercy of God, thro' the Blood of Christ." Furthermore, the "great Article of Forgiveness of Sins, and free Justification thro' the Grace of God in Jesus Christ, is overthrown by their Doctrine of Merit, Pardons, Indulgencies, &c."[34] Invoking Pope Pius V's bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, which denounced Queen Elizabeth I as a heretic, the pamphlet states that Catholicism is "*a Traiterous Religion* . . . For they teach, That the Pope may depose the Emperor," and "may lawfully Absolve Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance."[35]

In antipopish ideology, fears of popery's tyrannical effects upon government are directly associated with indulgences and the power of the papacy. Puritan minister Hull Abbot of Charlestown, Massachusetts, preached a sermon to his congregation in January 1745, which was published the following year as *A Sermon Occasion'd By the Rebellion in Scotland*.[36] The sermon mentions the prime danger of a Jacobite triumph, in the author's view: "arbitrary power" wielded by a Catholic Stuart king. Abbot urged his congregation to pray for deliverance from this threat. Britain had already enjoyed "many Deliverances . . . since the blessed *Reformation* from Popery and Slavery," and it was "by the Will of GOD" that the Glorious

[33][Anonymous], *A Protestants resolution: shewing his reasons why he will not be a Papist Digested into so plain a method of question and answer, that an ordinary capacity may be able to defend the Protestant religion, against the most cunning Jesuit or Popish priest. Useful for these times* (London, 1679).

[34][Anonymous], *A Protestant's Resolution* (Boston, 1746), p. 17.

[35]Anonymous, *A Protestant's Resolution*, p. 32, emphasis in original. For more on *Regnans in Excelsis* and its political ramifications, see MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, p. 334.

[36]Hull Abbot, *The duty of God's people to pray for the peace of Jerusalem: and especially for the preservation and continuance of their own privileges both civil and religious, when in danger at home or from abroad.A sermon on occasion of the rebellion in Scotland rais'd in favour of a popish pretender; with design to overthrow our present happy establishment, and to introduce popery and arbitrary power into our nations, from which, by a series of wonders, in the good providence of God, they have been often delivered, preach'd at Charlestown in New-England, Jan. 12. 1745* (Boston, 1746).

Revolution had taken place in 1688.[37] Like others of his generation, particularly Puritan colleagues like Cotton Mather, Abbot believed apocalyptically that before the end of the world, the pope and his power would be destroyed.

This theme was developed further after the end of the Jacobite crisis in 1746 by the Annapolis minister John Gordon, who preached a thanksgiving sermon on the subject that was attended by Thomas Bladen, governor of Maryland. Should the Stuart Pretender have been successful in his attempted invasion, Gordon claimed, he would have brought to the throne "a Religion as destroys the Foundation of all Trust," "sanctifies all the Methods of Fraud and Dissimulation," and teaches its followers "*to keep no Faith with us*." If the Pretender were to reign, Catholic priests would be waiting "ready to extirpate *Heresy* out of our Religion, that is, ourselves out of the World, by *Burnings* and *massacres*. . ."[38] Gordon's sermon indicates that popery was not just an issue on distant shores but also was felt as a real threat at home—and he felt strongly enough about the matter to say so in the presence of the governor of the colony.

* * *

Eighteenth-century historical works, such as those of the popular Boston-based physician and polemicist William Douglass (1691–1752), were no less concerned with popery and fitness for subjecthood. Douglass's *History of the British Settlements of North America*, printed in 1749, discusses Catholic theological beliefs—particularly indulgences—and connects them to treasonous activities. "The *Roman Catholicks* commonly called Papists, in all well-regulated Governments, from most evident civil political Reasons, ought to be excluded," Douglass writes. This is because, he notes,

> the Constitution of their Religion, renders them a Nusance [*sic*] in Society; they have an indulgence for Lying, Cheating, Robbing, Murdering, and not only may but are in Christian Duty bound, to extirpate all Mankind who are not of their Way of thinking.

[37]Abbot, *The duty of God's people*, p. 18. Emphasis in original.

[38][A thanksgiving sermon on occasion of the suppression of the unnatural rebellion, in Scotland, by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland: preached at the city of Annapolis, before His Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq. governor of Maryland by the Rev. Mr. Gordon] (Annapolis, 1746), p. 6. Emphasis in original.

Catholics, he reports further, call others outside their faith "*Hereticks*: Unless the Pope (the Head and Oracle of their Religion)," or "*Popery* by the Laws of Nature and *Jus Gentium* [international law] ought to be deem'd, [are] inconsistent with human Society." Douglass provides historical examples of when the doctrine was invoked that, in his view, allowed Catholics to operate outside the moral laws binding their Protestant countrymen. He claims that "this most execrable Doctrine" of Catholics "has in a most dismal horrid Manner, frequently been put in Execution," citing in particular the "*Popish* Persecution of Protestants by the Papists in England in the Reign of Queen Mary from Anno 1553 to 1557." As Douglass writes, the period historian Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, described the queen as "a good natured Woman," but declared that she was "of a very ill-natured Religion."[39]

Likewise, as future American Revolutionary leader John Adams (1735–1826) makes clear in his fascinating historical polemic "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law," published in the *Boston Gazette* in 1765 during the height of the Stamp Act crisis, tropes about priestcraft, or Catholic clerical authority as the chief enemy of liberty, were just as compelling as they had been two decades earlier during the Jacobite rising of 1745. For Adams, the Catholic Church had historically sought to maintain its immense power by "[t]he most refined, sublime, extensive, and astonishing constitution of policy, that ever was conceived by the mind of man."This policy "was framed by the *Romish* clergy for the aggrandizement of their own order." In addition:

> All the epithets I have here given to the Romish policy are just: and will be allowed to be so, when it is considered, that they even persuaded mankind to believe, faithfully and undoubtedly, that GOD almighty had intrusted *them* with the keys of heaven; whose gates *they* might open and close at pleasure—with a power of dispensing over all the rules and obligations of morality—with authority to license all sorts of sins and crimes—with a power of deposing princes, and absolving subjects from allegiance—with a power of procuring or withholding the rain of heaven and the beams of the sun—with the management of earthquakes, pestilence and famine. Nay with the mysterious, awful, incomprehensible power of creating out of bread and wine, the flesh and blood of God himself. All these opinions,

[39]William Douglass, M.D., *A summary, historical and political, of the first planting, progressive improvements, and present state of the British settlements in North-America* (Boston, 1749), p. 225.

> they were enabled to spread and rivet among the people, by reducing their minds to a state of sordid ignorance and staring timidity; and by infusing into them a *religious* horror of letters and knowledge. Thus was human nature chained fast for ages, in a cruel, shameful and deplorable servitude, to him [the pope] and his subordinate tyrants, who, it was foretold, would exalt himself above all that was called God, and that was worshipped.[40]

Adams's essay, in short, equates the history of Catholicism—synonymous in his view with premodern European history—with a conspiracy of pope and prelates to control the minds and wills of an entire continent of residents. His critique of Catholicism moves beyond the historical into the realm of doctrine and moral precepts. In writing that the Church had "a power of dispensation over all the rules and obligations of morality—with authority to license all sorts of sins and crimes—with a power of deposing princes, and absolving subjects from allegiance," he is speaking both of indulgences and the idea that Catholics "keep no faith with heretics."[41]

The concerns expressed by Adams are echoed in *Popish Idolatry,* a lecture by Jonathan Mayhew (1720–66; see figure 2). As this lecture was composed in the same year as Adams's "Dissertation" and the Stamp Act crisis, it suggests that antipopery continued to be a compelling political issue. The Whig clergyman's lecture was one of the Dudleian lectures, established and endowed in 1750 by a gift willed to Harvard College by an alumnus, Judge Paul Dudley of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The gift stipulated that a series of four lectures should be given annually at the college, with the third of these dedicated to

> exposing the Idolatry of the Romish church, their tyranny, usurpations and other crying wickedness, in their high places; and finally that the church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that man of sin, that Apostate church spoken of in the New Testament.[42]

This depiction of Rome as the "apostate church" predicted before the end of the world in the Book of Revelation often appears in antipopery literature in the eighteenth century. *Popish Idolatry* mentions the Council of Trent and encapsulates some of the traditional Puritan

[40]John Adams, *Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law*, in *The Papers of John Adams,* ed. Robert J. Taylor, Mary-Jo Kline, and Gregg L Lint (Cambridge, MA, 1977–), p. 109. Emphasis in original.

[41]Adams, *Dissertation.*

[42]Cogliano, p. 8.

FIGURE 2. Illustration of Jonathan Mayhew from Alden Bradford, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.* (Boston, 1838), frontispiece.

objections to Catholic practice, ending with a discussion of indulgences and their connection to the concept of "keeping no faith with heretics." As Mayhew stated,

> when the council of Trent so gravely injoins, that all *superstition* in the worship of saints and reliques, and in the *sacred use of images*, should be taken away, still encouraging these practices themselves, [the Church was] as anti-scriptural and irrational as if those fathers had decreed, that men should commit fornication, but without unchastity; theft and robbery, but without injustice; murder, without breach of charity; and blasphemy, without impiety.

Mayhew identified indulgences as justifying the "crimes" that the leaders of the Catholic Church find

> very *useful* in their turns, and subservient to their own ends, when kept under their discrete and skilful management . . . For what would then become of their dispensations, pardons, indulgencies, and I know not what; the wicked craft, by which they have their wealth?[43]

[43]Jonathan Mayhew, *Popish idolatry: A discourse delivered in the chapel of Harvard-College in Cambridge, New-England, May 8. 1765. At the lecture founded by the Honorable Paul Dudley, Esquire* (Boston, 1765). Emphasis in original.

As trouble with London intensified in the mid-1770s, the American Continental Congress hoped to gain the new British and formerly French-controlled colony of Quebec as an ally, but the French Catholics to the north would have none of the idea. The Canadians objected to the duplicitous behavior of a Congress that, on the one hand, sent Benjamin Franklin and Jesuit priest John Carroll (cousin to delegate Charles Carroll) as diplomatic envoys to them, yet, on the other, adopted the "Suffolk County" resolutions of September 1774. Pertaining to Quebec, the resolutions stated that "we think the Legislature of Great-Britain [Parliament] is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion [Catholicism], fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe." Furthermore,

> the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modeled, and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe . . . they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was not all, however. The Continental Congress could not express its "astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world." The toleration of popery in Canada was so dangerous that

> the Roman Catholics of this vast continent will then be in the power of your [Britain's] enemies—nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.[44]

Their fellow British subjects in England would have been quite familiar with the language of these complaints as well as the reasoning and anxieties behind them. "Against Popery," an oath included for justices of the peace in a 1774 American edition of a book published

[44] *Extracts from the votes and proceedings of the American Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774. Containing, the bill of rights, a list of grievances, occasional resolves, the Association, an address to the people of Great-Britain, a memorial to the inhabitants of the British American colonies, and an address to the inhabitants of Quebec. Published by order of the Congress* (New-London, 1774).

on both sides of the Atlantic, requires the oath-taker to declare that the Mass, prayers to the saints, and other practices of the "church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous." Furthermore, he had to testify that his declaration was meant "in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they commonly understood by English Protestants . . . and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope . . ." Additionally, the applicant had to swear that the oath was taken

> without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope . . . shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.[45]

Amid the oath's exhaustive litany of rejections of Catholic practices, real and imagined, it should be noted that the oath is primarily concerned with the idea of papal dispensations over oaths and promises.

Although the anti-Catholic literature of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century Britain and its New England colonies took a variety of forms—from the political and historical to the doctrinal—the frequent and often relentless vehemence of its rhetoric cannot obscure the particular logic of prejudice against Catholic belief and practice during the period. In the absence of any meaningful measure of freedom of expression for Catholics and the subsequent lack of an authoritative Catholic voice in the colonies, the ideology and rhetoric of antipopery inevitably replicated and reinforced itself with a degree of internal consistency throughout a range of genres. To understand the persistence of early American attitudes toward Catholic belief—such as fear of Catholic disloyalty to the state that had violent ramifications during the nineteenth-century nativist era—new explorations into the vocabulary and ideology of anti-Catholicism are necessary. A clearer perception of the role that indulgences and early American Protestant perceptions of them played in developing this ideology is one important key to deepening this understanding.

[45] *English liberties, or The free-born subject's inheritance. Containing Magna Charta, Charta de Foresta, the statute De Tallagio non Concedendo, the Habeas Corpus Act, and several other statutes; with comments on each of them . . . with many law-cases throughout the whole. Compiled first by Henry Care, and continued, with large additions, by William Nelson, of the Middle-Temple, Esq.* (Providence, 1774), p. 307. See also Derek H. Davis, *Religion and the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (New York, 2000).

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, AND THE BEGINNING OF ORGANIZED LAY APOSTOLATE GROUPS AMONG THE IGBOS OF SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA

BY

JACINTA CHIAMAKA NWAKA*

The socioeconomic crisis of the postwar period, the government takeover of mission schools, and the expulsion of expatriate missionaries opened the way for a larger role for the laity in Igboland South in eastern Nigeria, especially in evangelization and the organization of lay groups. Although these lay groups made some progress in addressing the problems of the period, taking the gospel message beyond conversion, adopting a more radical approach to evangelization, and building a healthier society remained substantial challenges.

Keywords: African church history; lay organizations; missionaries; Nigerian church history; Spiritans

The history of Christian activities in Igboland, particularly the work of missionaries, has been discussed by several scholars.[1] Issues such as the influence of the Church on Igbo culture also have received scholarly attention.[2] One area, however, that has been neglected is the Catholic Church and the Nigerian Civil War.[3] This article assesses the influence of the civil war on the organization of lay groups among the

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[1]Authors who have dealt extensively with Catholicism in Igboland, schools active in evangelization, and the work of early missionaries such as the Spiritans Joseph Lutz, Léon Lejeune, Bishop Joseph Shanahan, and Bishop Charles Heerey include Hypolite Adigwe, Noel Eze, Frederick Nnabuife, Vincent A. Nwosu, Celestine Obi, Nicholas Omenka, K. B. C. Onwubiko, and Ikenga Ozigbo.

[2]For details of Christianity and Igbo culture, see Edmund Ilogu, *Christianity and Igbo Culture* (New York, 1974).

[3]One exception is Jacinta Nwaka, "The Catholic Church and Conflict Management during the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970," PhD diss., University of Ibadan, 2011.

Igbo in southeastern Nigeria, providing a brief history of the Church in Igboland and discussing the relationship between the laity and the clergy in the early period of evangelization, pre-1970 attempts at organized lay groups, the challenges after the civil war, and the establishment of more formal lay groups after 1970.

Some Definitions

It is necessary to provide some definitions and clarifications of terms used in this article. Christ's followers in the Catholic Church fall into two broad categories: the clergy and the laity. However, a third group, the religious, which Canon 588 describes as "neither lay nor cleric," exists within the Church. The clergy are those elevated to the Holy or Sacerdotal Order. With their ministerial function as priests, they act not only as shepherds of God's flock but also as an intermediary between God and his people. The laity is composed of lay faithful who, although they are not priests, share in the priestly, prophetic, and kingly role of Christ. As such, they share in the evangelizing work of Christ as members of his mystical body, the Church, in a manner different from that of the ministry of priests.

In Nigeria, the Church has lay statutory bodies and pious societies, which are generally referred to as *lay apostolate groups*. The statutory bodies are the Catholic Women's Organization, the Catholic Men's Organization, the Catholic Girls Organization, the Catholic Boys' Organization, and the Catholic Youth Organization. The pious groups include the Legion of Mary, St. Anthony's Guild, and St. Jude's Society that focus on charismatic renewal and engage in prayer and other activities as approved by the Church and the leadership of such societies. Although every baptized individual is expected to join one of the statutory bodies, membership in the pious societies is not a requirement because of their designation as devotional groups. For the purpose of this article, the term *laity* connotes both the statutory bodies and the lay pious societies. In other words, any activity carried out under the umbrella of the Catholic Church by lay individuals or groups is taken to be an activity of the laity.

The Igbos, the ethnic population discussed in this article, largely live in present-day southeastern Nigeria (the former East Central State) and the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria. In the southeast or Lower Niger are found the southern, eastern, and northern Igbo who came under little external influence and thus are referred

to as the *core Igbo*. The western Igbo (popularly known as the *"Ika" Igbo*) are found in the South-South and had more external influences than their counterparts in the Southeast, which may explain variations in dialect and culture. The term *Igboland* used in this article simply means the Igbo enclave in the present-day southeast. As this area was the theater of war and had the most challenging situation in the postwar period, it is highly appropriate for analysis here.

A Brief History of the Catholic Church in Igboland

The activities of the early Catholic missionaries in the Igbo area of the Lower Niger began with the arrival in Onitsha of two French Spiritan priests, Joseph Lutz and Jean-Nicolas Horne, and two French Spiritan brothers, Hermas Huck and Jean Gotto, in 1885–86.[4] They intended to head for Igbebe that was situated in the confluence of the Niger and Benue (Lokoja). However, an agent of the Royal Niger Company denied them a permit for passage from Akassa, because they did not have a recommendation letter from the company's London headquarters.[5] The four missionaries then journeyed to Brass, where an English Protestant merchant, Charles Townsend, welcomed them. He persuaded them to begin their mission in Onitsha and took them to visit the local king, Obianazonwu of Onitsha. The king offered the missionaries a piece of land where they later built their first mission station in Igboland.

From Onitsha, the missionaries began to move into areas around the Niger such as Aguleri, Nteje, Nsugbe, and Igbariam. The missionaries provided Father Albert Bubendorf as chaplain on the Aro expedition of 1901–02, which opened the territory of the Lower Niger. In the establishment of missions in the interior, the Catholic missionaries competed with representatives of the Protestant Church Mission Society (CMS). The Catholic missionaries established missions in Ozubulu, Nnewi, Adazi, Nimo, Ihiala, Mbaise, Emekuku, Emii, and Oguta. The discovery of bitumen in Enugu in 1909 resulted in a mission station in that area, followed by missions in Eke, Achi, Awgu, Udi, Ogbete, and

[4]For details on the French pioneer missionaries in Igboland, see Frederick Nnabuife, "The History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria: The Foundation Period, 1885–1905," PhD diss., Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1983; Hypoite Adigwe, "The Beginning of the Catholic Church among the Ibos of South-Eastern Nigeria, 1885–1930," PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1966.

[5]Congregation of the Holy Spirit, *Journal of Southern Nigeria,* 1885–1912, Dec. 7, 1885, cited in Nnabuife, "The History," p. 96.

Nsukka. Indeed, by 1920, various mission stations had been established in northern, eastern, and southern Igboland, and towns such as Nnewi had more than one parish. According to K. B. C. Onwubiko, the Catholic Church, by 1925, had outstripped the CMS in terms of number of missions established in the territory.[6] Education proved an effective strategy. Although the pioneer missionaries used this tactic, Father Léon Lejeune and Bishop Joseph Shanahan popularized it. With the latter's slogan of "expansion now and consolidation later,"[7] Shanahan's representatives fanned out across Igboland. Given that the CMS schools taught in the vernacular and the Catholic schools used English, the Igbo (who cherished English as a novelty and saw its advantages in colonial matters) sent delegations to the missionaries asking for mission schools in their towns and villages. Thus, education was used as an effective instrument for accessing the interiors of Igboland from Onitsha. By 1964, the Church was the sponsor of more than one-third of the elementary schools in the Eastern Region.[8]

The Laity and the Clergy in the Early Period of Evangelization: An Overview

Missionaries in Igboland conducted their activities through the assistance of chiefs and other influential individuals, through the provision of medical care, and through the assistance of laypeople who worked in roles such as catechists, teachers, and interpreters.[9]

Chiefs and influential men of some villages and towns who proved crucial in the missionaries work included Onyeama of Eke in Enugu,

[6]K. B. C. Onwubiko, "The Catholic Church and the Development of Education in Eastern Nigeria, 1885–1995," in A *Hundred Years of Catholicism in Eastern Nigeria, 1885–1985*, ed. Emefie Ikenga-Metuh and Christopher I. Ejizu (Nimo, Nigeria, 1985), pp. 234–76, here p. 244.

[7]For details of Shanahan's ideology, see Celestine Obi, "The Missionary Contributions of Joseph Shanahan, CSSp., 1902–1932," in *A Hundred Years of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria,* ed. Celestine Obi (Onitsha, Nigeria, 1985), pp. 107–75; Casmir Eke, Augustine Onyeneke, and Remigius Onyewuenyi, *In the Footsteps of Our Founder: A History of the Spiritan Province of Nigeria, 1953–2002* (Enugu, Nigeria, 2006), pp. 106–13; John P. Jordan, *Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria* (Dublin, 1971).

[8]Of about 5986 primary schools in the eastern region in 1964, the Catholic Church operated more than 2406; see Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education, *Directory of Elementary Schools in Eastern Region*, 1964 (Enugu, Nigeria, 1965).

[9]Prominent among these lay faithful were Pius Amanze from Emekuku, J. I. Duke from Afikpo, Joseph Modebe from Ihiala, Paul Anaekwe from Ukpor, Solomon Okaih from Adazi, and Joseph Ezedueme from Eziowelle.

Obi Anazonwu of Onitsha, Joseph Onyekomeli Idigo of Aguleri, Ojiakor Ezenne of Adazi, Obiejeshi Ajoku Abuba of Emekuku, and Okparaochekwe of Ulakwu in the Owerri province. These men donated land and invited the missionaries to open mission houses and schools. Although most of these chiefs tended to aid the missionaries out of materialistic motives rather than spiritual ones,[10] there were those who truly devoted themselves to the propagation of the gospel. Unlike Okparaochekwe of Ulakwu who had expected the missionaries to make Ulakwu famous through their activities and thus became disillusioned and openly hostile when this did not occur,[11] Idigo, who became a convert along with his household, was a useful instrument in the evangelization of Aguleri and the surrounding towns. Commenting on Idigo's role in the evangelization of Aguleri, one missionary noted:

> Night prayers are said in common in a little oratory before a simple cross. Idigo, our old chief, goes round the village ringing his bell; that is his signal for the assembly which ends with an Ave Maria and a hymn in the Ibo language. In the morning at about 5.00 o'clock, Idigo's ivory horn, the insignia of his office as a chief, wakes us up for morning prayers and holy Mass which all participate . . .[12]

A missionary once described Idigo as "influential and devoted, and above all, avid to make Jesus known and loved."[13]

The missionaries also evangelized through the provision of medical care at mission houses and new clinics. These facilities included Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital, Ihiala; Holy Rosary Hospital, Emekuku; Holy Rosary Hospital, Nsukka; and Holy Trinity Hospital, Onitsha. Providing this service generated competition among towns and villages for the missionaries' presence in their midst and won converts to the Church.[14] For example, in contrast with the mis-

[10]Vincent Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," in Obi, ed., *A Hundred Years of the Catholic Church,* pp. 331–56, here p. 335.

[11]Rose Njoku, *The Advent of the Catholic Church in Nigeria: Its Growth in Owerri Diocese* (Owerri, Nigeria, 1980), p. 44.

[12]Congregation of the Holy Spirit, *Bulletin de la Congregation* [Paris], XIX, no. 140 (1898), 336–38.

[13]Elizabeth Isichei, *Entirely for God: The Life of Michael Iwene Tansi* (Ibadan, 1980), p. 5.

[14]Felix Ekechi, *Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1859–1914* (London, 1972), p. 93.

sionaries' early difficulties with the Royal Niger Company, they now were not only welcome to open their mission in Obosi but also gained many converts from the CMS mission. The long-term effects of this humanitarian work by Catholic missionaries can be seen in the words of the chief of Obosi when the latter was expressing his gratitude to the missionaries for their assistance during the civil war:

> White man, I salute you. God is with you, man from oyibo country, Providence has brought you to this country to render us assistance . . . I salute you, white man, for diseases; you gave us a box of medicine which we know nothing of.[15]

Laypeople proved crucial to the missionaries' work. They tended to provide in-kind support rather than cash—for example, supplying labor and construction materials to mission centers. Missionaries organized catechism as well as moral and religious instruction classes at the parish, village, and ward levels, training laypeople to serve as instructors.

The laity also played a role after various government maneuvers attempted to exert control over an educational system that was heavily influenced by the Catholic Church. The Education Code of 1926 permitted the Nigerian government to close schools adjudged to be noncompliant with the code.[16] The mission groups, particularly the Catholic ones, reacted quickly to the policy,[17] but the code proved unenforceable at the local level. In January 1957, the government of the Eastern Region introduced universal primary education (UPE)[18] in an attempt to halt the expansion of schools under private agencies and to secularize education in the region. The Catholic faithful viewed this move as a conspiracy against the Church by the government led

[15]Ekechi, *Missionary Enterprise,* p. 392.

[16]For details on the Education Code of 1926, see A. Babs Fafunwa, *Education in Nigeria, 1842–1939* (Ibadan, 1978).

[17]Some reactions to the code appeared in the *Nigerian Catholic Herald,* a monthly Catholic newspaper that began publication in 1925. For a discussion of the code, see David B. Abernethy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education* (Stanford, 1969), p. 87.

[18]For details on UPE, see Eastern Nigeria, Universal Primary Education—Statements of Policy and Procedure for the Guidance of Education Officers, Local Government Council and Voluntary Agencies (mimeographed, August 20, 1966). Repr. Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education, *Directory of Elementary Schools, 1966* (Enugu, Nigeria, 1966).

by Nnamdi Azikiwe and dominated by non-Catholics.[19] Consequently, mass protests and other criticisms greeted the policy.[20] These reactions, together with the report from a committee chaired by K. O. Dike[21] and a lack of government funding, culminated in concessions made to the private agencies.

The formation of lay groups also played a role in the missionaries' work and is discussed below.

Organized Lay Groups before 1970

Lay groups in Igboland before 1970 included the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Legion of Mary, St. Jude's Society, St. Anthony's Guild, Knights of St. Mulumba, St. Vincent de Paul Society, Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, Total Abstinence Group, and the Council of Catholic Women. Although these bodies may have had large membership rolls, few individuals were active in them, and coordination of activities did not exist across groups. The isolation and sense of competition between groups are evident in this comment from the director of the lay apostolate of the Archdiocese of Onitsha in 1970: "Hitherto some associations tend to exist independent of any other of identical purpose. St Michael's Society in Alor, for example, has no notion of and cares not a pin about, St. Michael's Society in Nnokwa."[22]

As the prevailing belief was that the clergy had the major responsibility for proselytization and works of mercy, most laypeople were concerned with their personal spirituality, with the exception of the members of the Legion of Mary, who combined personal sanctifica-

[19]Azikiwe, an Anglican, declined to see Heerey when the latter demanded a meeting regarding the UPE issue. This refusal may have led the Catholics to believe that CMS was behind UPE, given the dominance of the Catholic Church in the educational system in the region. For more on this controversy, see Cooke, "Church, State and Education."

[20]"Catholic Bishops on the UPE," *The Leader* [Owerri], June 9, 1956.

[21]Headed by K. O. Dike, a committee in 1958 examined the UPE program in the region, recommending a moderate approach and emphasizing quality rather than quantity. The committee also advised against such a large-scale approach, as it would sap government revenue; the government was then spending one-third of its revenue on education. See J. U. Emeh, Victor Finipaya Peretomode, and C. S. Akpe, eds., *Nigerian Primary Education: Issues, Policies, and Administration* (Abuja, Nigeria, 1992), p. 44.

[22]Archives of the Archdiocesan Secretariat of Onitsha (hereafter referred to as AASON), Memorandum on Lay Apostolate Organization in Onitsha Archdiocese, November 30, 1970, File no. 49.

tion with some proselytization.[23] With the proliferation of lay groups with similar aims and objectives, there was the tendency for individuals to belong to two or more organizations of similar aims and for each group to claim that it had originated certain aims and objectives. Larger groups were more likely to attract members, absorb smaller groups, and command a higher level of diocesan and parish attention. Thus the potential for rivalries between groups can be seen.

The lay societies of the period also had problems related to illiteracy. Only a few officers could read and write, posing difficulties for movements that had originated abroad and required members to strictly adhere to their rules and regulations. In some locales (such as rural areas) where no one with sufficient education was available, these groups experienced serious setbacks. The Legion of Mary Society in Onitsha relayed such concerns to Francis A. Arinze, archbishop of the diocese, listing as problems the lack of educated people to provide leadership and serve as officers, occasional misunderstandings between members and nonmembers, poor finance, and the use of a handbook (The Legion Mariae) that was "still in foreign language but could be of more use if it is in our language."[24] It was, therefore, unsurprising that the activities of the laity were not coordinated given that such coordination requires educated men and women.

Finally, the most outstanding feature of the lay apostolate groups during this period was their dependence on the clergy. Many of these organizations were founded and organized by the latter. The Legion of Mary, for instance, was introduced in Ifuho in 1933 (in the Eastern Region's Diocese of Ikot Ekpene) by James Moynagh, S.P.S. (later bishop of the Diocese of Calabar).[25] Anselm I. Ojefua, O.C.S.O., inspired the founding of the Knights of St. Mulumba in 1953.[26] Charles Heerey, archbishop of Onitsha, organized the Catholic women's movement in the archdiocese. Although laypeople established some organizations such as the Block Rosary Crusade (started by teenagers and storekeepers gathering in Aba and Onitsha to say

[23]Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," p. 348.

[24]AASON, Address by the Legion of Mary Society of the Archdiocese of Onitsha to Francis A. Arinze, archbishop of Onitsha, on November 29, 1970, File no. 49.

[25]Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," p. 347.

[26]Chukudifu Oputa, *The History, Trial and Triumph of Knighthood* (Onitsha, Nigeria, 1974), p. 27.

night prayers), the majority of these groups either were founded by clergy or were heavily dependent on the clergy for sustenance.

The Nigerian Civil War, Postwar Challenges, and the Role of Lay Groups

In the mid-1960s, Nigeria faced serious ethno-political crises. The census crisis of 1962–63, the Tiv riots of 1964, the 1964 federal election crisis and subsequent violence, and the 1965 western election crisis led to a coup in January 1966, followed by a counter coup in July 1966.[27] The latter action placed Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon in power as the head of the military government of Nigeria, with his rank elevated to general. Conflict arose between Gowon, a northerner, and Lt. Col. Emeka Ojukwu, the military administrator of Nigeria's Eastern Region. Ojukwu demanded that Gowon acknowledge his role in a 1966 massacre of the Igbo and also objected to Gowon leading Nigeria's government, as Gowon was not the most senior army officer.[28] Ojukwu declared the establishment of the Republic of Biafra on May 31, 1967. Tensions escalated until the first shot was fired on July 6, 1967, at Gaken on the northern border of the Eastern Region, plunging Nigeria into civil war.

The war, which was centered in Biafra and thus greatly affected the Igbo, left more than a million people dead. It ended when Ojukwu fled to the Ivory Coast on January 9, 1970, and his second in command, Lt. Col. Philip Effiong, surrendered two days later.

Thirty months of war in Biafra resulted in ruined buildings, massive unemployment and poverty, and people suffering the physical and psychological effects of bombing, starvation, and disease.[29] The East Central State, for example, could only reabsorb 34,000 workers, leav-

[27]For details of the causes of the Nigerian Civil War, see H. Kirk Green, *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria: A Documentary Source Book,* 1968–1970 (London, 1970); Siyan Oyeweso, ed., *Perspectives on the Nigerian Civil War* (Lagos, Nigeria, 1992).

[28]Ojukwu made his position clear at a January 1967 meeting in Aburi, Ghana. For details of this meeting, see Eastern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Information, Minutes of the Meeting of the Nigerian Military Leaders in Aburi, Ghana, January 4–5, 1967, Official Documents, no. 5, 1967, no. W.T. 1000, 36710, 10,000.

[29]Jacinta Nwaka, "Biafran Women and the Nigerian Civil War: Challenges and Survival Strategies," *African Peace and Conflict Journal*, 4, no. 1 (2011), 34–46; Eno Ikpe, "Migration, Starvation and Humanitarian Intervention during the Nigerian Civil War," *The Lagos Historical Review,* 27 (2001), 82–93.

ing 800,000 unemployed.[30] Of the more than 2 million people who returned to the region in 1966, less than half could be supported by their families. The rest were housed in refugee camps, schools, and town halls. There were about 33,000 disabled persons, 44,000 orphans, and 89,000 destitute individuals who required services at the end of the war.[31] The Owerri area alone had about 200 ex-Biafran blind soldiers. Many children had lost one or both parents, or had parents unable to care for them. The state of affairs was such that a thirty-two-year-old woman was caught at the Ochanja Market in Onitsha trying to sell her one-year-old child.[32]

In addition, prostitution that became a common practice during the war continued unabated in the postwar period, with the hotels Idoto and Ikenga becoming notorious as residences of prostitutes. As authors Chimamanda Adichie, Chinua Achebe, and Tony Ubesie depicted, women who had turned to rich men and soldiers during the war were not forgiven by their husbands for their actions and thus could not return to their spouses.[33]

Furthermore, theft and armed robbery were rampant. Livestock were reportedly taken when the owners were out or asleep. Agnes Chigbo of Egbengwu Nimo in Njikoka, Anambra State, stated that four hens she bought from Orie-Nimo were stolen in August 1970.[34] Similarly, Paul Okose from Nnobi lamented that his two sheep were taken from the nearby bush, leaving only the ropes with which they had been tied.[35] Given the state of the economy, such thefts of farm animals could be devastating to their impoverished owners.

The Church thus faced a complex situation in terms of ministering effectively to the people and navigating a difficult political and social

[30]National Archives Enugu (hereafter referred to as NAE), FRP XII, "No Job for 800,000 in East Central," *Lagos Daily Times*, June 14, 1971, p. 32.

[31]Paul Obi-Ani, *Post-Civil War Social and Economic Reconstruction of Igboland, 1970–1983* (Enugu, Nigeria, 1998), p. 23.

[32]NAE, FRP XII, "Woman Held as She Negotiates to Sell Her Baby," *Lagos Daily Times*, January 16, 1971, p. 1.

[33]Chimamanda Adichie, *Half of a Yellow Sun* (New York, 2006); Chinua Achebe, *Girls at War and Other Stories* (London, 1972); Tony Ubesie, *Isi Akwu Dara N'Ala* [*The Palm Nut That Touches the Ground Has Licked the Dust*] (Ibadan, 1973).

[34]ASON, no. 27, Interview with eighty-four-year-old Mrs. Agnes Chigbo of Egbengwu, Nimo, July 14, 2008.

[35]ASON, Interview with Paul Okose (eighty-year-old ex-Biafran soldier of the 12th Division) of Nnobi, April 26, 2008 (DR).

climate. It had to provide physical and spiritual nourishment to feed a starving people while fostering the achievement of personal independence, revive moral and spiritual values threatened by the grim postwar environment, and combat the rise of occult practitioners and charismatic prayer houses that the Church feared exploited less educated individuals.[36] As Godwin Ikeobi notes, "the upsurge of prayer houses gained uncontrollable momentum after the war … By definition, they thrived better in the midst of problems and confusion, and the difficulties and confusion following the war was just terrible."[37] Yet the Church's humanitarian aid during the war and its dominance of the educational system had significant repercussions that affected its ability to carry out its mission.[38]

One consequence was the East Central State of Nigeria's assumption of control of schools operated by private agencies, including mission schools. On December 31, 1970, Ukpabi Asika, the administrator of the East Central State, issued Public Education Edict No. 2.[39] This edict brought all schools in the region under government control—a serious blow to religious organizations, particularly the Catholic Church, which "served the cause of educating the people more energetically than all other mission groups in [the] Eastern Region."[40]

The threat of government takeover of schools was not a new development, as evidenced by the Education Code of 1926 and the UPE effort of 1957. As Cooke notes, such a threat "hung like a Damoclean

[36]Ogbu Kalu, "Religion in Nigeria: An Overview," in *Nigeria since Independence: The First Twenty-Five Years,* Vol. IX: *Religion,* ed. J. A. Atanda, G. Ashiwaju, and Y. Abubakar (Ibadan, 1989), pp. 11–24.

[37]Godwin Ikeobi, a priest of the Archdiocese of Onitsha, hailed from Nnobi in the Anambra State of southeastern Nigeria. He was the first in the archdiocese to initiate the healing prayer sessions known as "the Tuesday Prayer." Other priests in Igboland who had a problem-solving prayer ministry similar to that of Ikeobi were Emmanuel Edeh, C.S.Sp., of the Diocese of Port Harcourt, as well as Stephen Njoku and Ejike Mbaka of the Diocese of Enugu. For details on the sessions known as Tuesday Prayer, see Godwin Ikeobi, "Catholic Response to the Challenges of 'Prayer Houses': Origin of the 'Tuesday Prayer' in Onitsha," in *The Catholic Church in Onitsha*, ed. Vincent A. Nwosu (Onitsha, Nigeria, 1985), pp. 262–75.

[38]For details of the Church's relief program during the war, see Nwaka, "The Catholic Church and the Nigerian Civil War," pp. 143–98.

[39]Eastern Region, Ministry of Information, Public Education Edict, 1970, No. 2 of 1971 (Enugu, Nigeria, 1971).

[40]David B. Abernethy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education* (Stanford, 1969), p. 30.

sword over the Catholic Missions in Nigeria from the early nineteen-fifties."[41] Confirming this impression, Afigbo writes:

> The East Central State Public Education Edict of 1971 was not, in spite of popular belief, a bolt from the blue. On the contrary it was the long-delayed result of an educational policy that had been in gestation for long. (*sic*)[42]

Because the people of eastern Nigeria were preoccupied with the array of ills previously mentioned, the only public reaction to the government's move came via pastoral letters from the bishops of eastern Nigeria and a few criticisms from other clergy. It is therefore easy to agree with Onwubiko that the most effective strategy in the government takeover of schools was the timing.[43] With the move to secularization in education and the Church's loss of authority, there was a rise in juvenile delinquency and a decline in student academic performance, teacher performance, and other education-related activities.[44]

In addition to the loss of mission schools, the Church faced a shortage of personnel. Foreign missionaries were expelled at the end of the civil war. The federal military government of Nigeria believed that the missionaries in Biafra took a pro-Biafra stand during the war, which, it argued, was largely responsible for prolonging the war.[45] To understand the effect of this expulsion, it is important to note the ratio of foreign missionaries, especially the Spiritans, to native-born clergy in Igboland on the eve of the war. The Order in 1967 had fifteen priests

[41]Colman M. Cooke, "Church, State and Education: The Eastern Nigeria Experience, 1950–1967," in *Christianity in Independent Africa,* ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke, Richard Gray, Adrian Hastings, and Godwin Tasie (Bloomington, IN, 1978), pp. 193–206, here p. 193.

[42]Adiele Afigbo, "The Missions, the State and Education in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1956–1971," in Fasholé-Luke et al., eds., *Christianity in Independent Africa,* pp. 176–92, here p. 177.

[43]Onwubiko, "The Catholic Church and Development of Education," p. 265.

[44]For more on the effects of the government takeover of schools, see Vincent A. Nwosu, "The Civil War Years: A Time of Great Trial," in Obi, *A Hundred Years of the Catholic Church*, pp. 367–75; K. B. C. Onwubiko, "The Catholic Church and the Development of Education," pp. 234–76; Hypolite Adigwe, "Onitsha Archdiocesan Pastoral Council 1971–1984: A Survey," in *The Catholic Church in Onitsha,* pp. 276–307; Francis Nnalue Akukwe, "The Catholic Church and Social Development in Eastern Nigeria," in *The Catholic Church in Onitsha*, pp. 216–61.

[45]For details on the Church and the government of Nigeria in the civil war, see Nwaka, "The Catholic Church and Conflict Management."

and two bishops from Nigeria and 300 expatriate missionaries.[46] The Archdiocese of Onitsha had seventy-three foreign clergy and sixteen indigenous priests; the Diocese of Owerri had ninety-one foreign clergy and fifteen local priests. With the expulsion of the missionaries, there were insufficient personnel for ministry, and thus the role of the laity in evangelization—reinforced by the Second Vatican Council's endorsement of a larger lay presence in such work—was given serious attention.

Other events also promoted the formation of lay groups. The World Congresses of the Lay Apostolate in 1951, 1957, and 1967 considered the objectives of coordinated lay groups.[47] The African Malagasy Seminar, held in Accra, Ghana, on August 11–18, 1971, had the theme "the commitment of the laity in the growth of the church and the integral development of Africa." Following the seminar was a meeting of the Pan-African Malagasy Provincial Committee of the Laity in Rome on March 22–26, 1972. These events paved the way for the emergence of a renewed laity organization in Nigeria at the national, provincial, diocesan, and parish levels. Commenting on the need for a well-organized laity in Nigeria, Ojo writes:

> We call on all our laity to be both active and present in the church. We call on the hierarchy to recognize this dawn of a new era when Africans, the lay in particular, are being called to become missionaries to themselves…[48]

Consequently, the National Laity Council of Nigeria (NLCN) was inaugurated in March 1973. There also were actions in Igboland consistent with the nationwide effort for a more organized lay presence such as the establishment of the Onitsha Archdiocesan Lay Apostolate Council in 1971.[49] Other dioceses in the region formed similar coordinating entities, spurred by the problems of the postwar period. According to Okon:

> Owing to the scarcity of priests at the end of the civil war, Bishop [Mark Onwuha] Unegbu had to turn to and rely heavily on the laity to continue

[467]Eke, *In the Footsteps of Our Founder*, p. 194.

[47]G. J. Afolabi Ojo, "Emergence of Laity Organizations in Nigeria," in *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria*, ed. A. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo (Lagos, Nigeria, 1982), pp. 71–86.

[48]Ojo, "Emergence of Laity Organizations in Nigeria."

[49]AASON, Circular Letter to All Priests, Religious and People of Onitsha Archdiocese on the Constitution of the Lay Apostolate Councils (Onitsha, April II, 1971), File no. 49.

> the great task of evangelization in the vast Diocese of Owerri. The practical application of the Vatican II's Decree on the Apostolate of the laity is perhaps the most innovative and most successful aspect of Bishop Unegbu's administration.[50]

These diocesan bodies eventually were brought under the NLCN.

During the postwar period, the most prominent lay groups in Igboland included the CWO, Legion of Mary, St. Anthony's Guild, St. Jude's Society, St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Block Rosary Crusade.

The CWO under leaders such as Mrs. V. V. I. Okoye (Archdiocese of Onitsha), Mrs. Rose Njoku (Diocese of Owerri), Mrs. Catherine Okpala (Diocese of Abakaliki), and Mrs. Theresa Ike (Diocese of Abakaliki) expanded in the ecclesiastical province, helped by a membership requirement for Catholic mothers. Their activities included distributing livestock to poor women, establishing bakeries and facilities for garri processing (to make a form of flour) for widows in Agulu and Ozubulu, supplying food to diocesan junior seminaries, holding premarriage and marriage courses as well as classes on morals for young mothers and other women, and setting up training centers and hotels for women such as the Bethany House in Onitsha and Villa Maria in Owerri.[51] The members of the CWO (through the Parent-Teachers Association) pursued the right of their children to religious education in government schools. Members of the CWO joined female colleagues from other areas in the struggle against the legalization of abortion in the country. A special status known as "life member" was created to honor women whose lives as Christian mothers were considered to be exemplary.[52]

Another lay apostolate group tackling the postwar challenges in Igboland was St. Anthony's Guild, which distributed *achicha umu ogbenye* (bread for the poor) and had a special resonance for the people in the association of the society's patron, St. Anthony of Padua, with the recovery of lost items. The guild attracted many members hoping for the return of their missing loved ones from the war.

[50]F. Okon, "Expansion and Consolidation: Growth in Onitsha, Calabar, Owerri, Ogoja and Umuahia," in Obi, ed., *A Hundred Years of the Catholic Church*, pp. 173–223, here p. 212.

[51]Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," p. 351.

[52]A. C. Nwagbogu, "Catholic Women's Organization, Onitsha, Meaning of Life Membership," in *Trinitas,* July 1979, p. 71.

Similarly, those who were victims of theft sought the recovery of their items through the intercession of St. Anthony.[53]

St. Jude's Society also increased in size. Because the patron saint of the society was associated with seemingly hopeless causes, widows experiencing difficulties with their children and other relatives sought the intercession of St. Jude by joining the society.[54] The St. Vincent de Paul Society, known for soliciting donations on behalf of the poor, also gained support during this period. It made small boxes that were kept at strategic positions inside churches and bore the inscription "help the poor." The proceeds were distributed to the poor—Catholics and non-Catholics alike.[55]

Another lay group that played a significant role in the postwar period was the Block Rosary Crusade. Although its precise origins in the area are unclear,[56] it became a viable instrument of evangelization after the civil war. Adigwe noted: "The Block Rosary Crusade has done wonderful work in the religious education of our children, particularly since after the war. It is very effective in collecting children, praying with them and teaching them the faith."[57] Some senior seminarians devoted their long vacations to visiting Block Rosary Centers and providing religious and moral instruction to children. These interactions with seminarians may have encouraged boys and girls to enter junior seminaries, for there was an increase in the number of individuals pursuing religious vocations in Igboland in the first decade following the war.

The Legion of Mary also made a significant contribution to the Church's evangelization and charitable work in the postwar period.

[53]AASON, Lay Apostolate file no. 49. According to the weekly meeting registers of St. Anthony of Padua's Guild in St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Dunukofia, and St. Andrew's Catholic Church, Adazi (both in the Archdiocese of Onitsha), there was an increase of more than 90 percent between 1970 and 1972. This figure suggests that people began to believe more in the efficacy of St. Anthony's intercession.

[54]Archives of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters, Onitsha (AIHMSO), 003, Interview with eighty-four-year-old Mrs. Patricia Osuji, former secretary, St. Jude's Society, Awka-Etiti, at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Awka Etiti, on December 9, 2006.

[55]The practice continues today in Igboland. Small wooden boxes are kept at church entrances for people to leave donations for the poor.

[56]The origin of this movement is still a matter of dispute. Some claim it started in Onitsha, whereas others state that it originated from Aba. See Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," p. 361.

[57]Adigwe, "Onitsha Archdiocesan Pastoral Council," p. 303.

Members of this group preached, visited the homes of lapsed Catholics and new converts, and reached out to the aged and the ill in hospitals and private residences. Their works of mercy so endeared them to the people that their membership swelled, resulting in the establishment of committees. In some parishes, there were about three to four committees.[58]

In addition, the interaction of lay organizations with the people led to increased communication between the Church and followers of the African Traditional Religion. Discussed within the lay groups were issues such as the *ozo* title (a tradition within Igbo society that establishes religious and social rank for individuals),[59] oath-taking (*igbandu*), secret societies that included the *ogboni,* and the relationship between Catholics and non-Christians. Previously, such matters had been contentious because they only had been addressed by the (largely foreign) clergy. With the opportunity for the lay faithful to air their opinions via the fora provided by lay organizations, serious dialogue could be conducted between the Church and the followers of the African Traditional Religion. The view of Bishop Shanahan that the traditional religion was not so much incorrect as incomplete began to register for both laity and clergy. As Adigwe noted, the laity and pastoral councils took up some issues. For instance, it was agreed that the *ozo* title would not be regarded as part of the traditional religion; the terms *pagan* and *idolatry* were too harsh and inaccurate to be applied to the traditional religion; and the general attitude of practicing Catholics toward others outside the faith should be one of charity, with efforts directed toward repentance rather than intolerance (as previously had been the case).[60]

In contrast to the pre-civil war societies, these lay groups were under one central body at the parish, zonal, diocesan, and national levels; those with common aims and objectives were merged to minimize the potential for rivalries. Every society had representatives on the parish laity council. From this council, representatives were sent to the zonal council, the zonal representatives composed the diocesan laity council, and so on. Similarly, every group held meetings at various levels—parish, zonal, diocesan, provincial, and national. Activities were coordinated so that, for example, what the St. Anthony's Guild

[58]Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," p. 353.
[59]Ilogu, *Christianity and Igbo Culture,* p. 31.
[60]Adigwe, "Onitsha Archdiocesan Pastoral Council," p. 283.

in Queen of Apostles Parish, Olokolo, Umuahia, was doing was similar to that of its counterpart in Nsukka.[61] Full, active membership was encouraged, with the exception of societies such as the Legion of Mary that had a category of auxiliary membership. The operation of lay organizations mostly became the responsibility of the membership rather than the clergy during this period.[62] However, every group had a spiritual director who was a priest, a brother, or a nun. Furthermore, many educated men and women were encouraged to join the societies and assist in coordinating their affairs.

With the assistance of these lay groups, the Catholic Church could do much to confront the challenges of the period. As Ikeobi rightly observed, the expulsion of the missionaries and the government takeover of mission schools paved the way for the development of lay organizations and the use of catechism as a viable tool of evangelization.[63] Such growth was reflected in the establishment of new dioceses such as Abakaliki in 1973, Awka in 1978, and Orlu and Okigwe in 1981. However, although the number of the churchgoers burgeoned, the rate of crime increased.[64] Therefore, it could be argued that the Church, partly through the work of lay groups in Igboland, succeeded in postwar efforts related to evangelization and ministry to the poor, but could not surmount certain problems such as personnel shortages to instill proper moral, family, and religious values on a large scale.

Conclusion

Lay organizations in Igboland evolved in three phases. During the first stage, with participation by individuals rather than by organized groups, the laity was peripheral in the work of evangelization. Lay groups assumed a larger role during the second phase, but a lack of coordination limited their impact on evangelization. The exigencies of the postwar period shaped the third phase, in which coordinated

[61]Adigwe, "Onitsha Archdiocesan Pastoral Council," pp. 279–88.

[62]Nwosu, "The Laity and Church Growth," p. 358.

[63]Godwin Ikeobi, cited in Nwosu, "Archdiocese of Onitsha since 1970," p. 198.

[64]E. Okafor, "South East: A Hot Bed of Crime," http://www.gamji.com/article9000/NEWS9177.htm, accessed Nov. 5, 2012; Leo Sobechi, "Southeast Governors Begin Work against Socioeconomic Crime," *The Guardian* [Nigeria], September 4, 2012, p. 4; Press Release of Vincent Valentine Ezeonyia, C.S.Sp., bishop of Aba, on the alleged involvement of a Catholic priest in kidnapping, http://www.cbcn-ng.org/newsdetail.php?tab=7, accessed on Nov. 8, 2012,

activities and the need for the complementary role of the laity in the Church and society were highlighted.

It could therefore be argued that the loss of mission schools to the government, expulsion of missionaries, and socioeconomic challenges in the postwar period ended the peripheral role of the laity in the evangelization of Igboland. Consequently, the Church's astronomical growth during this period enabled it to withstand a rising tide of religious proliferation, particularly Pentecostalism. Instead of the priest as the central figure, the laity in Igboland today, it can be argued, is indeed the pillar of the Church. The place of Igboland as the largest region of Catholics in Nigeria gives credence to this position.

A question remains, however—to what extent has the gospel message permeated the minds of the Igbo population that have embraced Christianity/Catholicism? In other words, forty years after the expulsion of the missionaries, has the local Church (the laity and the clergy) in Igboland been able to defeat the gods of the Igbo, which (as Ogbu Kalu argued) remained triumphant despite the efforts of organized religion?[65]

[65]Ogbu Kalu, *The Embattled Gods: Christianization of Igboland, 1841–1991* (Trenton, NJ, 1993).

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Science and Eastern Orthodoxy: From the Greek Fathers to the Age of Globalization. By Efthymios Nicolaidis. Translated by Susan Emanuel. [Medicine, Science, and Religion in Historical Context]. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2011. Pp. xx, 252. $55.00. ISBN 978-1-4214-0298-7.)

Recent discussions on the relation between religion and science in various historical contexts have mitigated an earlier view, influenced by Enlightenment anticlericalism, that this encounter was generally inimical. The volume under review offers Greek-speaking Eastern Orthodoxy as an example inviting further reflection on this problem. It also partly redresses the lack of any monograph on Byzantine science (pp. 197–202), generated by a widely shared perception that Byzantium was marginal to developments in world history and that the Byzantine legacy of the entire Orthodox world (Greek, Slavic, or other) is incompatible with and obstructive to modernity. Accordingly, researching the sciences among Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule meant measuring Greek progress toward modernity and eventually explaining what led to the creation of a modern Greek nation-state.

The Byzantine period (fourth to fifteenth century) is covered in approximately 100 pages, whereas another 100 are dedicated to subsequent developments among Greek-speaking orthodox Christians until the end of the twentieth century (geopolitically covering the Ottoman lands, Eastern and Western Europe, and Greece since its independence in 1830). Conceived and completed within four years (p. xii), this volume is admirably succinct. Its author, who acknowledges the difficulties generated by the dearth of existing research on the subject and the complexity of the issues involved, deserves gratitude for producing the only comprehensive reference available to scholars working both within and outside the fields it directly covers.

The volume focuses on the aspects of science where later developments led to the so-called scientific revolution: the constitution of the world as a physical entity and its function in astronomical terms, especially planetary motion. It implicitly assumes that the definition of science and its distinction from "pseudo-science" remained stable throughout the seventeen centuries it covers and was approximately the same as the modern one.

The author repeats ideas found in secondary literature instead of scrutinizing and reformulating them. As a result, the book reproduces earlier inter-

pretations of Byzantine culture abandoned by Byzantinists and occasionally includes factual errors. For example, chapter 2 contrasts the spherical universe of a postulated Alexandrian school, derived from "Hellenic" sources and embraced by highbrow culture, with the flat universe of an Antiochian school based on "Asiatic" sources and propagated by monks and the lower clergy in "popular" texts such as lives of saints. This contrast is no longer tenable, especially since what the author describes as the "popular" and "primitive" angelology of the Antiochian school (p. 31) is, in fact, a key ingredient of a particularly highbrow medieval endeavor: the ninth-century translations of Greek material into Arabic by Hunayn b. Ishaq and his associates, who routinely rendered the ancient gods of the pagan texts as angels. This reflected a philosophical tradition embraced by both pagans and Christians in late antiquity and beyond: the derivation of cosmology from the allegorical interpretation of ancient mythology. The book's negative assessment of Byzantine culture during iconoclasm (seventh–ninth centuries) ignores its positive reevaluation by recent scholarship. The account of Byzantine-Arab astrological exchanges during this period is muddled and inaccurate regarding the careers of the elusive Stephen (of Alexandria, Athens, and so forth) and Theophilos of Edessa (not a Greek Orthodox astrologer who immigrated from Byzantium to the caliphate, but a Syrian Christian born in Muslim lands and active at the court of caliph al-Mahdi). Two very distinct literary forms, hagiography and the *Erotapokriseis* (teaching manuals in question-and-answer form) are conflated (p. 54). Psellos is presented as a reader of predominantly "pagan" literature, which presumably led to a subsequent need for Emperor Alexios I to "re-Christianize" Byzantine education; this interpretation disregards Psellos's extensive engagement with patristic literature and generally distorts the outlook of eleventh-century Byzantine education. The author states that, in the fourteenth century, Theodore Metochites "hoped to purify [Byzantine astronomy] of Oriental—that is, Islamic—influences and clearly demarcate it from astrology" (p. 86). However, Metochites explicitly referred to his Persian-trained teacher, while his own student, Nikephoros Gregoras, was summoned for astrological advice by the court on at least one occasion. In chapter 9 the author presents George Gemistos-Plethon as a pagan without considering the doubts expressed by modern scholarship due to the paucity of the pertinent evidence and the meaning of the label *pagan* in the fifteenth century.

In general, the book reproduces an old-fashioned view of Byzantine civilization as introverted, unable to receive knowledge from the outside, and endlessly imitating ancient authorities without creatively engaging with them. Consequently, innovation in Byzantine philosophy and science is seen primarily as the result of the Fourth Crusade that led to the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the distribution of Byzantine territories among different Crusader leaders, events that forced a Byzantine encounter with Latin literary production (p. 73, pp. 113 *ff.*). Such a view was popular in the modern study of Byzantine belletristic activity, and especially the composi-

tion of novels, until a generation ago and has since been revised; its applicability to Byzantine science is contradicted by evidence presented elsewhere in the book, such as the Byzantine reception of Arabic astronomy in the ninth and tenth centuries. The book's discussion of scientific instruments and astronomical observation in Byzantium leads the reader to contradictory conclusions: on page 44 is introduced the idea—traceable to O. M. Dalton[1]—that "the Byzantines were too theoretical to be concerned with describing observations made with the aid of instruments, to the point that some historians wonder if they even observed the eclipses they had predicted"; we are later told that the Byzantines abandoned the manufacture of astronomical instruments, although they continued to produce other mechanical devices (p. 56). Such conclusions are incompatible with evidence referenced elsewhere: MS *Leidensis* BPG 78 (mentioned on p. 55 without fully explaining its significance) records astronomical observations made between 775 and 797/98; in addition, the meticulous calculation of eclipses in the fourteenth century (p. 91) and their importance as omens predicting the fall of powerful individuals (p. 84) during this period of continuous civil war suggests that the Byzantines regularly observed astronomical phenomena. The presumed lack of instruments in Byzantium is further projected on Greek scholars of the Ottoman period such as Chrysanthos Notaras—the instruments of the Jesuit astronomer Ferdinand Verbiest that he encountered in Russia impressed him because "the only scientific instruments that Chrysanthos had previously seen or read of were small astrolabes" (p. 150), although he wrote three treatises on the use of astronomical instruments informed by Arabic equivalents (the astrolabe, the quadrant, and the timekeeping device known in Arabic as *jayb*, p. 145).

As for the second half of the book (fifteenth to twentieth century), the introduction (p. xi) rightly points out that, from 1453 to the end of the eighteenth century, the "new European science" was introduced to the Orthodox world largely by high-ranking ecclesiastics; and that debates over it "traversed the whole body of the Orthodox church" (that is, involved broader societal, political, or personal conflicts). Yet the chapters on these centuries suggest that "new science" was introduced not through the church's help but in spite of its reaction and do not attempt to explain what conflicts beyond "religion versus science" may have been part of this process. This reflects a tendency in contemporary Greek historiography to view the history of the Greeks under Ottoman rule as shaped by two conflicting forces: a forward-thinking, European-oriented bourgeoisie and a reactionary, Ottoman-oriented church establishment. Although the introduction implicitly acknowledges this as an oversimplification, the relevant chapters do not expand but undermine the introduction's accurate acknowledgment.

[1]O. M. Dalton, "The Byzantine *Astrolabe* at Brescia," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 12 (1926), 133–46.

In spite of these reservations, this reviewer prefers this monograph to a complete bibliographical void and is grateful to its author for carrying out a bold, difficult, and thankless task.

University of California, Berkeley MARIA MAVROUDI

The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music. By David J. Rothenberg. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 264. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-19-539971-4.)

David J. Rothenberg, associate professor of music at Case Western Reserve University, based his book substantially on his 2004 Yale dissertation and subsequent articles published in the *Journal of Musicology* (2004) and the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (2006). His thesis, that courtly love song traditions and Marian devotions became symbolically linked in polyphonic motets from the thirteenth century up to the Reformation, is persuasively defended through analyses of select examples. Although Rothenberg's thesis leans heavily on the research of eminent music and liturgical scholars, his primary contribution is his thoughtful synthesis of existing scholarship presented in a cogent and cohesive narrative.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first is an informative overview of medieval secular song traditions, the early motet, and the developing Marian liturgy and devotions. Chapter 2 focuses on thirteenth-century French motets, specifically those set to tenors (chant fragments) borrowed from the Marian Feast of the Assumption as practiced at Notre Dame of Paris. In the French texts sung simultaneously above the motet's liturgical Latin tenor, Rothenberg discerns what he calls "secular/sacred signification" (p. 48) that transforms their earthly and often "earthy" love texts into Marian allegory. Chapter 3 remains in the thirteenth century, sampling a few of many French motets set to the tenor "*In seculum*" from the Easter gradual *Haec dies*. Here, Rothenberg extends the connection between the French springtime motives and the Resurrection liturgy to include the *pastourelle* characters Robin and Marion, found in such motets, as representations of Christ and the Virgin Mary.

The fourteenth century receives little attention except to acknowledge that the imagery of Guillaume de Machaut's famous rondeau "Rose, liz, printemps, verdure" exhibits strong Marian overtones. This creates a bridge to the fifteenth century as chapter 4 examines Guillaume Dufay's setting of Petrarch's canzona "Vergene bella," pursuing a circuitous discussion that includes John Dunstable's cantilena-motet "Quam pulchra es"; Dante Alighieri's *Commedia, Vita nuova,* and *De vulgari eloquentia*; as well as Giovanni di Paolo's manuscript illumination in the *Paradiso,* which Rothenberg interprets as a reference to the Marian chant "Ave maris stella." Here, Rothenberg missed an opportunity to acknowledge that Dufay's music

opens with the same interval as the chant. Walter Frye's mid-century cantilena-motet "Ave regina caelorum" is the focal point of chapter 5. Despite its Latin text throughout, Rothenberg agrees with scholars who find it more akin to a chanson than a motet because of its flower imagery and appearance in chansonniers. Emphasizing this "crossover," he refers to contemporaneous paintings such as Hans Memling's *Madonna and Child* showing angel choirs and instrumentalists reminiscent of the realm of courtly music.

The final chapters examine motets that borrowed from popular chansons for their *cantus firmi*, a reverse process to that of the thirteenth-century motet. Rothenberg attributes the widespread use of Hayne van Ghizeghem's popular rondeau "De tous bien plaine" as a motet *cantus firmus* to an undeniable likeness of the poem's beloved mistress to the Virgin Mary and the likeness of the poem itself to the popular Marian prayer *Ave Maria*. Also, he sees the popularity of the lamenting rondeau "Comme femme desconfortée," perhaps by Gilles Binchois, as a by-product of the increased interest in the liturgy of Mary's Sorrows, Dormition, and Assumption, comparing its imagery to that of the *Stabat mater* prayer and Michelangelo's Pietà sculpture.

Musicologists will benefit greatly from the wealth of information provided by the book on medieval liturgy, and its copious bibliography and footnotes make it a valuable reference source for all medieval scholars. More than fifty score examples illustrate the musical discussions, and the fourteen figures—although poorly reproduced—accompany Rothenberg's discussions of medieval art.

Western Michigan University MATTHEW STEEL

Meeting in Heaven: Modernising the Christian Afterlife, 1600–2000. By Bernhard Lang. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011. Pp. 166. $41.95. ISBN 978-3-631-62000-7.)

This book can be read as a supplement to Bernhard Lang and Colleen McDannell's much valued *Heaven: A History* (London, 1988). The key to that work, as to this one, is the distinction between *anthropocentric* and *theocentric* notions of life everlasting, the latter concentrated primarily or even exclusively on the vision of God, the former on views of life after death as encompassing communality—especially the reunion of families, love, and work—in an environment not radically different from that in which we now live.

Twentieth-century theology may be characterized by an increasing diffidence about elaborating upon the nature of life after death. Until the end of the seventeenth century, it was dominated by a theology of the afterlife focused on the beatific vision and the worship of God. Lang's significant contribution to the history of the afterlife both in this work and in his previous

one is to draw attention to the development within Western religious thought since 1600, but especially in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both at the "popular" and "elite" (although occasionally esoteric) levels, of an afterlife typified by the progress and development of the individual, and by the re-union in heaven of persons with their loved ones.

This work comprises a series of essays around the theme of the modern anthropocentric heaven published previously in whole or in part. These include a somewhat inchoate essay on the modernization of life after death from 1644 to 1791, an enjoyably provocative reading of the second part of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* as suggesting an anthropocentric heaven with an interesting reading of William Blake's engraving of *The Marriage of a Family in Heaven* as influenced by it, an essay on opposition to the modern heaven in Spanish writing, and an exploration of American heavens via cemeteries from 1740 to 1850.

However, the focus of the book is the two essays on the Swedish theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), the first giving a most useful summary of his cosmology, including his elaborate angelology and his views on heaven and hell; the second on the European reception of Swedenborg with particular reference to John Wesley, Robert Hindmarsh, and Robert Hartley (his first English translator). These are important reminders of an eighteenth-century theologian sufficiently important in his own time to be ridiculed by Immanuel Kant.

Lang recognizes that his modern idea of heaven has precursors to Swedenborg, however differently nuanced, in the history of Christianity, beginning with Cyprian's treatise *On Mortality* (AD 252/53) and with Origen (*c*. AD 185–254). But in *Heaven: A History*, Lang and McDannell claimed that the modern heaven surfaced in the writings of Swedenborg. It is a matter of regret that neither in that work nor in this one does Lang take the opportunity to engage in a more complete intellectual genealogy of the thought of Swedenborg nor, granting the claimed centrality of Swedenborg, to provide a more extensive argument of his influence on those proponents of the anthropocentric heaven who succeeded him. Nevertheless, Lang's reprising of the modern heaven in this work continues as a valuable reminder of a view of the afterlife that—although no longer, if ever especially, influential in elite theological circles—continues still to dominate popular Western views of immortality.

University of Queensland PHILIP C. ALMOND

Die katholischen Pfarrgemeinden in den USA in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Eine transatlantische Perspektive. By Kai Reinhold. (Münster: Aschendorff. 2011. Pp. 436. €29,80. ISBN 978-3-402-12893-0.)

Katholische Kirche und Gemeindeleben in den USA und in Deutschland: Überraschende Ergebnisse einer ländervergleichenden Umfrage. Edited by Kai Reinhold and Matthias Sellmann. (Münster: Aschendorff. 2011. Pp. 374. €24,80. ISBN 978-3-402-12888-6.)

Many American historians examine U.S. Catholicism in light of European Catholicism, looking to the shores of Europe for insights into the former's history and culture. The recent work of the "Crossing Over Project," a transatlantic research initiative sponsored by the Theology Faculty of the Ruhr-Universität Bochum in Germany, shifts the focus back on U.S. Catholicism from a European perspective. Through the research of Kai Reinhold (Diocese of Essen), the initiative has collaborated with American scholars in the Chicago area, most notably the sociologist James D. Davidson of Purdue University. In 2006 the Institute for Church Life at the University of Notre Dame conducted a new survey on U.S. Catholic parish life intended to update a national study from the 1980s, employing the aid of Davidson and Princeton Survey Research Associates. Upon learning of this project, Reinhold and his colleagues in Bochum sought to replicate the study for Catholicism in Germany. In particular, German Catholic scholars wanted to understand the dynamism of parish culture in America so as to revitalize parish life in Germany. The joint surveys gathered statistical data through phone questionnaires of a thousand registered parishioners in the United States and Germany respectively. The results provided key empirical findings for comparison and analysis on an international level, prompting the publication of the two works under review.

The first book is a revision of Reinhold's 2010 dissertation on the historical development of parish life in American Catholicism. The work speaks to a rising interest among German Catholics in the history of U.S. Catholicism. With this intended audience in mind, Reinhold attempts to fill two lacunae in scholarship: a dearth of works in German on U.S. Catholicism and the absence of a historical narrative of the American Catholic parish that ventures beyond institutional history to incorporate the story and sensibilities of the parishioners themselves. For this joint task, the author divides the work into two parts. The first addresses the history and post–Second Vatican Council character of the American parish, and the second offers a brief comparative analysis based on the survey outlined above. In many ways, the author's narrative in the first part stems from his research work at the University of Notre Dame, and thus it is little surprise that the reader consistently finds references to the work of Jay Dolan. Reinhold relies almost exclusively on a typology of parish development published by Dolan and Jeffrey Burns.[1] This typology

[1]Jay Dolan and Jeffrey Burns, "The Parish in the American Past," in *Parish: A Place for Worship*, ed. Mark Searle (Collegeville, MN, 1981), pp. 51–62.

traces a shift from the "congregational parish" of John Carroll and John England to the "devotional parish" of immigrant and early-twentieth-century U.S. Catholicism that finally emerges as a thoroughly "voluntary parish" after the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. There is much truth to this typology, but the author's narrative seems to overemphasize this trend and neglects other expressions of voluntaryism in nineteenth-century American Catholicism. Although he acknowledges regional disparities in U.S. Catholicism, Reinhold's analysis could further benefit from a closer examination of how parish participation varies according to region and ethnicity, especially amid the exponential growth of Latino Catholics in the American Southwest. Nevertheless, the book is a welcome study of parish life in the United States from a German perspective, and the American reader will be intrigued by Reinhold's desire to introduce American Catholic models of stewardship and small communities into German Catholic parish life.

The second, edited work provides empirical support for Reinhold's belief that German Catholics can learn from the vitality of American Catholic voluntaryism at the parish level. Like Reinhold's monograph, this edited collection is divided into two sections: nine analytical essays followed by a thorough compilation of statistical charts. Although the second half will appeal primarily to sociologists, the first half presents a variety of perspectives in history, sociology, political science, and pastoral theology. Any American reader will find Davidson's succinct chapter on the survey's history, findings, and social implications to be helpful (it is the only one in English). Overall, the survey reflects a greater satisfaction in parish life among American Catholics in comparison to their German brethren. Nevertheless, almost all of the authors note a "surprise" in the data. Challenging common rhetoric about the irrelevance of the parish in a transient, global society, the study discovered that the vast majority of Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic still view their parish community as integral to their Catholic identity. This result surprised many of the German authors, particularly in light of a precipitous decline in church attendance in Western Europe. In a similar vein, the survey identified a remarkable enthusiasm for parish life among many younger American and German Catholics—something unexpected to many of the authors. The final chapters on pastoral and liturgical implications are particularly insightful for any Anglophone theologian who can navigate the German. As the editors readily admit, the survey reflects a need for further research. One only hopes that these two German publications will inspire new studies and greater transatlantic collaboration.

Marquette University PAUL G. MONSON

intertwined with being—themes consistent with the revised earlier dating of the material.

Critics will find easy marks in Chiapparini's book. He disregards the Nag Hammadi material associated with Valentinianism, treating it as late and derivative (*A Valentinian Exposition* [NH XI:2] is conspicuously absent from the commentary). In addition, he contrasts Irenaeus's dispassionate Grand Notice with subsequent sarcastic rejoinders and argues that they represent two phases of writing, reflecting the emergence of a sharp distinction between heresy and orthodoxy in the late-second century. But this approach would require one also to date the dispassionate summary of the teachings of Marcus Magus (I:14.1–15.3) to *c.* 160 and the saucy rebuttal (I:15.4–6) to the 170s—a rather absurd scenario, and a signal that Irenaeus (like the other early heresiologists) knew how to move between précis and lampoon.

Even the sharpest critic will acknowledge that Chiapparini has opened a vital new front in the study of second-century orthodoxy and heresy. His study cannot be ignored. Where his conclusions are rejected, his philological method will need to be grappled with, if not adopted. His analysis deserves to be applied to the entirety of *Against Heresies* 1, most of which has parallel Greek fragments. His assessment that the ancient Latin translation reflects theological concerns from the fourth century will be profitably read by scholars who deal with other parts of *Against Heresies*. In sum, this is a rich, important study.

Dumbarton Oaks JOEL KALVESMAKI
Washington, DC

A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and the Great Persecution. By Elizabeth DePalma Digeser. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 218. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-4181-3.)

Developing arguments advanced in several previously published articles, Elizabeth DePalma Digeser has produced what amounts to a rewriting of Greek intellectual history in the third century of our era. According to Digeser, Ammonius Saccas was not only the teacher of both the Christian Origen and Plotinus the neo-Platonist but also the fountainhead of Greek philosophical thought in the third century. She asserts that "Lactantius, Arnobius, Eusebius, and Methodius all wrote in response to Porphyry, and all were Christians who had connections to Ammonius Saccas, either through Origen or through Porphyry himself" (p. 5). Digeser identifies the Origen of Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* (who "wrote nothing except treatises 'On demons' and 'that the King is the sole creator'"—the latter in the reign of Gallienus—and attended Plotinus's seminars in Rome [3:30–32, 14:20–25]) with the prolific Christian writer Origen, who died at the age of almost seventy before Valerian and his son Gallienus became emperors. She also identi-

fies the blind philosopher in Nicomedia in 303—whom Lactantius derided as rich, avaricious, and lustful; as a glutton who dined better at home than he did in the palace of Diocletian; as a man who ingratiated himself with officials to seize both the land and houses of his neighbours; and as someone who was blind and "did not know where to place his feet" one in front of the other (Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 5:2.2–3, 9)—as none other than Porphyry, the disciple and editor of Plotinus. Moreover, she sees both the polemic between Porphyry and Iamblichus and disagreements between Porphyry and Methodius of Olympus as representing "schism in the Ammonian community" (p. 98).

The book contains many illuminating and suggestive individual observations. But is its historical reconstruction correct? Space considerations permit mention of only a few obvious problems. Digeser evaluates Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* as "a *bios*, a genre that in antiquity, whether in the hands of Plutarch or Suetonius, presented its subject as a moral exemplar for good or for ill" (73). But Porphyry's *Life* is primarily an introduction to the *Enneads*—that is, to Porphyry's edition of Plotinus's works thirty years after his death—and Digeser seems not to have noticed that this work, to which Porphyry appears to have given the title "About the Life of Plotinus and the Order of His Books," adopts a strange and idiosyncratic biographical schema that implies that all of Plotinus's best work was written under Porphyry's own inspiration (as this reviewer has pointed out[1]). Second, Digeser seems unaware of Thomas Hägg's proof[2] that the author of the *Contra Hieroclem* was not Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, but an otherwise unknown sophist of the same name in north-eastern Asia Minor. Hence Digeser is mistaken when she locates Sossianus Hierocles "in Antioch shortly before 303" and argues that, since Porphyry "probably first sent" his anti-Christian writings to Iamblichus in nearby Daphne, "from there they could have quickly found their way into the hands of the administrators, priests and diviners of this capital city" such as Hierocles himself (p. 8).

Digeser reiterates her identification of Porphyry as the philosopher who "vomited out" his three books "against the Christian religion and name in Nicomedia in the spring of 303" (Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 5:2.4). To do so, she rejects this reviewer's argument that Lactantius must mean that the philosopher whom Lactantius heard was literally blind, not merely morally or metaphorically blind, with the claim that this "literal reading" fails to see that the "passage pointing to Porphyry parodies the philosopher Thales in Plato's *Theaetetus* 174a" (5n14). Unfortunately, Digeser fails to provide any details of

[1]Timothy D. Barnes, Rev. of P. Cox's *Biography in Late Antiquity*, *Classical Review*, new ser., 35 (1985), 197–98, here 198.

[2]Thomas Hägg, "Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist," *Symbolae Osloenses*, 67 (1992), 138–50.

her reasoning on this point. Let us grant that Lactantius alludes to Plato. But the *Theaetetus* presents Thales as absent-mindedly thinking about the heavens when he fell into a well. Hence a fuller explanation of Digeser's counter-argument would surely have helped her readers to understand how she constructed it and how she supposes it to work.

University of Edinburgh TIMOTHY D. BARNES

A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300–850. By Michael Edward Moore. [Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, Vol. 8.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011. Pp. xii, 434. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1877-9.)

What if one were to write a book about a small social group, using almost exclusively sources from that group? What would such a book look like? It might argue that the group thus chosen was a singularly important and influential one, one that affected all aspects of society. It might argue that the group should actually be in charge of society, and when it came closest to holding that position, everything was optimal for everyone. Calling for a "return to [Louis] Duchesne" (p. 13), Michael Edward Moore has cast the bishops of late-antique Gaul and Francia as his central characters, but perhaps more than the renowned French church historian, it is Walter Ullmann whose long shadow is cast across every chapter.

The introduction sketches out the major themes of the book—kings and bishops influenced one another, and Christian kingship, which Moore believes dominated western Europe by the sixth century and which reached its apotheosis during the reign of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, can be seen as the royal adoption of episcopal ideals that bishops had formulated in late antiquity; and that the ongoing concern of the Gallo-Roman and Frankish episcopacy was the formulation in canon law of an episcopal "social doctrine." By this, Moore seems to mean that bishops, in their own law, claimed that the tradition they represented was ancient, going back to the Apostles and beyond; that their authority was incontrovertible; that they had exclusive rights to protect and defend holy places; and that the land and wealth which they and their various churches so assiduously collected was theirs to use and control.

The first two chapters trace the formation and development of the late-antique episcopacy in Gaul. Drawing on the work of scholars such as Claudia Rapp, Moore argues that we should take seriously the claims of ascetic prowess that Gallic bishops made and that it was precisely such holiness that imbued them with the authority to create canon law. He fittingly notes that as this new law was developing, it was at the same time being defended as ancient and traditional. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 trace the continuing development of the Gallic and Frankish episcopacy through the Merovingian period. Moore

Ancient

Valentino Gnostico e Platonico: Il Valentinianesimo della "Grande Notizia" di Ireneo di Lione: Fra esegesi gnostica e filosofia medioplatonica. By Giuliano Chiapparini. [Temi metafisici e problem del pensiero antico, Studi e testi, 126.] (Milan: Vita e Pensiero. 2012. Pp. xvi, 490. €32,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-343-2059-4.)

Giuliano Chiapparini's monograph will prove to be a controversial but indispensable contribution to the study of Valentinianism and Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*. The author argues that the so-called Grand Notice of *Against Heresies* I:1–8 preserves the earliest and most accurate account of the doctrines of the founder, Valentinus, albeit transmitted by disciples such as Ptolemy. He presents a forceful case against recent views (notably those of Christoph Markschies and Einar Thomassen) that tend to see the preaching of Valentinus (in the 140s), and the doctrines even of Ptolemy (from around 160), as being less heresy than orthodoxy framed philosophically. The radical features of Valentinianism exemplified by the Grand Notice—particularly the complex mythology surrounding the Pleroma and Sophia—are thought (not just by recent scholars, but even by Tertullian) to have been invented by Ptolemy's followers, in the 170s and 180s. Chiapparini argues that this picture is completely wrong. The Grand Notice was composed by Irenaeus during his Roman years (153–73, prob. 160–65), when he would have had a chance to interact personally with many of the key figures, perhaps Valentinus himself. The Grand Notice is a multilayered and reliable report.

To make his case, Chiapparini aligns the Greek (preserved by Epiphanius) of the Notice against the ancient Latin translation and the parallels in Tertullian's *Against the Valentinians*. He translates all the relevant sections; provides a detailed philological analysis of key phrases; and offers numerous insights into the manuscript tradition, primarily Greek and Latin. In the course of this exercise, he shows conclusively that Epiphanius replicates faithfully Irenaeus's otherwise lost Greek text.

Chiapparini reconstructs the sources used for the Notice. He identifies two principal written sources, one of which overlaps with St. Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto*; an exegetical treatise on the Gospel of John written by Ptolemy; and various oral reports. He argues that when these sources are studied in their own right; and compared individually with testimonies of the teachings of Valentinus and Ptolemy, one may reconstruct their doctrines. His own reconstruction comes in the final section of the book—a series of analyses on Valentinian teaching on the Pleroma, the cosmos, and salvation. He claims that the earliest Valentinian theology cannot be associated with "Gnosticism," be it understood in late-antique or modern terms. The Grand Notice depicts the Creator-Demiurge as a positive force, the cosmos as an imperfect but genuine reproduction of higher realities, and knowledge as

argues that throughout this period, bishops made continual efforts to conceptualize kingship, and these efforts went hand in hand with their attempts to christianize it and participate in royal governance. In the end, the relationship between episcopal and royal power was worked out in Christian law, which saw the two engaged in an alliance and partnership that was, at least to a degree, mutually advantageous. The final four chapters focus on the Carolingians, and Moore sees this period as one when the earlier episcopal social doctrine was transformed into a militant missionary theory of power that called for the use of force to christianize northern and central Europe: under Charlemagne, for example, both the Saxon and the Avar wars were "evangelical movements" (241). Moore argues that the Frankish bishops, who at some earlier (and undisclosed) point seem to have dropped their claims to holiness through ascetic practice, both redirected and sacralized the monarchy. This process reached its zenith during the reign of Louis the Pious, but in it the seeds were sown for eventual catastrophe: it was Louis's son Charles the Bald who reaped that harvest, favoring his ambitious and powerful aristocrats over the traditional Carolingian episcopal allies.

Moore is at his best when he is engaged in close readings of particular texts. His analysis of works by Ambrose of Milan, Caesarius of Arles and the Lérins authors, Pomerius, Isidore of Seville, Amalarius of Metz, and others are always stimulating, and often provocative and convincing. His arguments about the importance of the Visigothic church for the Franks ring true. The seriousness with which he takes his sources is admirable. But Moore generally works on a rather high level of abstraction, and there are just a few scant examples of how episcopal teaching affected episcopal life, let alone the life of those who were not bishops—there is very little in the book from, for instance, Sidonius Apollinaris or even Gregory of Tours, and virtually no use of the abundant episcopal *vitae* from the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. Oftentimes the evidence for his arguments can be found only in the notes, and one needs the companionship of Mansi and *Sources chrétiennes* to find the occasionally meager support for his claims. There are some gaps in his bibliography as well—he does not seem to know Hal Drake's *Constantine and the Bishops* (Baltimore, 2000), which would have offered him a chance to further develop his arguments in the early chapters of the book. Moreover, although Mayke de Jong's insightful book on Louis the Pious, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious: 814–840* (New York, 2009), appears in the bibliography, Moore does not seem to take much from it; and unfortunately, Thomas Noble's magisterial book on the Carolingians and iconoclasm—*Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009)—appeared too late in the writing or publishing process for him to use. Alas, this lacuna renders some of his discussion on the Carolingians obsolete.

This very learned but sometimes flawed book will be helpful to specialists in early-medieval episcopal history, and, perhaps in its wake, a new consensus

regarding the role of bishops in the long period of transformation from antiquity to the middle ages will emerge.

University of San Francisco M. A. CLAUSSEN

Eusebius of Emesa: Church & Theology in the Mid-Fourth Century. By Robert E. Winn. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 277. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1876-2.)

Scholars of early Christianity have not known what to make of Eusebius of Emesa (*c.* 300–59). His writings did not survive in their original Greek, but in Latin and Armenian translations. Furthermore, he does not fit many preconceived notions of the fourth century. Robert Winn's new book is a remarkable accomplishment, which presents Eusebius's thought on its own terms and sheds light on this previously obscure figure. After surveying the biographical data for Eusebius in chapter 1, the remainder of the book consists of Winn's close reading of Eusebius's surviving corpus. Since this requires mastery of Latin and Armenian, it is no small task. Winn is able to convey clearly the flow of Eusebius's thought in his various homilies while also conveying the details of Eusebius's rhetorical performance and his exegetical and argumentative strategies (such strategies are the focus of chapter 2). In connection with both exegesis and Christology, for instance, Winn helpfully undermines the notion that Eusebius should be thought of as representative of an "Antiochene" theological school. Winn offers a more convincing context, situating Eusebius's thought in relationship with his mentor, Eusebius of Caesarea, and his friend, George of Laodicea, while also noting affinities with conciliar documents of the 340s and 350s.

Winn shows that affiliaticon with a doctrinal party was not determinative for Eusebius, who in fact used his sermons "to chastise his audience and the larger church for the very debate concerning the nature of God" (p. 125). Instead of partisanship, "what was primary in Eusebius's mind was ecclesiastical identity" (p. 13). Eusebius sought to show his audience the superiority of the church over its rivals: Jews, pagans, and heretics (especially Marcionites and Manichees). By "identity," Winn signals the Christian community's defining beliefs and practices. He narrates Eusebius's difficulties in convincing his audience; when urging them to renunciation, the bishop had to remind his audience, "We are not your enemies" (p. 226). Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate that, for Eusebius, the affirmation of God's incorporeality—and a corresponding cosmology—were central to Christian identity. In chapter 6, Winn shows that asceticism, understood as *conversatio angelorum*, was at the heart of Christian practice for Eusebius. Indeed, salvation was practically equated with becoming "an asexual angel" (p. 240). Fittingly so, since, as chapter 5 shows, the union of divinity and humanity in Christ was for the purpose of transforming human nature, elevating it to the level of angels rather than of men.

Some questions remain. Winn helpfully undermines the attempt to interpret Eusebius through a party allegiance. Perhaps this insight should be pursued further. Winn claims that in rejecting Marcellus of Ancyra, Eusebius was opposing "those associated with the theology of the creed of Nicea" (p. 124). Likewise, since Eusebius proclaimed that the Son of God is "God with God," he must also have "condemned the theology of Arius" (p. 125). But this presupposes that he was concerned with Nicaea and Arius, which is not clear; perhaps those ciphers played little role in his thinking at all. Following in Winn's wake, the major points of comparison for Eusebius should be Eusebius of Caesarea and George of Laodicea—figures for whom neither Nicaea nor Arius were particularly interesting. Still, Winn shows that Eusebius was unique and, late in his life, surprisingly Trinitarian: Eusebius explicitly called the Spirit God in the 350s, a move that even a number of pro-Nicenes in subsequent decades did not make. This is noteworthy and raises questions as to why Eusebius would have done so (was he reacting against anyone?) and whether his doing so influenced later thinkers.

All scholars of Greek Christian thought and practice in the fourth century should read this book. With his philological skill and his sensitivity to the nuances of patristic theology, Winn has placed us in his debt. This reviewer hopes that Winn will follow this up with an English translation of Eusebius's works.

Loyola University Chicago ANDREW RADDE-GALLWITZ

A Companion to Augustine. Edited by Mark Vessey with Shelley Reid. [Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World.] (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2012. Pp. xlii, 595. $199.95. ISBN 978-1-4051-59463.)

Besides an introduction by Mark Vessey, this truly impressive volume has seven parts; each of the parts has many articles by some of the finest Augustinian scholars and historians of late antiquity. The introduction explains that recent scholarship has moved away from regarding St. Augustine as a Father of the Church or as the object of theological investigation or from the perspective of any Christian denomination. Hence, the present volume introduces "the subject of Augustine as it has begun to reappear after the invention of late antiquity" (p. 4). Despite all this, there is still much for those of us who still see Augustine as a Father of the Church and the greatest of the Western Fathers.

The first part presents the context of the study of Augustine, first a discussion by Christopher Kelly of the political history of the late Roman Empire. It then moves on to William J. Klingshirn's geography of Roman North Africa and concludes with Éric Rebillard's study of what it meant to be a Christian in the time of Augustine.

The second part bears the title of Augustine's most famous work, *Confessions*, and has four chapters. The first by R. S. O. Tomlin focuses on Augustine's worldly ambition and career as an orator and teacher of oratory and the rise to power that his parents had envisioned for him, a perspective often overlooked. In the second chapter Kate Cooper discusses Augustine's relation to women in Carthage and Milan, the marriage Monica arranged for him, his pain over the loss of his mistress, his commitment to celibacy, and his later friendship with various powerful women. Next, Paula Fredriksen argues the *Confessions* should be read in the light of the theological questions that Augustine confronted in the years before writing them. Next, Catherine Conybeare presents a delightful chapter on reading the *Confessions* as a song in relation to its hearers as well as a song of incompleteness and otherness.

Part 3 on media begins with Philip Burton's discussion of Augustine and language, touches upon his relation to other languages, and illustrates his various levels of style. Claire Sotinel then explores Augustine's social networking, especially in his vast correspondence, and Guy G. Stroumsa focuses on Augustine's preoccupation with books.

In part 4 on "Texts" Danuta Schanzer discusses Augustine's relation to the Latin classics, Sarah Byers deals with Augustine and the philosophers, Johannes Van Oort examines Augustine's relation to the books of the Manichees, and Michael Cameron focuses on his relation to the scripture. Mark Edwards studies his relation to his Greek and Latin Christian predecessors, whereas Michael Stuart Williams turns to his reading of his contemporaries. Finally, Mark Vessey writes on Augustine as a writer of the Church.

Part 5 turns to "Performances." Gillian Clark writes on Augustine's early retirement to philosophy, and Theresa Fuhrer takes us through the early dialogues. John Peter Kenney takes up the topic of Augustine as a mystic and master of the spiritual life, and Hildegund Müller presents Augustine as a preacher. Neil B. McGinn shows us Augustine as a diocesan administrator, and Caroline Humfries deals with Augustine as controversialist.

In part 6 James Wetzel writes on Augustine and the will, whereas David Hunter turns to Augustine and the body. Stefan Rebenich examines Augustine on friendship and orthodoxy, whereas Alexander Evers studies Augustine's ecclesiology in relation to the Donatists. Robert Dodaro writes on Augustine and the cities of God and of man, whereas Sabine McCormick writes on the scriptural foundation of his trinitarian theology, and Lewis Ayres presents his theology of the redemption.

In the last part, "Aftertimes," Clarence Weidmann writes on the survival and transmission of Augustine's work from the early manuscripts to critical editions and their electronic reproduction. Conrad Leyser studies Augustine in the Latin West up to 900, and Eric L. Saak turns to Augustine in the Middle Ages

and the Reformation. Johannes Brachtendorf presents his reception in modern philosophy, whereas John Caputo looks at Augustine in postmodernism.

Finally, James O'Donnell's "*Envoi*" looks to the future of Augustinian studies with prophetic utterances about what is to come. Each chapter contains recommendations for further reading, and at the end there is a bibliography, a list of Augustine's work, and a chronology of his life. All told, the volume is a fine contribution to Augustinian studies by some of the best scholars of the present day.

Marquette University ROLAND J. TESKE, S.J.

Celibate Marriages in Late Antique and Byzantine Hagiography: The Lives of Saints Julian and Basilissa, Andronikos and Athanasia, and Galaktion and Episteme. By Anne P. Alwis. (New York: Continuum. 2011. Pp. xii, 340. $120.00. ISBN 978-1-4411-1525-6.)

Research of the last decades has greatly advanced our understanding of women and gender issues within the Christian context of the Middle Ages. Major databases now offer entry points for the study of primary sources and scholarly literature relating to the monastic experience of women in the Latin West (http://www.monasticmatrix.org) and to women's life in general in the Greek East (http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/bibliography-on-gender-in-byzantium). Still, we are only beginning to understand the complex relations among societal constraints, women's agency, and their normative representation in male-authored literature. Any publication that speaks to these issues is a welcome addition and should be hailed, if not as a milestone, than at least as a mosaic *tessera*, as is the case with Anne Alwis's dissertation-turned-book.

Celibate marriages, in which husband and wife come to a mutual agreement to abstain from sexual intercourse and to dedicate themselves to a Christian life of charity and asceticism, were the subject of comprehensive historical and literary study in the Latin West by Dyan Elliott in 1993.

Alwis's aim is more modest—she presents three hagiographical tales composed in the fifth, sixth, and ninth/tenth centuries that offer different views of celibate marriage in late antiquity and Byzantium: Greek text (with some misprints), English translation (mostly accurate), very brief commentary (sometimes uneven, but commendable in its reference to patristic texts and papyrological evidence), preceded by an extensive introductory discussion (pp. 1–153) of the date and manuscript transmission of the texts, their literary features, and their depiction of celibate marriage. The bibliography has significant errors.

The *Vita of Julian and Basilissa* (BHG 970) depicts a couple in Antinoöpolis in Egypt during the Diocletianic Persecution who consent to

marry to please their parents, but agree to maintain chastity on their wedding night. The remaining forty-nine chapters after Basilissa's early death in chapter 15 deal with Julian's miracles and bravery when faced with gruesome tortures and tell of his conversion of Kelsios, the son of his persecutor, who in turn brings his own mother to Christianity. It is a tale of shared conjugal purpose as well as filial bonds, embedded in an elaborate martyrdom narrative.

The *Vita of Andronikos and Athanasia* (BHG 123a, this version edited here for the first time) shows a wealthy couple from Antioch who, after the birth of two children, devote themselves to charitable deeds and, after the death of their offspring, decide to pursue the monastic life in Egypt in separate communities, Andronikos joining the circle of the sixth-century ascetic Daniel of Sketis. The two meet again on the way to Jerusalem and continue to live together as monastic "brothers," Athanasia now appearing as an ascetically emaciated man. Her true identity is revealed only after her death. This tale shows some parallels to stories of the "transvestite nun," a popular hagiographical motif in the fifth to seventh centuries.

The *Vita of Galaktion and Episteme* (BHG 665) is a tale of spouses who agree to a chaste marriage prior to consummation and go their separate monastic ways, until they are reunited in martyrdom during an unspecified time of persecution. As Alwis notes, this text with its emphasis on the reunification of separated lovers and its latent eroticism bears close resemblance to novels and romances, including the story of Paul and Thekla.

This book is a valuable study (including a first edition) of little-known Byzantine hagiographical texts. It is to be hoped that other studies will follow that throw additional light on the social and historical implications of celibate marriage in Byzantium.

University of Vienna CLAUDIA RAPP

Medieval

Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen. By Eric Knibbs. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. 258. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2882-4.)

It has long been plain that much of the written material from Hamburg-Bremen in the earlier Middle Ages was produced with a desire to distort the archdiocese's own history and that this applied as much to documents as to narrative histories. This was due to the difficult circumstances in which the see found itself—with few or no suffragans, it clung to its claim to have archiepiscopal authority over all Scandinavia and the Slavs, a claim challenged from almost the very moment kings of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden pro-

claimed their peoples Christian in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. There was also the long-standing dispute with the archbishops of Cologne, from whose province the Diocese of Bremen had been removed. These themes prompted the composition of Adam of Bremen's *Gesta pontificum* as well as an astounding number of forgeries and falsifications from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. All this is well known to historians of medieval Germany and Scandinavia, and skeptical voices have questioned much of the story of Hamburg-Bremen back to the very beginnings. Yet there has remained a general acceptance of the narrative presented by Rimbert's *Life of Ansgar*.

What has hindered many scholars who would pursue a more skeptical line has been the daunting task of grappling with the diplomatic evidence. Eric Knibbs has not only engaged with this evidence to great effect but also communicates his findings with a clarity that makes their logic readily apparent even to those not deeply learned in the study of diplomas.

By placing Ansgar's work in the context of the missionary (arch-)bishops before him, Knibbs finds that the story presented by the *Life of Ansgar* has "nothing but exceptions to offer" (p. 8). He provides an alternative account based on critical analysis of the earliest documentary sources, which Ansgar collected, modified (adding *narrationes* providing "the earliest narrative account of the northern mission," p. 117), and circulated to his fellow bishops in the 840s. The layers of falsifications to the documents are identified and peeled away, and a convincing narrative emerges.

Ansgar was at first an assistant in the northern mission led by Ebo of Rheims, and as such he received a *legatio* from the pope in 831; after Ebo's disgrace in 834, Ansgar was ordained a missionary bishop and granted the monastery of Turholt as a means of support by Louis the Pious. Following the division of the Frankish kingdom under Louis's sons, Ansgar lost Turholt and sought to replace it by altering his privileges of 831 and 834 so that they appeared to found a bishopric north of the Elbe, based at the fortress of Hamburg. This was unsuccessful, but Ansgar was made bishop of the vacant see of Bremen. Not until 864 was Ansgar granted the title of missionary archbishop of the Danes and Swedes, as part of Louis the German and Pope Nicholas I's dispute with Lothar II and Gunthar, archbishop of Cologne (whose archdiocese, in principle, encompassed Bremen as a suffragan diocese). The quarrel ended in 865 (the year of Ansgar's death) and, with it, the political reason for Ansgar's archiepiscopal status. For an unknown reason, Ansgar's successor Rimbert was ordained not to Bremen but to the previously fictional see of Hamburg. He was thus forced to argue that Bremen and Hamburg had been perpetually joined, which he did through his *Life of Ansgar* and through falsifications added to Nicholas I's privilege to Ansgar. It is unfortunate that Knibbs cannot explain Rimbert's ordination to Hamburg, but the traditional story has far more weaknesses, and it is perhaps inevitable that some details must remain unexplained in this period.

This book is extremely valuable to anyone interested in the history of the Church in Scandinavia and Germany in the early-medieval period.

University of Cambridge PAUL GAZZOLI

The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe. By Anders Winroth. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 238. $38.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17026-9.)

This is a well-argued narrative of the Christianization of Scandinavia. Winroth's writing flows easily, and his vivid depictions of events and people make his story come alive. His main argument is that Christianization was not the result of military conquest, or missionary efforts, but instead of Scandinavian chieftains acquiring Christianity as a tool in ongoing internal power struggles. Christianity was useful as it offered superior support for emergent kings and later played an important role in the unification of the Scandinavian countries.

According to Winroth, Christianization was a slow process, with its roots in the far-reaching contacts gained via Scandinavian Iron-Age trade and plundering activities. It involved a period of syncretism, seen in the burial record where archaeologists struggle to differentiate between Christian and pagan graves. Winroth shows that in the medieval chronicles, on the other hand, conversions are described as quick, with key events being royal acceptance of baptism and outlawing of pagan rites. He divides Christianization into three phases—missionary activity, royal conversions, and institutional conversion—and argues that it was not a question of changing beliefs, but rather of politics and religious practice.

So far, there is every reason to agree with Winroth. His description corresponds very well with the results of modern research in Scandinavia. Fridtjov Birkeli's (1982) three phases of Christianization (infiltration, missionary activity, and establishment) are well known. Many archaeologists today agree with Winroth that it is more or less impossible to determine whether an individual grave is Christian or pagan and instead argue that they contain various traits showing influence from either "paganism" or Christianity. Indeed, Christianization has been a major focus of research in Scandinavia since the 1980s, in particular through two large research projects on "The Christianization of Sweden" and "The Conversion of the Nordic Countries."

To tell his story, Winroth questions the scant medieval written sources for the conversion, using the known methods of thorough source criticism. It is doubtful whether it is productive to question these sources yet again, with largely the same methods and results as before. In several places, however, we are told why Winroth has gone to this trouble—he argues that modern historians often accept and follow the descriptions of conversion found in

medieval texts (e.g., pp. 117, 137). Winroth's critique of the chroniclers is in actual fact a critique of modern research, in the way he sees it. This may be relevant from his transatlantic perspective, but readers should note that such careful, critical appraisal also is found in the excellent work of scholars such as Anne-Sofie Gräslund, Bertil Nilsson, Stefan Brink, Jørn Sandnes, Anders Hultgård, Lars Lönnroth, and Thomas Lindkvist.

The book contains a bibliography of more than twenty pages, but Winroth does not seem to have made full use of all references. In addition, there are some surprising omissions such as the influential scholar Birkeli. Another issue is the lack of women. This book outlines a predominantly masculine narrative era, which is at odds with the increasing body of work highlighting the role of women not only in Viking society in general but also as pagan cult leaders and as active participants in Christianization.

This monograph, however, provides a useful summary of much recent work on the mechanisms of Christianization, especially for students and scholars not familiar with Scandinavian languages, and it will undoubtedly end up on reading lists of major universities. As a dynamic account of a significant phase of Scandinavian history it certainly has its place, but not, unfortunately, as an analysis of the results of modern research into Christianization.

Centre for Nordic Studies ALEXANDRA SANMARK
University of the Highlands and Islands

The Rule *of Saint Benedict*. Edited and translated by Bruce L. Venarde. [Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, No. 6.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xxii, 278. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-674-05304-5.)

Under the auspices of the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Bruce L. Venarde has given us a parallel-text Latin and English version of the Rule of St. Benedict. The general aim of the library is to produce facing-page translations and to create, in the words of the publisher, "accessible modern translations based on the latest research by leading figures in the field." How does this volume match up to these stated objectives?

The most problematic element here is the "latest research" element, as twenty or so pages of introduction plus "Notes on the Texts" are not really enough to bring us fully up to date. Venarde's summary of the transmission of the text of the Benedictine Rule in the early Middle Ages correctly highlights its popularity in areas of northern Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries. The translation and edition, however, are based on St. Gallen MS 914, which no longer enjoys the iconic status it once held in the history of textual transmission. Although Venarde follows Eugène Manning's view that this version does bring us close to what Benedict wrote, it would have been better to explain all this in a little more detail. The sections on the virtues of the Rule

itself do not seem to take into account the latest views on its strengths and the reasons for its survival and popularity in the areas that he mentions. Venarde's inclusion of two translations of Carolingian texts relevant to the understanding of the Rule in the Empire for which it became the gold standard of monastic observance looks like a nice touch, but as the footnotes reveal, there is debate over the authenticity of one of them—the *Letter to Charlemagne* attributed to Paul the Deacon.

What of the actual translation? This reviewer compared it with *RB 1980*, edited by Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN, 1981). Traditionalists will like the way in which the Venarde version opens with "Listen carefully, my son, to the teachings of a master and incline the ear of your heart" (p. 3). But they might also cherish *RB 1980*'s concluding chapter that offers "this little rule that we have written for beginners" (p. 95) as opposed to Venarde's "this little Rule sketched as a beginning" (p. xviii) for "hanc minimam inchoationis regulam descriptam"—even if the latter may be closer to the Latin. Whatever one's taste, however, this is an eminently readable rendering.

University of Glasgow MARILYN DUNN

Religieux et religieuses en Empire du X^e^ au XII^e^ siècle. By Michel Parisse. [Les Médiévistes français, 11.] (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 2011. Pp. 253. €34,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-70844-0908-8.)

This book brings together fifteen of the author's articles, published between 1982 and 2004. They describe the varied forms that monasticism took between the tenth and twelfth centuries, mostly in those parts of the Empire that would become France—that is, Alsace and Lorraine—although two of the chapters describe female monasticism in Saxony. The abbey of Gorze near Metz is mentioned often, and Michel Parisse notes his debt to Kassius Hallinger's previous study of that monastery and its reforms. Parisse makes the argument in his preface that monasticism in the region that was medieval Lotharingia represents a middle-ground or axis ("un espace moyen," p. 11; "l'axe lotharingien," p. 96) between French and German models, and there is frequent comparison of the subjects of his study to neighboring regions, especially to Burgundy and Flanders. The book suffers from the inevitable consequences of its origins—there is some overlap in the analysis from one chapter to another, although the author has added comments throughout that send the reader to other chapters for more background or other details. Still, Parisse describes as his goal to make more evident the diversity within the consecrated religious life in the region in this era (p. 13), and he accomplishes this amply. Some monasteries existed independently under the Rule of Saint Benedict, interpreted more or less strictly; others joined the growing monastic networks. In addition to regular communities (that is, under a rule), there were also secular ones, especially for women and especially in Saxony, that permitted their members greater freedoms to move

about or even leave permanently as well as to enjoy greater creature comforts such as servants and private apartments. Parisse also reflects deeply on the nature and meaning of monastic reform. Early Cluniacs and others emphasized the necessity of their reorganization of so-called corrupted monasteries, but all monasteries interpreted their rules in different ways, and all engaged in complex relationships with the lay nobility who had founded them, donated lands to them, provided their personnel, and served as political and ecclesiastical leaders alongside them. Parisse is to be commended for his skillful use of obscure and fragmentary sources. The regions he describes often do not have the abundance of records that exists, for example, for Cluny in the same period. Yet he even tries in places to track changes over time. Parisse also defends his decision to separate out his analysis of male from female communities into the two main parts of his book (seven chapters about men followed by eight about women) as necessary so as to recognize the substantial gendered differences taken by monasticism. For example, in chapter 11 he points out the presence of widows as informal members of many religious communities that has no real male equivalent. He also tries his best to sort out the sketchy evidence for female houses linked to the reforming movements that were dominated by men, Cluniac, Cistercian, and Premonstratensian. There is thus much of real value that results from the bringing together of these related essays into one book.

San Diego State University MATHEW KUEFLER

Wales and the Crusades, c.1095–1291. By Kathryn Hurlock. [Studies in Welsh History, 33.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 267. $40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7083-2427-1.)

There was no more transnational a phenomenon in Europe than the crusades, although French writers as late as Léon Gautier were inclined to see it as the property of their own country's history. Crusade was preached in every part of Latin Christendom, and its pull on the peripheral peoples of Europe can tell us a good deal about how its core culture spread and interacted with those outside the mainstream such as the diverse Celtic and Scandinavian cultures of the north and west. Kathryn Hurlock's study of the impact of the crusades on Wales follows in the track of other studies, such as Eric Christiansen's distinguished *The Northern Crusades* (London, 1997); Ian McQuarrie's *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1997); and Janus Møller Jensen's *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650* (Boston, 2007). Wales has the seductive advantage of having inspired the firsthand account of the 1188 preaching tour of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, which was the framework for the writing of Gerald of Wales's historical and ethnographical masterpiece, the *Itinerarium Kambriae*. A thorough analysis of this tour makes up an entire chapter of Hurlock's book, as she picks her way through the complicated politics of Baldwin's mission and the even more

complicated ethnic and political allegiances of Gerald himself. Preaching the crusade in Wales involved appealing to the indigenous Welsh and the colonizing English alike, and Gerald's telling description of the two ethnic groups huddled apart from each other to listen to the archbishop's appeal at Llandaff is rightly famous for what it reveals. The appeal of crusade to each was very real, but past and present tensions made it difficult for Welsh and English to meet it jointly, especially when it came from the direction of Canterbury. Hurlock's approach is measured and meticulous, attempting to identify all Anglo-Welsh crusaders from the sometimes exiguous sources. She offers treatments of the crusading orders in Wales and the March and the crusading ideal as it featured in Welsh poetry of the *gogynfeirdd* (the court poets) and the translated pseudo-crusades of the Carolingian epics. Sources for Welsh crusading are less thin than those for Scotland, as the Welsh maintained a vigorous chronicle tradition into the fourteenth century. Even so, sometimes the treatment here becomes threadbare, and "possible" participants become drafted into the thesis who might have been surprised to discover they were Marcher characters (such as Engelger de Bohun, on the basis that he shared a name with the earls of Hereford, and Philip d'Aubigny, a Leicestershire knight who was once governor of Ludlow). Nonetheless, Hurlock works intelligently with what she has and demonstrates that if the response of the Welsh to the crusading movement was not widespread, it was certainly more wholehearted than its response to other aspects of dominant European culture. Welshmen may have been seen and heard at Acre and Damietta, but not one ever rode a horse in a tournament charge in the heyday of that great sport, the catwalk of medieval European nobility.

University of Hull, United Kingdom DAVID CROUCH

Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle *of Henry of Livonia.* Edited by Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Carsten Selch Jensen. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xxxiii, 484. $134.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6627-1, ebook 978-1-4094-3396-5.)

The importance of Henry of Livonia's *Chronicle* has been increasingly recognized since the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania regained their independence twenty years ago. However, the only English translation dates from 1951, far before scholars had paid much attention to it. Moreover, the translator, James Brundage, later a distinguished and prolific scholar of medieval legal history, had presented it for his master's thesis; he added a new foreword to his second edition in 2004.

That makes this collection of essays extremely valuable. Brundage himself provides a lengthy introduction, focusing on what is known about Henry's life and asking why it was that a cleric who was forbidden to bear arms so often joined in the fighting. Regional practices and necessity seem to be the expla-

nation, together with the fact that the church's disciplinary rules were not yet firm and fast.

The editors divide the essays into three categories ("Representations," "Practices," and "Appropriations," with a bibliography) investigating the text itself, the background to the text, and the ways that historians and political movements have interpreted it. Happily, they have managed to attract contributions from a number of prominent scholars; and they have ensured a uniform style that makes the essays easy reading.

Christopher Tyerman sees the chronicle as providing a creation myth for Christian Livonia, one that rearranges actions and motives to justify a brutal invasion and conquest. Other contributors investigate what Henry tells them about Baltic societies, their environment, and their beliefs.

The sections on military technology will probably attract the greatest attention outside of specialists on the Baltic regions. The weaponry itself makes for interesting reading, but especially so because Henry's account is enhanced by archaeological evidence from locations where prolonged sieges took place. No one will ever write a description of the conquest again without having this collection of essays in hand.

This is well illustrated in the conquest of Oesel, the first Estonian region to be reached by crusaders, but the last to succumb. Henry failed to understand that this island's many capable and motivated warriors, sensing that domination by German crusaders would lead to a loss of status, were seeking to make some accommodation with the king of Denmark.

The contributions by archaeologists are especially valuable. On the whole, they confirm the accuracy of most of Henry's account, but they demonstrate that he was not present everywhere at critical moments of the region's tumultuous period of contact and contest.

Other essays investigate why a relatively small number of crusaders were able to impose their rule over so many tribes so quickly—the reasons being that the peoples traditionally victimized by the stronger ones joined with the foreigners to overthrow their oppressors, the superior weaponry of the crusaders (an advantage that was short-lived, but sufficient), and the genius of the crusade's leaders (a subject covered less here than in German scholarship).

The last section, on the ways that Henry's *Chronicle* has been used by modern nationalists and apologists, is a fitting reminder that history is more than "just the facts, ma'am." That phrase, made famous in *Dragnet*, tells us that although interpretation explains what actually happened and what it meant, interpretations are always based on narratives and physical evidence.

Monmouth College WILLIAM URBAN

The Cistercians in the Middle Ages. By Janet Burton and Julie Kerr. [Monastic Orders.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer. 2011. Pp. viii, 244. $45.00. ISBN 978-1-84383-667-4.)

Part of an invaluable series on monastic orders of the Middle Ages, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* by Janet Burton and Julie Kerr is a treasure trove of detailed information historical, bibliographical, and terminological. After a brief introduction on the eleventh-century monastic mentality of renewal and reform, the authors concentrate on the "golden age" of the Order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, primarily in the British Isles, with occasional illustrative glances at continental houses and at developments in the later Middle Ages with only a passing and British glance at the unhappy period of dissolution.

In chapters 1 and 2, Burton lays a solid base by providing a general overview of the foundation and expansion of the Cistercian observance. Chapter 1, "The 'desert place called Cîteaux,'" looks at the mentality and self-aware documentation of the founding generation as well as recent studies of its dating and their cleverly forged connections with ecclesiastical and secular authorities, not least the relatives of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In chapter 2, "'In mountain valleys and plains': The spread of the Cistercian Order," she traces in chronological groupings the ever widening circles of Cistercian growth, whether by foundation or incorporation of existing houses of both men and women up to and beyond the decisions of General Chapter, in 1152 and 1213 respectively, not to accept or to found new monasteries of men or women. Within this framework, she provides an excellent discussion of the *Carta caritatis* in its various redactions, accepting the authorship of Stephen Harding. Departing from the all too usual pattern of relegating the nuns to a separate, usually brief, chapter, Burton includes the "*moniales albe*" within the general overview, noting the meager documentation available for women's monasteries and the nuns' absence from General Chapters, and ending with the 1228 General Chapter distinction between nunneries under its jurisdiction and those, often savvy, nuns who "emulated" Cistercian customs.

Kerr then takes up the story and in six chapters covers the aesthetics and practicalities of Cistercian siting and architecture in far-flung regions (chapter 3); administration and discipline within each monastery and the unifying oversight of the General Chapter, not overlooking the increasing difficulties of maintaining an effective system of visitation as the Cistercians spread to the far reaches of Europe (chapter 4); daily life with its balance of liturgical prayer, *lectio divina*, and manual labor, and what can be known of relations within the community and the austerities of daily life (chapter 5); spirituality (chapter 6); the contribution, customs, and decline of laybrothers (whose spiritual formation is passed over as including "some liturgical duties," p. 151), the grange economy and Cistercian adaptability in adjusting to local technol-

ogy and non-agrarian industry (chapter 7); and finally (chapter 8) the Cistercians' impact on the geographically diverse and chronologically changing world about them, and its effect on them. A glossary, somewhat jarringly set in a larger font than the rest of the book, and an up-to-date bibliography conclude the book.

By citing myriad and dated examples of Cistercian continuity and change, the two historians provide an overview built on accurate detail in the best tradition of such scholars as R.W. Southern. Whether North American students unfamiliar with British geography will be able fully to grasp the picture sketched by these details or to realize that Cistercians in parts of Europe rarely or never mentioned may have had different experiences remains to be seen. Transitions that may be clear to a professional historian are not accentuated, so that events separated by two centuries sometimes appear coeval, obscuring how the Cistercians changed as the medieval world and their own circumstances altered. The weakest chapter is that on Cistercian spirituality. Stress on the Cistercians' devotion to the humanity of Christ and his mother is neither set within an historical framework nor compared with that of their contemporaries and so appears somehow unique to them. While concentrating on the "mystical experiences" of thirteenth-century lay brothers and nuns and the spirituality of the "monk in the stall" known through hagiography, *exempla*, visions, and the late-medieval cults of relics, the authors devote only 1.5 pages to what they quote Bernard McGinn as calling "the richest development of the monastic mystical tradition in the West" (p. 125), the writings of the "Cistercian Fathers," and never allude to their echoes in subsequent centuries. "Cistercian mysticism," we read, "centred on devotion to the humanity of Christ" (p. 140), but we find no reference to Bernard's imageless "visit of the Word" or William of Saint Thierry's emphasis on reason as humanity's means of perceiving the divine, beyond the human, Christ. Nor, this reviewer suspects, would the monks be pleased to hear that they "held that Jesus was separate and distinct from God" (p. 141). Finally, at the risk of being querulous, one might, in this day and age, have hoped for more and better illustrations, if for no other reason than to make the book attractive to students.

The Center for Cistercian and Monastic Studies E. ROZANNE ELDER
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Francis of Assisi: A New Biography. By Augustine Thompson, O.P. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 299. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-8014-5070-9.)

In the last quarter of a century friars have been very conspicuous in the literature regarding their canonized founder and the movement that he has inspired. In an earlier age the study of the saint and the Order were illuminated by the erudition of a group of eminent Catholic scholars and others drawn from diverse Christian communities. This biography is the work of an accomplished medievalist and a Dominican: Augustine Thompson, O.P., the

author of *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, PA, 2005). Thompson brings to his examination of the Franciscan sources, medieval and modern, a welcome freshness that encourages him to challenge some of the hagiographical assumptions about the saint of Assisi. The deaths of Cardinal John of St. Paul and Pope Innocent III left St. Francis virtually bereft of friendship and influence in the corridors of the papal court at a critical juncture in the development of the fraternity (p. 50); this situation undoubtedly lay behind the insistence of Cardinal Ugolino di Conti (later Pope Gregory IX) that Francis should not continue his journey to France; instead, Francis was advised to leave Florence for Umbria, where he would be better placed to answer critics of the growing fraternity. Thompson is undoubtedly correct in dismissing some biographical material that has been taken too literally by some scholars, and so, for instance, doubt is cast on whether Francis embarrassed Ugolino by bringing alms to his table (pp. 77, 240–41). The Franciscans' sensitivity to questions concerning the institutionalization of the Order is dubbed as a sequel to original sin (p. 236). Similarly, Francis's prophecy about the attack of Damietta in 1219 is given a balanced interpretation rather than being regarded as pacifism (p. 232). The first part of this volume covers no more than 143 pages, and the second is devoted to sources and debates. It has no footnotes. Its endnotes are frequently extensive with an account of the various positions in question; they provide the reader with a useful guide to the sources, despite the author's frequent recourse to the personal pronoun *I*. Some of this material might profitably been transferred to the first part of the book where there was sufficient space for a fuller account. The suggestion that Francis may have been suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder on his release from prison would have embellished the treatment of this question in the first chapter (e.g., p. 177). Thompson states that, had Raoul Manselli lived for a further decade, this book would probably not have been written (p. 160). The decision to make use of extended endnotes creates some difficulties, because such a format can give rise to claims that call for qualification. For instance, Thompson associates himself with the view of Manselli that "academic study among the Franciscans became common only in the 1230s, after the conversion of Alexander of Hales" (p. 263). While there were undoubtedly many more theologians in the Order after 1236, the establishment of the network of Franciscan schools goes back to the 1220s with the minister general and provincial playing a leading role. The friars' seriousness about the theological foundation for their ministry is glimpsed in the engagement of Master Robert Grosseteste to teach the friars at Oxford from 1229/30. This volume identifies areas in which some Franciscan scholars have displayed discomfort, such as the institutionalization of the Order. Its endnotes on Franciscan sources, medieval and modern, will be of assistance to students of the saint and his followers. Despite the author's voluminous research, his account of why this is a *New Biography*, as his subtitle indicates (p. vii), is not persuasive.

St. Edmund's College, Cambridge MICHAEL ROBSON

The Writings of Francis of Assisi: Letters and Prayers. *The Writings of Francis of Assisi: Rules. Testament and Admonitions*. *The Writings of Clare of Assisi: Letters, Form of Life, Testament and Blessing*. Edited by Michael W. Blastic, O.F.M.; Jay M. Hammond; and J. A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M.Conv. [Studies in Early Franciscan Sources, Vols. 1–3.] (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications. 2011. Vol. 1: Pp. xix, 335; vol. 2: xvi, 330; vol. 3: xvii, 147. Vol. 1: $29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-57659-230-4; vol. 2: $29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-57659-232-8; vol. 3: $19.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-57659-233-5.)

This review covers three volumes that contain studies on "Early Franciscan Sources." The first two address "The Writings of Francis of Assisi," the third "The Writings of Clare of Assisi." The studies follow on the publication of the volumes (*Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* I–III, 1999–2001) that have put these writings, as well as historical material of interest to the study of these writings, into English. The three volumes under review aspire to help the readers of the writings of Ss. Francis and Clare understand them historically.

These studies are marked by Paul Sabatier's life of Francis of Assisi (*La Vie de Saint François d'Assise*, Paris, 1894). Sabatier used the narrative literature on Francis. His selection of stories touched off a search for further stories and a discussion about which individuals could be believed (the so-called Franciscan Question). Since then, the focus has remained on Francis. Historically Francis belonged to a brotherhood. He is part of a story. A biography might work if the subject has not given rise to an organization that engages with its age, as did Francis and his companions. The studies under review, in general, have not shaken off the interpretive cast given Franciscan history by Sabatier. The whole project, the translated sources and these studies, deals with Francis as saint, prophet, and founder and not with the movement to which he belonged. Francis was, first of all, a brother.

The editors have seen to it that each piece of writing by Francis and by Clare received careful attention. Ten contributors examined the manuscript evidence for a piece and its context, then interpreted the text and did its bibliography. Understandably, a piece's treatment varied in length, for some texts are brief and simple; others long and much involved in the history of the brothers and sisters. In the first of the three volumes, *Letters and Prayers*, Michael Cusato goes over "The Letters to the Faithful" at great length (149–207) and deservedly so, given the length of the text and its historical importance. In the second volume, *Rules, Testament and Admonitions,* William Short probes carefully the many details of the rules and, in particular, those of the Early Rule and the Later Rule (17–222). They are, along with the Testament, the pieces most important for the history of the brotherhood. At the same time, in much fewer pages (*Letters and Prayers*, 209-44), Jay M. Hammond sees to it that the "Vernacular Prayers" of Francis are far from neglected. The slender volume on Clare's writings, not as often visited by historians, is especially helpful as survey and introduction. The authors take care of

the differences of opinion that might arise around their texts by offering readers good bibliographies. And so the writings of Francis and Clare are open for study.

The texts still have to be lifted into a study of the early Franciscan years marked by chapter VI of the Rule. The chapter does not praise the times in which the brothers and sisters of the Franciscan association lived.

The Franciscan Institute DAVID FLOOD, O.F.M.
St. Bonaventure University

Poverty, Heresy, and the Apocalypse: The Order of the Apostles and Social Change in Medieval Italy, 1260–1307. By Jerry B. Pierce. (New York: Continuum. 2012. Pp. xiv, 197. $120.00. ISBN 978-1-4411-5641-9.)

Few medieval figures capture the imagination like Fra Dolcino, who assumed leadership of the unsanctioned order of the Apostles in 1300 after its founder, Gerardo Segarelli, was burned. Seven years later, many of the Apostles were slaughtered by a crusading army, and Dolcino himself was executed. Good work on Dolcino has been done by contemporary Italian scholars, but hitherto little has been written in English.

Pierce begins with an instructive historiographical overview of modern scholarship on the Apostles, with particular attention to (1) the repeated interpretation of Dolcino in political, revolutionary terms over the decades and (2) the American and English tendency to rely uncritically on prejudiced sources like Salimbene and Bernard Gui. Italian scholars like Raniero Orioli and Corrado Mornese, Pierce says, "have made significant contributions," but "their efforts have been almost entirely overlooked by English-speaking historians" (p. 16). That charge is partly correct but ignores the extent to which Orioli's work has now penetrated American scholarship so thoroughly that the current Wikipedia article on Dolcino relies heavily on him.

Italian scholarship on Dolcino is hardly unanimous. Pierce accepts Corrado Mornese's argument (*contra* Orioli) that, in Dolcino's battle with the crusade, peasants of the Valsesia area supported him. Mornese's argument is fascinating but—like everything else involving Dolcino—debatable, and it would have been helpful if Pierce had explicitly examined it, since (as his bibliography shows) he is quite familiar with the Mornese/Buratti/Burat circle and their preoccupations. Also desirable would have been his evaluation of Orioli's thoughts on a possible connection between Dolcino and the Visconti. And, since he relies heavily on Gui's *De secta pseudo-apostolorum* and the anonymous *Historia fratris Dulcini,* a discussion of their provenance would have been of assistance of the reader. Is Gui really the author of the *De secta?* And whose interests is "anonymous" defending?

Dolcino's apocalyptic program is important, as Pierce realizes. He compares Dolcino with Joachim of Fiore. This is standard, but recent work on

apocalyptic thought in the century after Joachim has made it less promising to engage in point-by-point comparisons of Dolcino and Joachim as if there were nothing in between. So far only Gian Luca Potestà (yet another Italian) has begun to place Dolcino in his contemporary apocayptic/prophetic context.

If Pierce's book can be said to have a major problem, it is that he gives himself too little space to do much of anything. He offers fifty-two pages of background covering social, economic, political, and ecclesiastical history from *c.* 1000 to the mid-thirteenth century, then finally turns to the Apostles but devotes only sixty-eight pages to them. What he cannot offer in those sixty-eight pages is what Orioli actually offers in the 325 pages of *Venit perfidus heresiarcha*—a subtle inquiry into who Dolcino was and what he stood for, one based on a close examination of all extant sources. Most of these sources are contestable, but when combined they point to some interesting hypotheses. And in the final analysis, hypotheses are the best we can do at present. Looming over any study of Dolcino is the disquieting fact that, of the sources available to us, almost nothing can be taken at face value.

Both the brevity of this book and its title now leave Pierce free to write what he is clearly capable of producing: a book specifically on Dolcino that combines the complexity and scholarly acumen of Orioli with the more recent insights of Mornese, Potestà, and other authors.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg (Emeritus) DAVID BURR

The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories: Rule and Practice, c.1270–c.1420. By Joan Greatrex. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxii, 416. $150.00. ISBN 978-0-19-925073-8.)

Joan Greatrex is known for her meticulously assembled *Biographical Register of English Cathedral Priories … c. 1066–1540* (New York, 1997), the result of regular visits and many hours of study in archives of the former priories. In addition, there are numerous articles about monks in particular houses—Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester, shedding light on aspects of monastic life there. The author describes the present work as a "supplement" to the *Register*, where a fuller picture of monastic life might be obtained by the use of material from a group of houses, making up for the lack of evidence in some places. The priories concerned are Bath, Canterbury, Coventry, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester. Although there is some information for all the houses, there is most for Canterbury, Durham, and Norwich, followed by Ely, Winchester, Worcester, and Rochester. There is very little from Bath and Coventry. The chosen period is *c.* 1270 to *c.* 1420.

The scheme is to show life in the monastery from the noviciate to death. The life of obedientiaries is considered under the title "Years of Maturity" and the observance in church under "The Rhythm of the Liturgical Year," including fasts, feasts, and "recreation." The infirmary follows, with sickness, death, and death notices. The study of the noviciate is especially useful, with its discussion of texts to be read. There are two appendices, on the study of grammar and monastic reading of historical works, in which some of the texts bundled together in library catalogs are elucidated. The importance of the precentor as librarian is emphasized, in addition to his already extensive work in ordering the worship of the choir. Issues pertaining to monks at Oxford and Cambridge are included, even the matter of "student funding."

There is an introduction in which the reader is urged to judge the Benedictines of the fourteenth century on their own merits and in the light of the Rule as they saw it, not as against their twelfth-century predecessors. The problems of life with the bishop as abbot are discussed, including the advantages of the bishop's frequent absences on the perambulation of his diocese. A section on "Cathedrals in a Monastic Precinct" shows plans of Canterbury, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, Rochester, and Ely. It would have been useful to include a version of John Crook's plan for Winchester, especially as so much building was lost there. The author makes the point that the layout of cathedral priories hardly differed from that of major Benedictine abbeys, except, of course, for the presence of the bishop's palace.

The "conclusion" chapter makes for sad reading. Calls for reform were not heeded, so that the "common life" became too much eroded in private cells, possessions, and pocket money. Her considered view is that the monks in the cathedral priories and other monastic houses in England were afflicted by a form of *accidia* in the two centuries before dissolution. *Accidia* is usually translated "sloth," but sometimes is rendered as "restlessness, inability either to work or to pray," or perhaps "lack of application." She allows that the *claustrales* (those not holding office) may not have been so afflicted, but they do not generally appear in the records. This seems a harsh judgment, although since Greatrex knows the monks so much better than most scholars, it is hard to refute. She finds hope in some increased figures for the noviciate in Canterbury, Durham, and Worcester *c.* 1530, suggesting some aspirants still desired a monastic life.

As a companion to the *Biographical Register*, this book deserves its place on a library shelf. It can be read throughout, but in many cases it will be consulted for specific details such as dates of admission and ordination or the regulations of the infirmary. The pages on grammar, the reading of history, and the studies of young monks are of great importance. As a work of reference, it will assist inquiries about other large houses such as Abingdon, Tewkesbury, and Bury St. Edmunds.

Canterbury Cathedral Archives, United Kingdom MARGARET SPARKS

Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England. By Aden Kumler. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 290. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-300-16493-0.)

To medieval writers the terms *ambitious* and *ambition* (Latin, *ambitio,* French, *ambicion,* Middle English, *ambicioun*) were pejorative, referring to an excessive striving for honor, power, or money. In the *Somme le roi*, one of the illustrated works analyzed by Aden Kumler, ambition is the fourth subdivision of the vice of pride, as the text says: "La quarte branche d'orgueil est fole baerie, que l'en apele en clergois ambicion, c'est desirriers mauvés de haut monter."[1] In a turnaround, Kumler, like a number of other historians since the 1970s (perhaps inspired by F. R. H. Du Boulay, *An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Later Middle Ages* [New York, 1970]), uses *ambitious* to refer to a praiseworthy thirst on the part of social elites of England and France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for true understanding of Christian beliefs. Indeed, the title of her book draws on that of an article by Nicole R. Rice.[2] For Kumler, as for Rice, the term *translation* refers to the translation of catechetical material from Latin to the vernacular to make it accessible to the laity. Beyond this, Kumler is concerned with the translation of basic Christian beliefs into visual images that addressed (or incited) the spiritual ambitions of the laity for "religious knowledge."

In the introduction Kumler lays out the types of texts and images to be analyzed in the four following chapters. Her thesis that images in themselves can be translations of religious truth is not a radically new idea. Among a multitude of possible examples she selects a class of luxury illuminated manuscripts made for lay instruction, books that "appropriated the contents of the pastoral syllabus" (p. 6) of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Her study is limited geographically and linguistically to France and England, her explanation being that they were joined by a common language through the thirteenth and much of the fourteenth century.

Chapter 1, "From Necessary Truths to Spiritual Ambitions," focuses on the copy of the *Bible moralisée* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. 2554), whose images are accompanied by French texts. Kumler observes that the volume "offered its royal audience a highly mediated access to Holy Writ, and aestheticized vision of religious truth as a kind of gleaming object in ecclesiastical hands" (p. 16). She discusses selected illustrations, not as direct vehicles of religious instruction but as evidence of the post–Fourth Lateran Council belief in the importance of lay religious knowledge rather than simple blind faith. Much of this chapter is devoted to an exposition of the

[1]E. Brayer and A.-F. Leurquin-Labie, eds., *La "Somme le roi" par Frère Laurent* (Abbeville, 2008), p. 121.

[2]Nicole R. Rice, "Spiritual Ambition and the Translation of the Cloister: *The Abbey and Charter of the Holy Ghost,*" *Viator,* 33 (2002), 222–60.

decrees of the council and their dissemination via episcopal statutes. The newly formalized requirements of confession and communion provide the framework for chapters 2 and 3, "Translating the Modus Confitendi," and "Translating the Eucharist," each of which is also supplied with detailed expositions of the underlying theology—in particular, that of penance and the Eucharist.

The visual material of chapter 2 includes the *Speculum virginum* (the exemplar cited is London, British Library MS Arundel 44), written in Latin for nuns in the twelfth century as a "mirror" to be used for self-examination and regulation, and treated by Kumler as an ancestor of later visual *pastoralia*, which continued to employ the metaphor of the mirror and the diagrammatic trees that "render the invisible contents of the moral-spiritual interior in visible terms" (p. 62). She cites the *Vrigiet de solas* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 9220), a late-thirteenth-century diagrammatic compendium, as an example of a moral mirror composed under the influence of the *Speculum virginum*, but intended for a lay reader-viewer.

This wide-ranging chapter then considers the case of the 1287 copy of Jean de Joinville's mid-thirteenth century *Roman as ymages* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS n. a. fr. 4509), a work conceived as a text-and-image exposition of the Apostles' Creed "designed to be read and shown to dying Christians in order to strengthen their faith against the devil's final assaults" (pp. 68–69). The text-image relationship is characterized as antiphonal, "textual instruction and visual amplificatio" (p. 70), despite the fact, admitted by Kumler, that pictures and words, at least in this copy, are "discombobulated" or "asynchronous" (p. 71). Joinville's book was written while the author was on crusade with King Louis IX, and these circumstances form a loose link with the next cases discussed by Kumler, in the section "The Heroics of Religious Knowledge," which considers allegorical and diagrammatic images that incorporate armed knights and symbolic shields, images "clothing penitential practice in the guise of chivalric ideals." One of her examples is drawn from a series of tinted drawings at the end of the thirteenth-century Apocalypse of Eleanor de Quincey (London, Lambeth Palace MS 209), a complex visual allegory of penance as spiritual combat. Although Kumler goes on to analyze the Veronica image in the same manuscript and mentions the miniature of Eleanor de Quincey in prayer before the Virgin, she does not consider the series of drawings as a purposefully conceived whole, nor does she discuss their relevance to the illustrated vernacular Apocalypse they follow, nor does she touch on the particular kind of religious knowledge such a rich pictorial complex might impart.

Selective attention to individual images or individual components of compendia again characterizes Kumler's discussion of the textual-visual catechesis of a little-known English volume of the second half of the fourteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 400), which includes a

series of eight images of single figures holding placards with Latin texts setting out basic Christian beliefs in numerical sets, for example, Moses with the Ten Commandments and St. Peter with the Seven Sacraments, each accompanied by an Anglo-Norman translation. The rest of the volume, which altogether includes 274 images, is described only in a footnote (p. 252n125). Kumler concludes this section with an emotionally charged description of the cycle as "a vision of Christian community as a collectivity reformed and perfected by dialogic encounters with religious truth" (p. 96), a dialogic encounter also made visual, as she says, in the last manuscript discussed in this chapter, the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse and *Lumere as lais* illustrated around 1310 for a lay patron (London, British Library MS Royal 15 D ii). The initial letters in both texts contain "portrait" heads that act as a "fictive and idealizing mirror of Christian society" and "visually describe a community unified in its relationship to religious knowledge," mounting "an ambitious campaign of solicitation, inviting the reader-viewer to join a company of men and women distinguished by their stature on the page and by the authorizing texts they inhabited" (p. 99).

The main focus of chapter 3, "Translating the Eucharist," is a compendium whose chief text is a tract on the Mass illustrated in England during the 1320s by the artist of the renowned Queen Mary Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 13342). Elegantly characterized by Kumler as an "ordo for the lay devotees' corporeal, intellectual, and spiritual participation in the Mass" (p. 122), the illustrations alternate between those showing proper lay conduct at various moments of the Mass and those visualizing the events in the life of Christ upon which the worshipers were supposed to meditate while the priest conducted the service. Kumler observes that the illustrations present a "visual fiction" since they depict the worshipers in close proximity to the priest at the altar, when in fact they would have been separated physically from the celebrant. It is the illustrations themselves that promote "devout vision's ability to penetrate beyond the visible to the invisible mysterium of the sacrament" (p. 137). In this chapter Kumler also analyzes the other texts of the compendium, the Anglo-Norman *Miroir de seinte eglyse* and the *Dialogue del piere et del fiz*, and the Latin prayers and Psalter of St. Jerome, along with the four Marian miniatures (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 79) now separated from the main body of the book. Together with the tract on the Mass, these texts and images comprise a "deluxe compendium . . . suitable for the spiritual formation and practice of a layperson" (p. 120).

Chapter 4, "Translating the Cloister," the longest in the book, is devoted to the interdependent parts of a Parisian volume of the 1290s whose chief texts are the *Somme le roi* written for King Philip III of France in 1279 by Laurent d'Orléans, his Dominican confessor (London, British Library MS Add. 28162), a "bespoke Old French summa of moral and theological instruction" (p. 164); and the *Sainte-abbaïe* (London, British Library MS Yates Thompson 11), a treatise on "the interior cloister of the spiritually adept soul" (p. 165). In its origi-

nal form, the lavishly illustrated manuscript "was a book that even a king might envy." Many copies of the *Somme le roi* have full-page miniatures, not text illustrations, but the very kind of "ambitious images" that add moral and spiritual value to the reader-viewer's experience of the book, and Kumler analyzes them in greater detail than other scholars, who have been concerned primarily with the questions of style, date, and patronage. The *Sainte-abbaïe* (the unique illustrated copy) is accompanied by three impressive full-page miniatures representing monastic structures and their female inhabitants (now bound into the manuscript incorrectly). Generally, when the work has been discussed, the illustrations have been taken as evidence that the book was made for a nun, perhaps a *religieuse* in a royal convent such as Maubuisson, which possibly owned the manuscript in the fifteenth century. Kumler is the first scholar to interpret these illustrations as "translations" of the values and experience of claustral life, not for a nun, but for a layperson. For her, the images visualize a spiritual journey using the allegorical abbey as a "cloister of the soul" (pp. 206*ff*.) in which the pictured regimen of conventual life models for the lay viewer the progress of the devout Christian toward an ideal of religious knowledge.

Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England is an ambitious and complex book, eloquently written and beautifully produced. The examples offered are fresh examinations of mostly well-known manuscripts whose illustrations have in fact been considered occasionally as instruments of moral and spiritual formation of medieval Christians, as Kumler makes clear in copious endnotes and bibliography. At times, nevertheless, the choice of case studies seems arbitrary and the transition from one to the next artificial rather than natural. Questions arise: Why were these particular illustrated compendia chosen as examples of visual translation? Are vernacular treatises of religious instruction the only means by which Christian truth was translated visually for the laity? How about the truth value of the illustrations of devotional books that were owned and used by the laity? Perhaps the author will consider expanding her purview further in a second volume.

New York University LUCY FREEMAN SANDLER

How to Defeat the Saracens. By William of Adam. *Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni sunt expugnandi.* By Guillelmus Ade. Text with translation and notes by Giles Constable. [Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities Series.] (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Imprint of Harvard University Press. 2012, Pp. xii, 138. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-884-02376-0.)

Historians of the crusades have often argued about the significance of the fall of Acre in 1291, but there seems little doubt that for many contemporaries it was an event of profound importance. Some turned their minds to the prob-

lem of how this disaster could be reversed and there developed a whole genre of "recovery literature" of varying quality and practicality. William of Adam's treatise was relatively late on the scene, but this did give the author the advantage of a longer perspective. William was a Dominican, born around 1275, who traveled extensively in the Middle East between 1307 and 1316/17. He composed his treatise around the end of that time. He was therefore no armchair critic, for he could speak with direct experience of the environment within which any actions would have to take place, and indeed he seems to have been driven by a strong belief that it was his duty to convey what he had learned to those who were in a position to influence the situation.

He knew that, ultimately, the Holy Land could only be recovered by a large-scale *passagium*, but, although there had been much talk and some showy taking of vows, there was little immediate sign that this was about to be transformed into a major crusade. William therefore concentrates upon demonstrating how such an expedition could succeed if the ground were properly prepared. In essence, he advised putting a huge squeeze on Egypt by stifling its trade and cutting off any help it might receive from Mongols, Greeks, or Latins. His most original idea, which forms an appropriate culmination of his book, was to blockade the southern end of the Red Sea and thus destroy the vital trade link with India, without which Alexandria would not flourish. India was truly "the source of all the evils" that he had described in the earlier part of the book. He himself knew the region well, having spent twenty months in the Red Sea area. According to William, the blockade could be achieved with a force of only three or four galleys. He describes in detail how this would work, where the best places for bases could be found, and how the galleys could be repaired and maintained. He was confident that the Christians would receive the support of the Mongol ruler of Persia that would enable them to make use of islands in the gulf of Hormuz. It is difficult to assess whether this plan could ever have been activated; the only previous attempt to penetrate this region had been by forces sent by Reynald of Châtillon in 1183, and this had been a total failure, even though at that time the Christians still controlled Jerusalem.

William's book must have been a great disappointment to him, for it did not catch the imagination of contemporaries, but it is of immense interest to modern historians, in that it offers insights into the post-1291 situation that contribute to our understanding of the myriad problems facing any attempt to dislodge the Mamluks from Jerusalem. This is a fine edition and translation by Giles Constable, the first to make use of all three known manuscripts, as well as cutting through the unusually complicated editing history that beset the work in the late-nineteenth century. Constable provides a concise and authoritative introduction and full notes, particularly necessary given the relative unfamiliarity of the regions in which William traveled.

University of Reading, United Kingdom MALCOLM BARBER

The Registers of Bishop Henry Burghersh, 1320–1342. Vol. III: *Memoranda Register Dispensations for Study* Cum ex eo, *Licences for Non-Residence, Testamentary Business, Letters Dimissory, Appointment of Penitentiaries.* Edited by Nicholas Bennett. [Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 101.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. xxviii, 486. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-9015-3-93-0.)

Henry Burghersh (b. 1290?) probably had a university career before he was named bishop of Lincoln by papal provision in a disputed election in which two local candidates were rejected (he was a secular cleric; the cathedral was monastic). Contemporary chroniclers reported unfavorably on the election because of the papal intervention and because he was thought to be too young and inexperienced. Later the appointment was condemned, because Burghersh had sided with Isabella and Mortimer against the king, Edward II. They appointed him treasurer (1327) and chancellor (1328). He was relieved of his office by Edward III, but the king exacted no other penalty for his association with the rebels and subsequently reappointed him treasurer (1334–37) and then ambassador to the Low Countries to work on a union of European powers against France. Except for two short visits home, he remained abroad until his death.

Burghersh seems to have been an effective administrator of the enormous Diocese of Lincoln that was divided into seventy-five rural deaneries and about 1928 parochial benefices under eight archdeaconries: the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, Leicester, and Oxford; Lincoln (which included the counties of Lincoln and Stow); and Northampton (which included Northampton and Rutland). He had a number of houses within his district that enabled him to move about to carry out the business of the diocese as well as two residences outside the diocese—his castle at Newark and his London house in Holborn. Burghersh had a retinue of household clerks who traveled with him as well as a large group of assistants and officers resident in Lincoln.

Volume III of the edition is Burghersh's memoranda register; volumes I (LRS 87) and II (LRS 90) contain institutions to benefices in the eight archdeaconries and collations of cathedral dignities and prebends. The memoranda register contains dispensations under the Constitution *Cum ex eo,* which allowed clerics to leave their parishes to study (for up to seven years, but the average was for three and a half years and often was for only one year); licenses for nonresidence to visit Rome or to be in the service of a lord; testamentary business, probate of wills, and so forth; letters dimissory, chiefly for unbeneficed clerics, that allowed candidates for ordination to receive orders from bishops other than their own; appointments of penitentiaries; licenses to celebrate in private chapels or oratories; and commissions to carry out institutions to or the exchange of benefices. The second part of the register, not edited here, contains unclassified memoranda.

Nicholas Bennett provides a transcription of a typical document for each of these categories and then summarizes the remainder of the entries. Dispensations under *Cum ex eo* average about twenty-four a year, although the variance in years of study would result in more than twenty-four nonresidencies at any given time. Licenses for nonresidence to attend upon lords were usually given for one year, although they could be renewed. Letters dimissory apparently were common often because of the distance an appointee would have to travel to wherever his bishop was in order to be ordained. Penitentiary appointees were usually rectors or other seculars, but there are many licenses for friars from all four orders; however, Dominicans and Franciscans dominate. There are also letters appointing regulars to act within monasteries and nunneries as well as letters allowing abbots, canons, and other regulars to choose confessors for stated periods of time.

Indiana University LAWRENCE M. CLOPPER

A Kingdom of Stargazers: Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon. By Michael A. Ryan. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 214. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-4984-0.)

The present book pretends to develop a well-known topic: the interest in astrology and other techniques of prediction in the Crown of Aragon during the reigns of Pere el Ceremoniós (r. 1336–87) and Joan el Caçador (r. 1367–96), and the ambiguous attitude of Joan's brother, King Martí (1399–1410), in relation to those subjects. It is obvious that political power has always been interested in obtaining information about future events, and the author exemplifies this idea in his epilogue (pp. 180–81), when he mentions the interest of President Ronald Reagan and his wife, Nancy, in astrology; the same could be said about other political leaders of the twentieth century.

The problem is that the subject, as dealt with by the author, becomes too large. Michael A. Ryan deals, actually, not only with astrology but also with other techniques for divination, including prophecy and visions, and with the whole of the occult sciences, including several kinds of magical practice and alchemy. On the other hand, the sources used are not technical. He says, "the documents I rely upon for this study (theological studies, literary works, archival documents, and occult writings) . . ." (p. 16). It is discouraging that his references to the astrological activities under Pere el Ceremoniós are limited to his mentions about the astrologers at the service of the king such as Bertomeu de Tresbéns, Dalmau ses Planes, and Pere Gilbert, based mainly on archival documents edited by Rubió i Lluch in 1908–21. He does not refer to the Jewish astronomer Jacob Corsuno, the real author of the *Tables of Barcelona,* and he does not analyze the aforementioned tables (the king's prologue states clearly that the purpose of the tables was astrological) or, for example, Bertomeu de Tresbéns's *Tractat d'Astrologia* and the collection of astrological texts called *Tencar,* edited by Susanna Vela (Andorra, 1997). The

author's reference to the *Tables of Barcelona*, which he considers to derive from the *Alfonsine Tables,* shows that he is unaware of the "recent" (since 1996) bibliography on the subject by José Chabás. Reading the volume edited by Juan Vernet Ginés and Ramon Parés i Farràs—*La Ciència en la Història dels Països Catalans,* Vol. I: *Dels àrabs al Renaixement* (València-Barcelona, 2004)—would have saved the author from several shortcomings.

Another problem is that, in a book of some 230 pages, the author begins to deal with the subject proper only on page 105. Before that, there is a long series of introductory chapters in which it is stated that the interest in the occult sciences in the later Middle Ages was caused by the apocalyptic expectations which resulted from the Black Death (1347–50) and the Great Western Schism (1378–1417). The author analyzes the attitudes toward astrology and divination in Western authors that go from St. Augustine to the Franciscan John of Rupescissa (*c.* 1365), a topic to which he dedicates two whole chapters. In the third chapter (starting on p. 80) he begins to deal with the Iberian Peninsula, and his analysis of the Alfonsine sources is limited to the *Partidas* and the translation of the *Picatrix;* he does not mention the *Libros del Saber de Astronomía* (a collection of sources related mainly to astronomical instruments with an obvious application to astrology) or the two great astrological handbooks (*Libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas* and *Libro de las Cruzes).* This is remarkable due to the fact that the Alfonsine cultural model was copied by Pere el Ceremoniós. In this chapter it is said that Ptolemy, in his *Tetrabiblos*, "systematized various astrological theories that incorporated Babylonian, Egyptian and Indian [?] knowledge" (pp. 81–82); and he confuses the poet Ahmad ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940) with his nephew, the physician Saʿīd ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 953–54 or 966–67). Historical errors occur several times throughout the book; the most remarkable one appears at the beginning (p. 6) when the author states that Count Guifré el Pelós established the House of Aragon in the ninth century.

On the whole, the book contains interesting materials for the history of culture, but does not correspond strictly to its title.

University of Barcelona JULIO SAMSÓ

A Companion to Catherine of Siena. Edited by Carolyn Muessig, George Ferzoco, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle. [Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, Vol. 32.] (Boston: Brill. 2012. Pp. xvi, 395. $209.00. ISBN 978-90-04-20555-0.)

This book aims, in the words of its publisher, to present a "substantial introduction to the world of Catherine of Siena, her works and the way her followers responded to her religious leadership"; to provide an overview, in English, of her historical and cultural contexts; and to "make accessible hitherto elusive details" of her life and works.

The introduction and thirteen essays may be divided, broadly, into three groups. The first group (consisting of the introduction and essays on the "Historical Reception of Catherine," "Catherine and the Papacy," "Catherine and Preaching and Hagiography in Renaissance Tuscany," the "*Processo Castellano* and the Canonisation of Catherine," "Catherine in Late Medieval Sermons," "*Laude* for Catherine," and the "Iconography of Catherine's Stigmata") fulfills these aims. Each of these essays provides a genuinely accessible introduction to and overview of its chosen theme, combining clear narrative and interpretation with extensive and valuable footnotes to relevant literature.

The second group (consisting of essays on "Female Urban Reclusion in Siena at the Time of Catherine," "Catherine on the Value of Tears," "Penance in the Life of Catherine," and "Writing and Religious Women in Late Medieval Italy") is less successful in terms of accessibility and also in the aim of providing both introductions and overviews. These essays are, instead, detailed case studies of particular aspects of St. Catherine and her context, are much more densely written and indebted to particular theoretical perspectives, and require considerably greater existing familiarity with Catherine on the part of the reader.

The third group (consisting of essays on "The Manuscript Tradition" of Catherine's writings and the history of the text of the "*Legenda maior* of Catherine of Siena" by Blessed Raymond of Capua) provides detailed analyses of the various surviving texts. Although both essays include useful and accessible introductions and explanations of the manuscript traditions involved, their principal—and considerable—value lies in their potential as reference works for scholars seeking information on these texts and their histories. To these two essays may be added the overall bibliography for the whole volume, running to just over twenty pages, which similarly provides the reader with extensive guidance on both primary and secondary sources relating to Catherine.

The reservations regarding the introductory function and accessibility of the second group of essays notwithstanding, this collection, taken as a whole, succeeds in its aim of providing, in English, an overview of Catherine of Siena, her context, her reception both immediate and over several centuries, and of a range of scholarly approaches to her life and significance. If a single theme may be said to predominate across the various essays, it is that of the tension between "the historical Catherine" who was an active and public figure, and the "mystical and ascetic Catherine" promoted by so much of the hagiographical tradition relating to her from Raymond of Capua onward. It is a strength of the book that the contributors seek—in various ways and with varying degrees of success —to restore a sense of the historical Catherine. One puzzle remains. Despite the excellent essay on the "Historical Reception of Catherine of Siena"—which includes reference to her use (or abuse) by the

Italian fascist regime in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s—there is no reference to her subsequent and most recent re-presentation, especially in the European policies of Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI, as co-patron saint of Europe. It is an odd lacuna in an otherwise wide-ranging collection, particularly since reflection on this latest version of Catherine would have offered further opportunity to consider the theme of the historical Catherine as active participant in public life.

The Open University, United Kingdom GERALD PARSONS

Gerardi Magni Opera Omnia, Pars II, I: *Sermo ad clerum Traiectensem de focaristis.* Edited by Rijcklof Hofman. [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 235.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2011. Pp. 653. €325,00. ISBN 978-1-84383-373-4.)

This critical edition of Gerard Grote's *Sermo ad clerum Traiectensem de focaristis*, together with a number of other pieces on clerical celibacy, is part of a planned multivolume collection in the CCCM of the works of this late-fourteenth-century Dutch churchman (1340–84). Particularly interested in canon law, he trained at the University of Paris, where he received a master of arts degree. He was a gifted preacher, evident in the *Sermo* that he delivered to a synod of churchmen at Utrecht in 1383. He is probably best remembered for laying the foundations for the establishment of the Brethren of the Common Life and subsequently the Windesheim congregation identified with Thomas à Kempis whose *Imitation of Christ* was so influential in the late Middle Ages and helped to establish the basis for the Protestant Reformation. Thomas à Kempis also wrote a valuable biography of Gerard Grote.

The sermon against the focarists—the word from the Latin *focaria* (hearth), hence churchmen living in a disreputable fashion with their housekeepers—is a very strong defense of clerical celibacy. This lengthy work is found in almost thirty manuscripts, which demonstrates its popularity and importance. The piece is in twenty-six segments or chapters, each seeking to reprimand and correct those clerics who failed to lead a chaste life as well as drawing upon the authority of earlier authors such as the Fathers and later authorities, in particular St. Thomas Aquinas. For Grote, the focarists brought scandal to the Church and set poor examples for their fellow Christians. Grote viewed their actions as contributing to the suffering of Christ and a sign that he and his contemporaries were living in the end times—not surprising in a world undergoing serious global cooling and the seeming omnipresence of the Black Death, the illness that had caused the deaths of Grote's parents and killed Grote himself in 1384.

The edition of this collection has special strengths. The several brief additional pieces, also very much focused on clerical celibacy, served Grote and now his modern reader as a means of underlining the main points and to do

further battle with the focarists and those who felt he went too far in his attacks. They gave him the opportunity of clarifying and elaborating on such controversial points as whether those who attended the services of notorious focarists were committing mortal sin. Like the *Sermo*, these pieces are well edited and based on many manuscripts. They prepare the way for the editions of the remaining writings of Grote, works that have not yet received as much attention as they deserve. The one shortcoming for those who are being introduced to the writings of Grote through this edition is that not enough is presented in the introduction on Grote's life, a deficiency that one hopes will be rectified in the volumes in the collection to follow.

Yet the otherwise excellent introduction does make a strong case for why celibacy was viewed as so important for clerics by many in the fourteenth century, just as it is in the twenty-first century. Many recent works are cited to demonstrate this continuing interest in the topic. This book should greatly contribute to keeping the subject in the forefront of church scholarship and, with the later books in the collection, to offering a great appreciation of this figure in the development of the spirituality of the later Middle Ages and the Reformation.

University of Delaware DANIEL CALLAHAN

After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England. Edited by Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh. [Medieval Church Studies, Vol. 21.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2011. Pp. xx, 657. €135,00. ISBN 978-2-503-53402-2.)

Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury (1396–97, 1399–1414), drafted in 1407 and promulgated in 1409 a set of constitutions that aimed at reform in the English church, especially at suppressing the Wycliffite movement by regulating preaching (and teaching) as well as censoring translations of the Bible and biblical texts into English. In the wake of modern studies of John Wyclif and his influence, some historians have come to see the "stultifying public consequences" (p. 44) of Arundel's legislation, not only on the production of literature in English but also on the entire religious and intellectual life of fifteenth-century England. It was especially Nicholas Watson's far-reaching article[1] that argued forcefully that Arundel's censorship caused profound changes in the production of what Watson calls "vernacular theology"—defined as any kind of writing in the vernacular that communicates theological information, thus covering sermons, pastoral works, and works of devotion. Such changes were seen in the quantity, circulation, and tone of this literature.

[1]Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum,* 70 (1995), 822–64.

Watson's essay painted a nuanced picture of the effects of Arundel's legislation on later vernacular religious literature and, by implication, on the entire religious and intellectual life of fifteenth-century England. This picture inspired a 2009 conference in Oxford on the 600th anniversary of Arundel's Constitutions. The volume under review gathers thirty papers connected with that conference. Some argue that Arundel's legislation should be seen in the light of a more universal European unease and desire for reform as it was discussed at several general councils, especially Constance and Basel, where English delegates gave important addresses (Vincent Gillespie, Alex Russell). Another essay similarly reminds us of parallels between English and Continental universities in the diminution of academic theological work (Jeremy Catto). On the other hand, several contributors point to such positive developments in fifteenth-century English church life as an "ecclesiastical humanism" at mid-century (Daniel Wakelin, Andrew Cole); the higher intellectual level of the clergy, especially in London (Sheila Lindenbaum); a more intensive care given to the liturgy issuing from Salisbury (David Lepine); and monastic resistance to the political fusion of church and state that one can find in John Lydgate's legends about saints (Catherine Sanok) or even the establishment of public libraries (James Willoughby). Still other scholars subject specific Middle-English texts of the period to a probing analysis in light of Arundel's legislation such as the *Digby Lyrics* (Helen Barr), the poetry of Audelay (Susanna Fein), Lydgate's revisions (W. H. E. Sweet), translations of the lives of Continental saints (Jennifer Brown), and much else. Attention also is called to the fact that in some manuscripts "orthodox" and "heterodox" texts were copied side by side, probably for use by the same readership—the phenomenon of mixed texts or "hospitality" that had already been discussed by Watson and earlier scholars (Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry; Amanda Moss).

Although not all essays address Watson's main argument of Arundel's negative influence directly, it is likely that in a vote on its merit no clear yes or no would emerge; instead, a more variegated and nuanced view is possible and even required. The volume will probably not be the last word on this issue, but the range and the quality of its scholarship makes an important and welcome contribution to it. It also shows, incidentally, that fifteenth-century English religious literature, certainly in its sociological aspects, has emerged from the shadows in which literary and social studies had kept it for a long time.

Chapel Hill, NC SIEGFRIED WENZEL

Spätmittelalterliche Jurisprudenz zwischen Rechtspraxis, Universität und kirchliche Karriere: Der Leipziger Jurist und Naumburger Bischof Dietrich von Bocksdorf (ca. 1410–1466). By Marek Wejwoda. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 42.] (Leiden: Brill. 2012. Pp. xvii, 468. $221.00. ISBN 978-90-04-21241-1.)

Dietrich von Bocksdorf was hardly a household name in his own time or our own. He was a learned jurist in Saxony during a time of transition who played a prominent role at the University of Leipzig; was adviser to Frederick II, duke of Saxony; and made an impression on this area. Wejwoda looks at his life and career, his rise to prominence, his role in the politics and legal disputes of Saxony and surrounding areas, his level of involvement in the changeover from the older traditional (mostly oral) ways of handling legal disputes in that area of Germany to the new procedures of written law and learned practitioners (that is, the "Reception" of Roman-canonical theory and practice into German law), and finally his career as the exception rather than the rule for the time.

After the introduction, in a very long chapter (240 pages) Wejwoda takes up a number of these questions. Assisted by his uncle Timmo and following his example, Bocksdorf became a learned jurist—one of the rare German jurists of the time who studied in Italy. He took his doctorate in both laws at Perugia before returning to Leipzig to practice for decades. The next chapter then details the jurist in his practice of law, followed by an overview of law teaching and practice of that era as illuminated by Bocksdorf's career. Wejwoda concludes with excerpts from Bocksdorf's writings and an extensive bibliography.

Bocksdorf did accumulate benefices and sources of revenue to fund his studies and his career at Leipzig, but he did not, unlike many jurists of his time, enter into full-time employment with his prince (the duke of Saxony), nor did he seek higher office in the Church as his uncle and others had done. He became bishop of Naumburg, but this was only at the end of his career, when he was already ill. His own self-definition can best be seen in his final wishes. He was a jurist at the university in Leipzig, and so he chose to be buried at the Stiftskirche of St. Thomas in the place where he had taught for years. His attachment and commitment to teaching and practicing law is also seen in the inheritance of his library, which he basically left to the city and university.

Bocksdorf had enrolled at Leipzig and did his early studies there before traveling to Perugia. In 1438 he received his doctorate, and from 1439 to 1463 he was a jurist at Leipzig where he served the university, the city, and the duke but also other clients who called upon his services. In the university he acted as rector, as ordinarius for the law faculty, and as reformer. He helped formulate the Leipzig Reform Statutes of 1446, which required regular repetitions and disputations by the salaried doctors and that these were to deal with concrete cases. This emphasis on "praxis" is clearly marked in Bocksdorf's own production—

for example, his collection of "Consilia" to use for teaching students. As a teacher he gained fame and attracted students, as he devoted his heart and mind to this aspect of his life. He was concerned about access and quality at the university and worked with the duke and the bishop-chancellor to achieve this goal. He even intervened on the question of beer supplied at the university and wanted to maintain access and quality in this area as well. When his reform work at the university bogged down in disputes, he withdrew from leadership and went back to teaching and writing. He was, however, aware of and involved in issues beyond the city walls—for example, the Council of Basel, the Reichstags, the disputes over Pope Eugenius IV, and the quarrels among the nobility on these parts of Germany and reaching as far as the Rhineland. In many cases he sent reports and recommendation to the courts handling the cases. His legal activity allowed him to become quite well off and to amass property and benefices in various places so that he left a substantial inheritance to his family. Unfortunately for his ambitions for his family, although he provided for the education of nephews in the hope that they would follow his example in becoming learned jurists, they did not take advantage of their opportunities, and so the rise of the Bocksdorf family was short-lived. Wejwoda discusses Bocksdorf's will in terms of recent research on the concept of "ego-documents" that reveal the self-identity of the one leaving a legacy. Such documents of Bocksdorf's not only provided for members of his family but also reinforced his identification with Leipzig and his legal career there. He thus underlined his status as advocate, as learned jurist, and as a master as opposed to those who had not attained this status but were merely laity.

In chapter 3 Wejwoda looks at the learned jurist in the practice of law. Here the writings of Bocksdorf found in various libraries are the sources (Zeitz, Leipzig, Breslau, and Görlitz) even if the attribution of some to Bocksdorf is not fully established. Some 375 local cases appear in his writings in at least 528 texts. His clients were from many areas and at various status levels: the duke and bishop, farm groups and bourgeoisie, and lower nobility. His involvement in canonical questions involved Mainz, Halberstadt, Meissen, Naumburg, and Merseburg. He was active both as a procurator and as advocate, but more information survived in this latter role since as a procurator much depended on oral presentation.

Bocksdorf was a man of his times even as they were changing. His level of influence in these changes can only be judged when enough material on other jurists is available and studied, especially learned jurists in Germany of that era. The book is a good example of such studies and brings to light a man who worked hard; succeeded; helped others; and then, like his family, slipped back into an undeserved obscurity. Although the book is not an easy read at times, it opens the window to let light in on a world that was changing even before the Reformation turned so much upside down.

State University of New York at Fredonia THOMAS E. MORRISSEY

Juan de Torquemada und Thomas de Vio Cajetan: Zwei Protagonisten der päpstlichen Gewaltenfülle. By Ulrich Horst. [Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens, Neue Folge, Band 19.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012. Pp. ix, 195. €69,80. ISBN 978-3-05-005902-0.)

Ulrich Horst has given us, over the years, several studies of Dominican thought on the papacy. In this brief book, Horst revisits his past work on two outstanding papal apologists. Juan de Torquemada (d. 1468) was a Castilian Dominican who attended the Council of Constance in 1418, studied theology in Paris, and participated in the earlier years of the Council of Basel (1431–49). Disillusioned with the council, which was attempting to impose reforms on Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47), he became Master of the Sacred Palace and then a cardinal. Among his works concerning the Church was the *Summa de ecclesia* (1453), in which he opposed both the Hussites and conciliarism. Thomas de Vio (d. 1534), known as Cajetan, was a noted commentator on the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas. He served as Master General of the Order of Preachers before becoming a cardinal. Cajetan defended the papacy in the controversy over the *conciliabulum* of Pisa (1511–12), participated in the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), and opposed Martin Luther.

In this book, Horst provides a brief overview of important issues with some background to orient the less experienced reader of ecclesiastical history. The result is a concise work that should inspire further reading and research. Following a foreword and a useful bibliography, the work is organized into three sections. The first is an overview of earlier Dominican thought on the papacy. The second focuses on Torquemada, and the third on Cajetan. The third section concludes with a brief glance at later Dominican thought on the same topic.

The first section provides brief overviews of the thought of Aquinas, John of Paris, Hervaeus Natalis, John of Naples, Pierre de la Palu, Guilelmus Petri de Godino, and Antoninus of Florence on the papacy. Aquinas, of course, receives the most attention. His thought influenced later generations of friars. Little attention is given to the opponents of the mendicant orders, not even to William of Saint Amour and Jean de Pouilli. Horst does, however, note that the penetration of the mendicants into local dioceses and parishes made the issue of papal privileges for the friars an inevitable focus of conflicting opinions.

The sections of Torquemada and Cajetan cover familiar ground. The two men were strong defenders of the papacy, and they had to address real challenges. Both had to deal with conciliarist thought, and Cajetan had to confront the Reformation. (The book does give more attention to Cajetan's opponent Jacques Almain than to any other individual critical of the papacy, a slight imbalance in the text.) Both wrote about jurisdiction, plenitude of power, papal authority in matters of doctrine, and the limits that canon law imposed

on a pontiff who fell into error. Cajetan emerges as the more creative thinker, seeking new ways to defuse challenges to Rome without exposing the pope to the agendas of rulers and conciliarists. He also is shown to have been more interested than Torquemada in the full extent of papal authority in matters of doctrine. All of this is explained briefly with substantial excerpts from the primary texts to document the points made.

All of this is familiar from Horst's past writings. So is his brief exposition of the conciliar thought of Francisco de Vitoria. More intriguing is our glimpse of the ideas of later writers like Alberto Pasquali and Isidoro Isolani. We must hope that Horst will cast more light on them in future publications. Another matter that bears further exposition is the borrowing of Dominican papalism by the Jesuits, especially Cardinal and Saint Robert Bellarmine.

Rutgers University THOMAS M. IZBICKI

Early Modern European

The Badia of Florence. Art and Observance in a Renaissance Monastery. By Anne Leader. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 325. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-253-35567-6.)

The Badia of Florence is not on the beaten track of today's tourist. The second medieval church, consecrated in 1310, was destroyed in an ill-conceived reconstruction of 1628; and gaining access to the so-called Chiostro degli Aranci, the principal surviving structure of the early-fifteenth-century rebuilding, is complicated and requires perseverance. It is well worth the effort, however. The tranquil cloister is architecturally delightful and is graced by a series of important, although underrated, frescoes of scenes from the life of St. Benedict.

In 1418 a group of seventeen Benedictine monks, led by the redoubtable and charismatic Portuguese abbot Gomezio di Giovanni, moved south from Santa Giustina in Padua to reform the Florentine Badia by establishing there the new Benedictine Observance. Awkwardly tucked into an overcrowded area within the ancient Roman city center, the Badia was the wealthiest monastery in Renaissance Florence. Abbot Gomezio's program of rebuilding and decoration between 1420 and 1440 was crucial to his program of reform and to the "revitalization of its Benedictine community" (p. 3). The author of this excellently researched and enlightening book writes of the Badia as "an important site of competitive self-fashioning" (p. 55) in the light of extensive monastic rebuilding elsewhere in Florence—notably at San Marco—to establish reformed, Observant houses. Interestingly, Anne Leader shows that shortly before his exile to Venice in 1433, Cosimo de' Medici offered to finance major parts of the Badia reconstruction. A small oratory opening off the cloister shows that progress was made with this plan—this centrally

planned structure vaulted with a dome carried on pendentives, a very unusual architectural form at its time, was based on the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, built by Brunelleschi in the 1420s for Cosimo's father, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. After his return from exile, however, Cosimo turned his attention instead to reconstructing San Marco for the Dominican Observants, perhaps finding Abbot Gomezio too powerful and unaccommodating a partner.

For the historian of early Renaissance art, two of Leader's other findings are particularly important. First, the documentary record shows that Bernardo Rossellino, traditionally considered the architect of the Chiostro degli Aranci, was in fact too peripheral a figure to have had any significant part in the design. Second, through astute and discriminating comparisons between details in the frescoes and in their *sinopia* under-drawings, Leader shows that the designs are considerably more accomplished than the paintings' execution, and she persuasively attributes them to Fra Angelico, whose "stripped-down narrative style" (p. 251) would have appealed to Abbot Gomezio. Preoccupied with the decoration of the San Marco cloister at this time, Fra Angelico left the fresco work to members of his substantial workshop, whose artistic abilities proved at times to be impoverished.

For readers of this journal, however, perhaps of greater interest will be Leader's discussion of the Benedictine propaganda value of the cloister and its mural decorations. She describes well the relationship between the functions of spaces within the reconstructed monastery and significant aspects of the Benedictine rule. This she follows up in a lengthy and revealing examination of the choice of scenes from the life of Benedict for the fresco cycle, and how these scenes and their treatment would have been understood by the monks. She shows that Abbot Gomezio's frescoes were intended both to ensure that the monks "would contemplate and emulate the virtuous, pious and ascetic habits of St Benedict" (p. 133) and to "emphasize obedience to and respect for the abbot's authority and autonomy" (p. 133). It comes then as no surprise that to be able to demonstrate his support for the Observant movement, Cosimo de' Medici looked elsewhere.

Birkbeck, University of London FRANCIS AMES-LEWIS

Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800. Edited by Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xvi, 284. ISBN 978-0-7546-6312-6.)

This collection is a most welcome and highly relevant contribution to existing scholarship in English on religious developments in late-medieval and early-modern east central Europe. The focus of the volume lies on page 144 in the activities of monastic orders in the multiconfessional region and in the complex relationships between religious orders and their social environ-

ment. As the volume's editors aptly emphasize in their thoughtful introduction, the designation "communities of devotion" chosen as the title for the collection applies as much to the various monastic communities discussed in the volume's essays as to larger social frameworks formed by the religious orders and their interactions with their secular surroundings. The contributions in the first section of the volume look at the intensity of the mendicant orders' activities and their effect on lay thought and practice. Maria Crăciun highlights in the volume's first chapter the visual presence of themes and motifs from the teachings of religious orders (Franciscan and Dominican) in the iconography of numerous parish churches in urban and rural Transylvanian Saxon communities as a direct result of lay endowments. Carmen Florea illustrates in her contribution the high degree of attachment to the Dominican convents and the mendicant friars expressed by parts of the population in three major Transylvanian towns. That the impact of the mendicant orders' spiritual messages on widespread lay religious beliefs and practices (such as excessive Marian devotion, relic cults, and pilgrimages) was often relatively limited, is demonstrated by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, who examined sermons written by two Franciscans in the Kingdom of Hungary around the year 1500. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the activities of the Jesuit Order were accompanied by strategic difficulties—In spite of support by the ruler and Catholicism's status of "received religion" (despite the absence of a bishop and a network of parish churches), the Jesuits failed to exert a decisive, lasting influence in and around the town of Klausenburg/Kolozsvár/Cluj, neglecting important elements in local religious culture and earning a reputation of bad lordship on the estates under their control, as shown in a contribution from the middle section of the volume, written by Christine Peters. In Vienna, however, in the early decades of the Jesuit mission the Order managed to benefit from the support of a highly respected and influential layman, who contributed significantly to the advancement of the Order's agenda in that city (see the chapter by Elaine Fulton). Looking at the situation of monasteries in Lower Austria, Rona Johnston Gordon discusses in her contribution the conflicts between secular and religious authorities, in the context of attempts at monastic reform. In another chapter focusing on the theme of conflict and authored by Gabriella Erdélyi, an Augustinian convent in western Hungary becomes the object of controversy when the town community energetically protests against the friars' neglect of the convent church buildings and liturgical services as well as their morally lax behavior, which culminates in the Augustinians' expulsion from the convent and their replacement by Franciscan Observants. In the volume's closing section, the contribution by Martin Elbel looks at Franciscan activities in the field of pilgrimage promotion in Bohemia and Moravia, leading to the consecration of a large number of *Viae Crucis* in the region. Greta-Monica Miron discusses the role of the Basilian monks in the development of the new Greek-Catholic (or Uniate) Church in Transylvania in the eighteenth century. The volume ends with a brief overview and contextualization of the collection's contributions written by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, who appropriately points out a major asset of the

present collection—namely, that it offers "detailed and vivid scenes of lay and ecclesiastical life" (p. 276). By presenting case studies of monastic-lay interaction and by looking into social contexts and significant historical developments, the carefully researched and well-written chapters of the volume contribute significantly toward a better understanding of dynamic sociocultural landscapes and multilayered differentiation processes in late-medieval and early-modern east central Europe.

Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim ISTVÁN KEUL

Sacred History. Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World. Edited by Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xxiv, 339. $125.00. ISBN 978-0-19-959479-5.)

In her preface to this important volume, Katherine Van Liere rightly points out that its subject—the historiography of Christianity in the Renaissance—is an "emerging field" in scholarship (p. vii). The first four chapters in the volume, therefore, aim to give an introduction to this field. Anthony Grafton, in the opening chapter "Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation," issues a warning: "The beginning of wisdom in such a vast field is to recognize how little we actually know about the precise practices of ecclesiastical scholarship and how they mutated from generation to generation, community to community, and subject to subject" (p. 8). He gives a helpful summary of how modern scholars have usually seen the differences between Renaissance humanist historians and church historians. According to this view, Renaissance humanist historians set out to discover an unknown past, whereas church historians looked for support for pre-existing theses. Humanists looked at human actions (as opposed to providence) as the deciding factors in history. They felt, in their present, a historical distance from the past (not a presence of tradition); and they applied new critical methods to historical sources (p. 5). Grafton shows that these distinctions are true only up to a point, because there was much cross-fertilization: Renaissance scholars were far more interested in church history than is usually acknowledged. Examples of this are Poggio Bracciolini, Lorenzo Valla, and Desiderius Erasmus. Grafton then looks at church historians proper and how they took up and expanded Eusebius of Caesarea's model in their writings.

Euan Cameron gives an introduction to Protestant visions of early Christianity in the Renaissance. Beginning his discussion with the idea that "the reformers were in some senses humanists and in others anti-humanists" (p. 27), Cameron sees a development from "humanist-inspired" to "doctrinal-apocalyptic" Protestant church history in the sixteenth century. The key issue for Protestants was to explain why error came into the Church after apostolic times. Prevailing models of church history did not suit the Protestant view of

the "grand-scale theological defection of the medieval Church" (p. 31), and so the historians of the Reformation had to reinvent their discipline. The humanist-inspired histories (such as those by the Swiss Reformers Joachim Vadian and Heinrich Bullinger) emphasized human fallibility and the deterioration of what had been, initially, good intentions in religious life. The doctrinal-apocalyptic variants, on the other hand (such as the *Magdeburg Centuries*), maintained that wrong teachings and the dilution of the ideas of the Gospel inevitably led to degradation from early on. According to Cameron, for Protestants ecclesiastical history was not "sacred," since they "rejected the notion that anything in human life could be made 'sacred' or imbued with holy properties through the association with religion" (p. 29).

The *Madgeburg Centuries* (published 1559–74) inspired a substantial Catholic response: Cesare Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607). Baronio's aim was to demonstrate that the Church, from its beginning, had remained *semper eadem* (always the same). Giuseppe A. Guazzelli in his chapter notes that because of the "symbiotic relationship between Catholic history and Catholic orthodoxy" (p. 61), it is difficult to establish what Baronio's personal positions were. Baronio introduced elements of open conjecture and speculation to prove, polemically and perhaps in a personal way, the early origins of church traditions (for example, the tradition that St. Peter founded the see of Antioch). In the last of the introductory chapters, Simon Ditchfield discusses the term *historia sacra* that "was usually employed to refer specifically to biblical history" (p. 74). For Catholics, the term could also mean the history of the Church after biblical times, together with all its aspects (that is, saints, liturgy, and so forth). Ditchfield demonstrates the richness of the category *historia sacra* as used for the internal classification of major book collections in early modern Rome. He also gives vivid examples of the impact on ecclesiastical governance of the study of the Church's past (a case in point is the *Acta ecclesiae mediolanensis* as a "manual of Tridentine 'best practice'" [p. 87]).

The other chapters in this book, excellent throughout, can only be briefly mentioned here. They illustrate, first, how religious questions were integrated into the writing of national history and how they were used to reinforce the establishment of regional identities (essays by David Collins on Germany, Van Liere on Spain, Howard Louthan on Central Europe, Rosamund Oates on England, Salvador Ryan on Ireland). Second, they offer case studies of varieties of religious history that focused neither on national history nor on the universal Church (Jean-Marie Le Gall on hagiography in the French Renaissance, Liam Brockey on the Apostle Thomas in India, Irina Oryshkevich on early Christian paintings discovered in the Roman catacombs, Adam Beaver on pilgrimages and Renaissance writings about the Holy Land).

This is a marvelous, thought-provoking, and readable volume that does indeed open up a burgeoning field of inquiry to a larger audience. It contains the right combination of larger overviews and case studies. The term *sacred*

history requires some further discussion, since it is not an established term in scholarship today. It undoubtedly expresses how Catholic historians during the Counter-Reformation saw church history and traditions—as worthy of veneration, holy, untouchable. Would a more neutral term, however, such as *the historiography of Christianity* encapsulate better the studies presented in this book?

Istituto storico italo-germanico, Trento STEFAN BAUER

Reform statt Reformation: Die Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, 1488–1525. By Christoph Volkmar. [Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation, 41.] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. 2008. Pp. xiv, 701. €119,00. ISBN 978-3-16-149409-3.)

Long considered one of the most steadfast magisterial opponents of the Reformation, Duke George of Saxony has been wrongly identified with resistance to every kind of reform, according to Christoph Volkmar's scrupulously detailed revision of a Leipzig dissertation directed by Enno Bünz. Countering a century-old view originating with the work of Felician Gess, Volkmar presents the work of Duke George as a lifelong program of religious reform, almost to the point of subordinating secular affairs to ecclesiastical ones.

The two goals of Volkmar's study are, first, to examine the influence that territorial rulers held over the churches in their jurisdictions before the Reformation, and second, to see the extent to which George used this power against the Reformation while his peers were exercising it in favor of evangelical reform. In Volkmar's reconstruction of his diplomatic career before the outbreak of the Reformation, George was highly committed to improving the quality of piety in his territory and active in his support of the hierarchy. Dedicated from an early age to religious matters, George was actively involved in church reform from the beginning of his ducal reign onward. Aspects of his reformist priorities included supporting the canonization of St. Benno of Meissen and arbitrating a dispute over a Marian pilgrimage in Rötha near Leipzig, in both cases exercising patronage rights inherent in his position but, in Volkmar's view, seldom previously invoked.

The bulk of the monograph establishes, on the basis of scrupulous investigation of mostly unpublished sources, that a reform agenda was well underway before the outbreak of disruptions in Ernestine Saxony. Volkmar highlights the extent to which ducal diplomacy functioned as an alliance with the episcopal hierarchy in Dresden. The George who emerges is something of a model of Catholic magisterial reform, addressing the needs of the Church as part of his duty as a ruler. Volkmar's revision provides a context for George's opposition to Protestantism—according to Volkmar's interpretation, the necessary reforms were already well underway and likely to have been impeded by interference from outside the territory.

Volkmar sets the ecclesiastical policy of George in a new perspective, describing an administration focused on church reform through collaboration with the hierarchy of the region. The canonization of Benno of Meissen and the remodeling of St. Anne's Church were components of an agenda that, we are led to assume, would only have been derailed by influence from Wittenberg. As a solid foundation for such collaboration, the Albertine court established new channels of communication with the bishop of Meissen, an intentionally modern (for its time) model for ecclesiastical diplomacy in the decades to follow.

Researchers will have to return to the sources to judge whether the recalcitrant George is actually a construction of confessional historians favorable to the Reformers and scornful of any and all forms of opposition to them. The dominant characterization of George as reactionary will no doubt continue within the confessional historiography in which individuals are assigned larger-than-life roles. Possibly the real George will be found between the extremes of reactionary and reformist. But all specialists in early-modern Catholicism will be grateful for an examination as detailed and well organized as the one we have here.

University of Iowa RALPH KEEN

The Jews' Mirror (Der Juden Spiegel) by Johannes Pfefferkorn. Translated by Ruth I. Cape. Historical Introduction by Maria Diemling. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 390.] (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. 2012. Pp. xiv, 114. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-86698-438-6.)

The late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries witnessed on the part of the Christians in Western Europe a revival of genuine interest in the original text of the scriptures. Such a critical approach to the Bible was mainly grounded in the contemporary trends circulating mainly among Italian humanists, who finalized their intellectual research to the critical reading of the sacred book according to the same principles that inspired their reappraisal of Latin and Greek works. However, this seemingly modern attitude to the Hebrew text was often accompanied by a still-medieval use of the scriptures as a theological weapon against the Jews. In this perspective, the rediscovery of the "Hebrew truth" or *Hebraica Veritas* aimed only to refute the "stubbornness" of the Jews and lead them to conversion. The medieval iconography of the "blind" Synagogue resurfaced thus at the eve of the modern age, this time nurtured by a critical approach to the book that constitutes the foundation for both Judaism and Christianity.

Those were years of political troubles, animated by hopes of messianic redemption for both Jews and Christians. In such a tense expectation for a better future, the adherence to the true Hebraic law could be sought as a

useful tool to accelerate the course of human history. Jewish scholars could be hired by Christian humanists, both secular and religious, to delve into Hebrew studies. Jews fleeing persecutions from all over Europe could seek shelter and employment under the auspices of the Church, and the case of a Jewish scholar teaching a prelate was not rare. More frequent was the case of Jewish converts to Christianity who took vows and wrote books of Hebrew erudition addressed to their former coreligionists from their convents.

This is the background against which the story of Johannes Pfefferkorn can be better understood. Born in Central Europe around 1468, Joseph Pfefferkorn converted from Judaism in 1504/05 and became an itinerant preacher. Between 1507 and 1521 (he probably died around 1523), he wrote several works aimed at convincing Jews to convert.

Pfefferkorn is better known for his involvement in the harsh polemic against the German Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin, a Christian who supported the circulation of Rabbinic literature. The polemic started a few years after Pfefferkorn had published his first anti-Jewish pamphlet, *Der Judenspiegel* (*The Jews' Mirror*), printed in both German and Latin by various publishers between 1507 and 1508. The short treatise, which once enjoyed wide circulation, is now rescued from historical oblivion thanks to this first unabridged translation in modern German and English, edited by Ruth I. Cape, assistant professor of German at Austin College in Texas, and provided with a dense and very rich introduction by Maria Diemling, who sets the work and its author against the contemporary historical background. Both the modern German and the English translation are very faithful to the original—whereas the first one tries to keep as much as possible the flavor of the Middle High German text, the English rendering (fully annotated) allows the contemporary reader to perfectly understand the author's meanings.

Pfefferkorn's work is divided into three main parts. The first one is more theological and explicitly addresses the Jews: its topics constituted the center of the Judeo-Christian polemic literature of previous centuries. In the second part, the author advises his Christian contemporaries on the means to proselytize Jews. The third part contains an interpretation of the messianic signs in Pfefferkorn's times. Besides the interesting details provided by the author on the habits of German Jews, this short work reflects a significant tendency: the birth of a "Christian ethnography of Judaism." Jewish rituals have been the target of Christian polemics starting with St. Paul. From the sixteenth century onward, however, a more systematic interest in the habits of the Jews developed among Christians, possibly motivated also by the encyclopedic literary genres that characterized Renaissance scientific thought. Although such an interest in Jewish customs may be held as "pan-European," Christian ethnography of Judaism seems to be mainly a German phenomenon, probably due to the significant number of converts in an area that had seen the development of a rich and diverse *minhag* (Jewish ritual habit) tradition. In other

words, converts who wrote about their former rituals had a profound knowledge of the various *minhagim* and could easily describe them; moreover, to facilitate their understanding among Christians, they often Christianized the inherent meaning of Jewish ceremonies.

The reading of this short treatise, which is very useful from a linguistic and literary perspective, may thus contribute to unveil the rhetorical tools inherent to the dialogue and the opposition between different systems of religious thought even in present-day society.

University of Salento FABRIZIO LELLI
Lecce, Italy

The Roots of the Reformation: Tradition, Emergence and Rupture. By G. R. Evans. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press. 2012. Pp. 528. $30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8308-3947-6.)

In this lively survey, aimed at students and general readers, the distinguished medievalist G. R. Evans sets herself the task of placing the Reformation in the long sweep of Christian history. The early chapters take us through fundamental questions of Christian origins and approach ("The Idea of Church"; "Where Was the Bible?"), and supply effective summaries of medieval theology and reform movements—Waldenses, Beghards, Franciscans, and the like. Martin Luther makes his appearance on page 287, by which time we are thoroughly acclimatized and orientated. Evans's publishers have secured from leading scholars an impressive list of endorsements for the book, and on the cover it is described as making "a profound contribution to the current paradigm-shift in Reformation studies." This, however, is somewhat to over-ice the cake. The placing of the Reformation in medieval context is welcome (if not so very innovative), but Evans does not really have a distinct thesis to offer on the precise relationship of sixteenth-century reform to earlier developments, beyond noting the prevalence of doctrinal debate, intellectually curious layfolk, and anticlericalism in preceding centuries. Nor does the book have very much to say about the consequences of the Reformation, other than in Evans's own specialist area of biblical hermeneutics, which is treated at length in the final chapter. The broad scope of the book up to this point comes at the price of a rather fragmented and episodic structure, in the course of which some issues (for example, the Lutheran Book of Concord, p. 318; the Dissolution of the Monasteries, pp. 331–32; the Marian restoration, pp. 362–63) are treated so superficially as to give little sense of their context or significance. Yet at the same time, an initial impression of comprehensiveness is misleading, insofar as there is much discussion of the British Isles, Germany, and Switzerland and very little on the rest of Europe. Formal confessions of faith are summarized at (sometimes excessive) length, but consideration of the social dimension of religious change is distinctly thin. It must also be said that the scholarly apparatus is not

always flawless (missing page references, much citation of Web resources of sometimes uncertain dependability) and that there are a number of slips and errors, some perhaps a result of careless proofreading. Thus, we find a confusion of Zwingli and Müntzer (p. 178), a suggestion that St. Thomas More was a religious exile at Louvain (p. 266), the claim that the Edict of Worms predated the Diet there (p. 292), or that Cardinal Thomas Wolsey died in prison in 1530 (p. 323). Unwary readers are likely to gain the mistaken impression that the Council of Trent met for the first time in 1551 (p. 397). Terminology is not always deployed with sufficient precision—it is probably forgivable in a textbook to describe all the Reformed areas of Southern Germany and Switzerland as "Calvinist" (p. 363), but it is frankly confusing and misleading to use the term as a synonym for Puritan in the English context (p. 415). It is also going some way beyond acceptable shorthand to describe King Henry VIII as "newly Protestant" (p. 277) in 1535. Too often, the book draws on a secondary scholarship that is distinctly out of date, something that colors the treatment of such issues as the Marprelate Tracts, the significance of Richard Hooker, or the character of Scottish Calvinism. Taken in the round, this is an idiosyncratic and uneven book, sometimes opinionated, often insightful. Teachers of the Reformation will find much of interest here, but they might want to think twice before recommending it to their students.

University of Warwick PETER MARSHALL

Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany. By Philip M. Soergel. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 234. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-19-984466-1.)

From the eve of the Reformation to the eve of its centenary, a genre was prominent in the German-language book market of the Holy Roman Empire: the wonder-book. These were collections of stories and reports, often with ample illustrations, of the strange, bizarre, and frequently horrifying occurrences in nature: tales of comets and natural disorders, floods and earthquakes, monstrous births and strange beasts, gruesome murders and heinous crimes. In addition to satisfying morbid and natural curiosities, many of these wonder-books, compiled and written by Lutheran ministers in the sixty-odd years after the death of Martin Luther, carried a distinct theological message. These natural wonders—and the books that record them—testify to God's continued presence in the natural world, and his clear and unambiguous anger over the sinfulness and depravity of mankind. Wonder-books, in their Lutheran representations, were doomsday books, reflecting an almost unmitigated sense of pessimism and awareness of the apocalypse. Philip M. Soergel's careful reading of these sources begins with a quick review of these works on the eve of Reformation. He next guides the reader through Luther's sophisticated and complicated readings of the "Book of Nature," giving many examples of Luther's careful and ambivalent attitude toward reports of mon-

strous births and prodigious signs. The next three chapters (2–5) are devoted each to the three major wonder-book writers of the second half of the sixteenth century: Job Fincel, Caspar Goltwurm, and Christoph Irenaeus. After introducing the three Lutheran divines, Soergel situates their work in the theological and ecclesiastical controversies of their time—the Interim, the conflict between Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans, and the dispute over the Book of Concord—and gives the reader a concise and insightful summary of these voluminous publications. It does not surprise that all three authors/compilers stood close to the Gneiso-Lutheran position and espoused a strong sense of the imminent apocalypse and the pessimistic human condition. Irenaeus, a faithful follower of Flaccius, was especially known for his extreme views of the utter depravity of human nature after the fall, which were amply reflected in his selection and commentary of material for his wonder-books. The reading of natural wonders as prodigies was not limited to Gnesio-Lutherans, Soergel reminds us; writers sympathetic to the theological position of Philipp Melanchthon also interpreted these portents as signs of the transgression of God's law by sinful mankind. In the final chapter, Soergel addresses enduring models and changing tastes around 1600 and discusses the works of Andreas Hondorff, Wolfgang Büttner, and Zacharias Rivander, the three major compilers of wonder-books in this generation. Using the example of the 1613 flood in Thuringia, Soergel advances an argument that a new mentality might be discernible in reading the book of nature, one guided more by curiosity and inquisitiveness than by theological prerogatives. His suggestions for a seachange in the seventeenth century are intriguing, but the book ends more on a note of question than certainty. Perhaps this is itself a portent of the author's next research project.

Pennsylvania State University RONNIE PO-CHIA HSIA

Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, Dritter Band: *1528–1534*. Edited by Heiko Jadatz and Christian Winter. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2010. Pp. 911. €99,80. ISBN 978-3-412-20546-1.)

The first volume of this massive project appeared in 1905, the second in 1917. With the current volume the documentary record for Duke George of Saxony will be complete for all but the final five years of his life. The commission created by the late Helmar Junghans and financed by the Saxon Academy of Sciences has delivered a volume that meets the highest standards of documentary editing.

Whereas the earlier volumes contain complete texts and the apparatus conventional at the time, the present volume presents a digest of each document, with references to locations and publications of the complete original texts. The advantage of *Regesten* over a complete edition of texts, apart from saving valuable space, is the reduction of duplication, given the fact that many of the texts have already been published elsewhere. Collections like this,

which draw documents together without duplicating previous publications, are an essential tool for diplomatic historians as well as scholars of religious reform. With the careful contextualizing of each document, together with references to published research, the investigator of ducal politics has at hand a sure guide through each episode in George's reign. The clear and precise abstracts are accompanied in many instances by summaries of letters by others outside the court circle that elucidate the salient circumstances of the document at hand.

In the present volume the net has also been cast beyond the narrow confines of George's own correspondence and the records of diplomatic relations with the Church, to include, for example, full documentation of the Dresden side of the Pack Affair and of theological consultations over religious upheavals in other territories. Defense of the region from the threat from the East is perhaps not strictly a matter of ecclesiastical diplomacy; however, the Turkish Threat occupied much of the time of the 1532 Diet, and pertinent documents are included here.

There is no underestimating the importance of many of these documents. The years covered by this volume are critical for understanding the relative stability of Saxony among Protestant territories forging strategic alliances. The Pack Affair and the Diets of Speyer and Augsburg are moments in the politicization of religious reform that cannot be understood without the documentation from the Dresden court. From "Die Lutterischen vnd vordampten Irrungen" of the first letter in the collection to Duke John's assertion in the final one that the freedom of religion that civil authorities enjoyed should be extended to their subjects, the conditions for implementing or preventing religious reform are the dominant issue of the ducal court. We see in this correspondence the inner workings of a resistance campaign against the Reformation, shaped largely by George's own sense of his role as a guardian and reformer of piety in his territory. (To be sure, the division of Saxony in the 1480s had something to do with Albertine resistance to developments on the Ernestine side.) Accordingly, the correspondence with religious leaders is as critical for understanding George's diplomatic career as the political maneuvering of civil authorities. And we now know clearly who was important in George's regime, and why.

A century ago the standard narrative of Albertine ecclesiastical politics was the introduction by Felician Gess to volume 1 of this correspondence, written within living memory of the Kulturkampf. The image of a reactionary duke has been substantially revised by Christoph Volkmar in his 2008 monograph and the introduction to this volume by editors Heiko Jadatz and Christian Winter. Jadatz and Winter avoid merely recounting the content of the correspondence in favor of setting the Saxon political realm within specific contexts: Saxony-Empire relations; George's interactions with Charles V and the Church, including his consistent support of Archbishop Albrecht of

Mainz; and his relationship with his extended family, some of whom played essential roles in his program of church reform. These realms represent the main theaters of activity for the Saxon regime during these years, and the concise yet detailed narrative augments the documentary record.

Historians of Reformation-era religion and politics can be grateful for the editors' exemplary work in presenting the documentary record of one of this important figure and hopeful that the final volume, now in preparation, will appear shortly to complete this long-delayed editorial monument.

University of Iowa RALPH KEEN

The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662. Edited by Brian Cummings. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. lxxiv, 821. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-920717-6.)

Brian Cummings has produced an edition designed (according to its introduction) to make the Book of Common Prayer available to the general reader (p. xi). This guiding purpose accounts for some of the limitations of the volume, which may perplex the historian or liturgical scholar, even as it makes the book more accessible to its target audience.

Cummings has chosen to use the texts of the 1549, 1559, and 1662 prayer books—or rather, to use the entire text of the 1662 book and portions of the books of 1549 and 1559. The psalter, the ordinal, the calendar, and the lectionary are omitted, except in the 1662 text. This makes his edition far less bulky, but it deprives the scholarly reader of important material that is significant in the history of the Church of England. Nevertheless, the omissions make the edition more affordable and accessible.

Similarly, the omission of the text of the influential 1552 revision of the prayer book may frustrate those studying the development of liturgical text. The 1552 book was—as Cummings notes (p. xxxii)—a much more radical version of the prayer book than its predecessor, restructuring several of the church's rituals. Subsequent prayer books largely followed the 1552 pattern. Yet Cummings opted to include the 1559 text instead of the 1552 text, although the former was simply a light revision of the latter. The 1559 book was in use for a far longer period than that of 1552, and it is this longevity that explains the editorial choice.

Despite these limitations, this will be a useful volume to many, not least among them students of English literature or nonspecialist historians who cannot find another modern edition of each prayer book or who would prefer not to squint at the page images in the *Early English Books Online* database. The glossary will be useful both to those unfamiliar with liturgical terminology and to those unaccustomed to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage (or orthography).

The notes are generally helpful, although there are some substantive errors. The blessing at the end of the Communion liturgy, "The Peace of God, which passeth all understanding…," was not in fact the medieval kiss of peace (p. 704). The kiss of peace survived earlier in the prayer book's Communion liturgy, in the text, "The peace of the Lorde be alwaye with you" (p. 32). The evolution of the rite of confirmation was not linked causally to the emergence of infant baptism, as the notes imply, but rather to the spread of the Church and the paucity of bishops, who retained a monopoly on postbaptismal handlaying and anointing in the West (p. 709). By 1549, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer did not consider marriage a sacrament, but only baptism and the Lord's Supper (p. 714). It is anachronistic to speak of a "Puritan party" in 1552 (p. 757). In other cases, the requirement of brevity no doubt forced Cummings to simplify matters: for example, the patterns of early-church baptismal procedure and the historical development of the church calendar were each more varied than the relevant notes suggest.

All of these reservations aside, if this edition makes the prayer book texts available to—and appreciated by—more general readers, it will have served its admirable purpose.

The University of the South JAMES F. TURRELL

Sposa di Cristo: Mistica e comunità nei Ratti *di Caterina de'Ricci. Con il testo inedito del XVI secolo.* By Anna Scattigno. [Temi e testi, Vol. 88—"Scritture nel chiostro."]. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2011. Pp. xiv, 274. €38,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-6372-268-0.)

Caterina de'Ricci (1522–90), prioress of the Dominican convent of San Vincenzo in Prato, was famous during her lifetime for her visionary raptures and ecstasies of the Passion. Like many other religious women in sixteenth-century Italy, she venerated the Dominican prophet Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98); indeed, she was the only female Savonarolan visionary to be proclaimed as a canonized saint (in 1746). Caterina's life and the variegated testimonies of her mystical spirituality have been studied mostly by Dominican historians, notably by Domenico Di Agresti. Drawing on Di Agresti's studies, but influenced by recent historiographical approaches to female monasticism and early-modern women's writing and mysticism, Anna Scattigno has devoted several important essays in the last couple of decades to Caterina and her religious community. *Sposa di Cristo: Mistica e comunità nei* Ratti *di Caterina de'Ricci* includes revised versions of these essays, followed by a critical edition of codex 2363 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana (Florence) that contains Caterina's *Ratti* ("*Raptures*")—accounts of her ecstatic visions as recorded by her fellow nuns and later redacted by Sister Tommasa Martelli in 1583.

Scattigno's edition of the *Ratti* reveals new facets of Caterina's promotion of Savonarolan devotion. Thus we learn that Caterina described her visionary

contacts not only with Savonarola but also with Iacopo da Sicilia (*c.*1462–1530)—who had played a crucial role in the initial formation of Savonarola's cult—and confirmed his soul's ascension to heaven (pp. 257–59). The *Ratti* also attest to convents' contribution to the Tuscan silk industry, by describing Caterina's repeated prayers to Savonarola that he increase her productivity and enable her to work "like the other nuns" (p. 174). A striking document incorporated into the *Ratti* is the testimony given by Sister Maria Gabriella Mascalzoni, who recounts her initial doubts about Caterina's divine gifts until she once looked at her and saw "not the face of Sister Caterina, but [that] of Jesus" (p. 248). Mascalzoni's account, which corroborated Caterina's claims to convey Christ's message in her ecstatic raptures, reveals the role of her community in constructing her religious discourse.

In the essays that precede the *Ratti*, Scattigno portrays Caterina as a "transitional figure" (pp. 25–26). Although she had much in common with the uncloistered Italian *sante vive* (living saints) of the early-sixteenth century, Caterina lived through the years of the Council of Trent and through the subsequent compulsory enclosure of her monastic community. Hence, although her devotion to Christ's Passion and her emulation of St. Catherine of Siena were reminiscent of the spirituality of earlier Dominican tertiaries such as Stefana Quinzani (1457–1530), the prophetic aspect of Caterina's spirituality was considerably toned down.

In keeping with the Tridentine precepts of desired female religiosity, Caterina's visions stressed humility, strict observance of monastic rules, and obedience as the keys to religious renovation. Ironically, in her insistence on the importance of obedience and the "reverence of [one's] superiors" (p. 62), Caterina claimed to be transmitting the instructions of Savonarola, whose own disobedience to the pope had brought about his downfall. According to Caterina, when the Dominican prophet first appeared to her, he promised to facilitate her miraculous healing on the condition that she thereafter express utter obedience to her superiors.

As a whole, Scattigno's book sheds light on the complex production of women's visionary texts and on the changing contours of female sanctity in Tridentine Italy. Adding nuance to our understanding of sixteenth-century Savonarolism, it also provides an invaluable testimony of female monasticism in Medicean Tuscany. *Sposa di Cristo* should be translated into English so that Scattigno's important insights can be made available to a broader readership and that the *Ratti* can be accessed by students of Christian spirituality and early-modern religious history.

Tel Aviv University TAMAR HERZIG

La France et le Pouvoir Pontifical (1595–1661). L'Esprit des Institutions. By Olivier Poncet. [Bibliotheque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 347.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2011. Pp. xiv, 966. €110,00. ISBN 978-2-7283-0910-8.)

Olivier Poncet's *La France et le Pouvoir Pontifical (1595–1661)* is a magisterial work of historical scholarship. The central theme in this work is the relationship of France and the papacy with a special focus on the development of the institutions of the Curia during the period in question. Nevertheless, this book is far more than a contribution to papal history or even to seventeenth-century ecclesiastical history in general, for it is a study with broader ambitions.

The author seeks to evaluate the significance of papal actions for the political and religious history of France and his chronological limits are therefore chosen with a view to their relevance for French history. The point of departure is the year 1595, which marked the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between France and the papal court when Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) recognized Henry IV (1589–1610) as king of France and absolved him from Pope Sixtus V's excommunication. The closing date marks the beginning of Louis XIV's personal reign with the death of Cardinal Jules Mazarin the same year.

Poncet rightly points out that the restructuring of ecclesiastical institutions in the early-modern period has seldom been studied in relation to similar processes in the secular governments of Europe. He also argues that administrative developments at the Roman Curia have too rarely been viewed in the larger context of the Tridentine reform. Central to the study is the practice of appointment to ecclesiastical benefices, both bishoprics and abbeys, which in the case of France was not only an economic issue but also a political one. The relations of France and the Holy See were regulated by the Concordat of Bologna from 1516, which established the French king's right of nomination to benefices.

Poncet's massive study—786 pages of text and 180 pages of appendices—is divided into three parts. The first examines the juridical and administrative routines involved in appointment to the major benefices in France and the roles of the king and the pope. The second part of the book is an in-depth study of the mechanisms of papal government and diplomacy. Was the papacy of this era, the author asks, in a position to achieve a reorientation in curial administration along the lines envisaged by the Tridentine reform? In the concluding section, Poncet outlines the results achieved during the period investigated with special attention to the role of papal diplomacy, whose goals were also modified at this time.

The popes of the earlier seventeenth century, argues the author, believed that they could advance both the Papal States and the City of God at the same

time. The extraordinary power wielded by the pope was a contradiction to the fulfillment of these goals. The secular rulers of the age also experienced the tension between desirable reforms and entrenched practices— nepotism, or the venality of offices—but in the case of the papacy the contradiction was far stronger since this was not only a state but also a City of God. The results achieved by 1667 (the death of Pope Alexander VII) were imperfect, but by the 1690s the papacy could no longer practically sustain venality and nepotism, and was thus forced to put the needs of the Church before the needs of the state. Ironically, the ideals of Catholic reform within the Curia could ultimately triumph only with the aid of a secular monarch, as the example of France demonstrates.

Poncet's exhaustively researched study is aimed at specialists and will undoubtedly serve as a resource to scholars and an inspiration to future students of the field for many years to come. His precise critical apparatus and generously constructed appendices make it an invaluable work of reference not only to the archival sources of the Vatican but also to other collections in Italy and France. Aside from its merely technical virtues, Poncet's work is an important reminder that the study of institutions is a field of rich possibility. It also emphasizes the significance of ecclesiastical history for a better understanding of the broader political, social and economic development of Europe.

Kristianstad University, Sweden MARIE-LOUISE RODÉN

Dynasty and Piety. Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars. By Luc Duerloo. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xviii, 592. $154.95. ISBN 978-0-7546-6904-3.)

In *Dynasty and Piety*, Luc Duerloo offers a comprehensive survey of the Habsburgs' international relations with their allies and rivals during the early-seventeenth century centered on the court of Brussels, with Archduke Albert as the main protagonist of the book. His narrative begins with the archduke's education and career prior to his appointment as governor general of the Netherlands and further analyzes the relationship between Brussels and Madrid, the conflict with the Dutch Republic, the Treaty of London, the Twelve Years' Truce, the succession of Rudolf II, the two crises of Jülich, the succession of Philip III in the Netherlands, and the first years of the Thirty Years' War. With Albert as the focus during the examination of these topics, he succeeds in making complicated political situations understandable, although he sometimes gives Albert too much credit for political and military developments in Habsburg Europe.

From the beginning it is clear that Duerloo attaches more importance to the events in central and northern Europe. When describing the relationship between Brussels and the German states, including the imperial court, he

draws on a series of hitherto unknown primary sources kept in Belgian and Austrian archives. The "Spanish" part of the story, including relations with France, England, and the Republic, is on the one hand based on sometimes interesting diplomatic accounts written by French, English, Dutch, and Italian ambassadors (although not all of them well informed, as Imran Uddin's analysis of William Trumbull's embassy in Brussels has shown), and on the other hand, curiously enough, on very superficial summaries from the *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne,* which hardly can fully replace the original documents.

Partly as a result of this, Duerloo's book has two faces. The part on the first half of the archducal reign, when the relation with Madrid is of great importance (roughly corresponding to the first 200 pages), is a rather classic account with few new insights that confirms the existing interpretation that Madrid greatly influenced archducal politics (although Duerloo thinks otherwise). The part on the relations with the Holy Roman Empire and the crises in Jülich, Bohemia, and the Palatinate (the next 300 pages) is highly innovative and offers, maybe for the first time, a coherent and comprehensible account of European politics at the eve of the Thirty Years' War. It also demonstrates the impact of (Austrian) Habsburg family affairs on international events at the time. Most of this reviewer's remarks are related to topics discussed in the first part.

Writing a book of this scale is a time-consuming process. It took the author more than a decade. The main problem with this kind of Herculean task is to keep up with recent research and to integrate new insights that are published after parts of the text have been written. Duerloo's bibliography shows important gaps: Tim Piceu's study on freebooters and war contributions in the County of Flanders, which stresses the important role of informal war up to 1607; the essays included in Bernardo García's exhibition catalog on the Twelve Years' Truce, which place the Act of Cession as well as the Twelve Years' Truce in the tradition of Habsburg pacification strategies in the Netherlands; the book edited by Cordula Van Wyhe on Isabella and female sovereignty in the Brussels court; and the essays published by René Vermeir and colleagues on agents connecting Spain and the Low Countries in the early-modern age. Other studies are listed in the bibliography, but do not seem to have been consulted. This is the case with most of Alicia Esteban's work on the Act of Cession and its reversal in 1621.

As a consequence, several of the author's statements seem to be based on partial evidence. For example, Duerloo argues that Albert sought peace with the Republic mainly because of his ambition to become emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He seems to ignore the fragility of the archdukes' reign during their first years, the importance for them to pacify the country and put an end to informal warfare in Flanders so as to ensure the loyalty of their subjects, and the intense pressure by the States of Flanders to do so. In his book,

Duerloo relegates Isabella to almost complete invisibility, arguing that she hardly appears in the archduke's correspondence with foreign courts. This is undoubtedly the case in the context of the archducal relations with Vienna and Prague, but then it was Albert's brothers who were governing the Empire and not Isabella's. When it comes to the relation with the Spanish court, Isabella's informal correspondence with Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, duke of Lerma, and other actors in Spain shows her influence in Madrid; as a matter of fact, she saved Albert a few times. When it comes to the relation with their subjects in the Netherlands, her role becomes vital in the transition process at the end of the archducal regime. Although Duerloo interprets the increase in the number of Flemish courtiers at the expense of "Spanish" officeholders as an indication of the growing autonomy of the archducal regime, recent analysis has shown that this was, on the contrary, the result of a combined strategy from Madrid and Brussels that sought to ensure the loyalty of the Flemish nobility to their future sovereign Philip III by providing them with positions and pensions at the courts in Madrid and Brussels.

At the same time, Duerloo does not really engage in discussions with other historians, apart from a few references to exploded theories from older historiography. Although his list of secondary sources is about twenty pages long, few titles are actually cited in the footnotes, which leads the reader to believe that they were primarily used as data mines. As a result, some insights that are presented as "new" have already been outlined by other authors such as the Spanish faction at the archducal court not being completely Spanish, whereas the archducal faction also was composed of Spanish courtiers, or the relationship between the courts of Brussels and Madrid as the confrontation of two in some ways different strategies on how to handle Habsburg political interests. His emphasis on the prominent role of archducal diplomacy in the making of the Treaty of London is contradicted by studies such as Albert Loomie's analysis of the peace process, with which Duerloo does not seem to be familiar, whereas Willem Jan Mari Van Eysinga and others have described Albert's contribution to the Twelve Years' Truce.

However, as a whole Duerloo has delivered an interesting overview of European politics in the early-seventeenth century in which he makes connections that most historians have overlooked, showing the influence of family matters on Habsburg international policy. In addition, it is written in a fluent style that makes the reading of this voluminous book agreeable.

University of Leuven WERNER THOMAS

Religion, Culture and National Community in the 1670s. Edited by Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns. [Religion, Education and Culture.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. x, 198. 140.00. ISBN 978-0-7083-2401-1.)

The 1670s, claim the editors in their deft introduction to this symposium, were "a crucial turning point" (p. 3). Its seven essays both substantiate that claim and bear out the editor's view that it is the Restoration, rather than the earlier revolutionary period, that now attracts the most exciting and innovative work in seventeenth-century studies. The collection is rich in new perspectives, new evidence, and new arguments, refreshing and revising our sense of supposedly familiar topics as it ranges across the three home kingdoms ruled by Charles II, New England, Roman Catholicism and Protestant dissent, identity at the national and the subjective level, literary cross-currents and transformations, and public and private spheres.

With wonderful élan and many palpable hits, James Grantham Turner demolishes the easy interpretative opposition of hedonistic Cavaliers against conscientious Puritans by exploring the "paradoxical correspondences" (p. 99) between John Wilmot, 2nd earl of Rochester, and John Milton to argue that "both were internal exiles from mainstream Restoration culture" (p. 104) sharing far more than is generally appreciated (including a disdain for the "vulgar" and a vituperatively obscene satirical bent); indeed, "Rochester is more 'Puritan' than Milton" (p. 124). Nigel Smith's searching account of the rationalism, skepticism, and antclericalism of the prose Andrew Marvell and the Buckingham and Shaftesbury circles argues that in the 1670s a profound shift in the cultural and philosophical presumptions and expectations of the nation laid the foundations for the "radical Enlightenment" in England.

Nicky Hallett's essay on the English Carmelite convent in Antwerp brings to light a wealth of archival evidence of their lives, experiences, records, and writings, although there is room to doubt whether Edward Said's notions of the exilic state as median and suspended are helpful in discussion of monastic lives that, whatever their geographical location, are by choice and definition exilic (2 Cor. 6:17). Strangers and pilgrims take a very different course in Beth Lynch's essay on John Bunyan. This originates in two acute and original perceptions: first, that at the opening of *The Pilgrim's Progress* the author-narrator is identified as Jacob; and, second, that Esau nevertheless shadows this figure throughout the narrative. It is well understood that Hebrews 12:16–17 tolls throughout *Grace Abounding*, but not that *The Pilgrim's Progress*'s apparently confident way to salvation is unsettled by continuing disquiet at the seeming selfishness and ruthlessness—the unethical "spiritual solipsism" (p. 79)—of the Reformed reduction of the Genesis story to a fable of election.

The current topical interest in Anglo-Scottish relations looks back to 1707. In an excellent and detailed essay, Clare Jackson addresses the little-known

(and abortive) union negotiations of 1670 to argue convincingly that it was then that "the constitutional form" (p. 37) of the eventual union first took shape, as did the political objections to it, particularly in the arguments of the astute Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, whose posthumously published *Discourse*, Jackson shows, deserves a much higher reputation. Elliott Visconsi examines the ferocious King Philip's War not (as customarily) in relation to the development of an American identity but from an old-world point of view to show that in London it was represented neither as just nor providential (nor even much to do with the native inhabitants) but as a self-imposed catastrophe brought down on a rogue state by its inefficient and persecutory colonial government. Tackling the apparently unpromising topic of loyal addresses, Edward Valance argues that they were as much an expression of popular political opinion and a constitutive part of the public sphere as the petitioning of radical politics—no mere passive expression of public support but critical and dialogic in manner.

University of Stirling N. H. KEEBLE

Beyond Belief: Surviving the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France. By Christie Sample Wilson. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, co-published with Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD. 2011. Pp. xii, 163. $60.00. ISBN 978-1-61146-077-3.)

In the mid-seventeenth century, French Protestants and Catholics practiced their two faiths alongside one another wherever the Edict of Nantes (1598) had recognized Protestants' rights of worship. Loriol, in Dauphiné along the Rhone between Avignon and Lyon, was one such biconfessional town. Three-quarters of its inhabitants were Protestants, its town administration was dominated by Protestants, and a temple with a resident pastor ministered to Protestant religious needs. Half a century later, as the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) criminalized Protestantism and mandated Catholic practice, the town administration was firmly in Catholic hands, and inhabitants looked to the Catholic parish for their sacraments and rites of passage. Yet in the years of transformation, Loriol experienced none of the violence from external or internal sources that racked other French localities in the era of the Revocation, few of the escapes from the kingdom that cost King Louis XIV perhaps 150,000 of his subjects, and none of the overt resistance from those expected by the Revocation to switch their beliefs. What accounts for the exceptional experience of Loriol? How and why did this one locality experience the Revocation so differently from other communities that included Protestants?

This is the problem addressed by Christie Sample Wilson in *Beyond Belief: Surviving the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France*. For answers, Wilson looks primarily to town council records and parish registers. In the former she finds "no indication" (p. 18) of strife as the majority of offices

shifted from Protestants to Catholics, as well as no evidence that the new Catholic majority used its power to harass or penalize Protestants by overtaxing them, enforcing royal orders ejecting them from a long list of professions, or reporting their noncompliance to authorities outside the town. In the latter source she finds that differences in practices such as the delay from birth to baptism, illegitimacies, and the seasonality of marriages were pronounced before 1680, but attenuated and disappeared as persons of both confessions conformed to the practices characteristic of Catholicism. This peaceful transformation she ascribes to a determination on the part of the townspeople to avoid interference from external royal or ecclesiastical authorities. Loriol escaped violence because locals were willing to compromise and accommodate to their new situation, even at the cost of losing their church.

Wilson's analysis from the council minutes is fairly unconvincing due to the lack of information on inhabitants' wealth and a lack of clarity in the presentation of this part of the argument. The analysis from parish registers is more effective. After a lucid presentation of the two confessions' beliefs underlying the rites of baptism and marriage, she shows that Protestants conformed their behavior to Catholic expectations in ways that did not violate their own persisting beliefs. Overt confessionalization mutated into confessionalization of belief masked by conformity of outward behavior.

Wilson's larger argument—that the Loriol case shows the degree to which Louis XIV's absolutism was limited by the need for cooperation from regional and local partners—is more tenuous. True, the religious conversion Louis sought through his Revocation did not take root fully in Loriol, where Protestantism reappeared as soon as Louis died in 1715. But in the 1680s and 1690s Louis got exactly what he wanted: unification of religious practice and eradication of competing religious institutions with a minimum of disruption.

The big question raised by Wilson's analysis of Loriol is one to which she assumes an answer from the start—how exceptional was Loriol? Throughout, Wilson contrasts Loriol's peaceful, community-based transition to the violence, coercion, and resistance highlighted in the conventional story of the Revocation. Yet research in recent years has found enough of such "exceptions" to force a reversal of the story. The mutation of Loriol, peaceful but incomplete as it was, may well have been the majority experience of the religious moment. The conventional story has pieced together shards of violence and resistance from here and there across France to produce a seamless narrative of persecution. The pending task for historians is to see the situation in France as a whole and to probe just exactly what mix of aggression and restraint, coercion and persuasion, and resistance and conformity brought France from its biconfessional to its putatively uniconfessional state at the end of the seventeenth century.

Stanford University CAROLYN LOUGEE CHAPPELL

The Polish Revolution and the Catholic Church, 1788–1792: A Political History. By Richard Butterwick. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xxii, 369. $125.00. ISBN 978-0-19-925033-2.)

In the final years of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the deliberations of the Four Years' Sejm of 1788–92 led to sweeping reforms and a grand revision of the fundamental structure of the government within the constitution of May 3, 1791. Richard Butterwick, a known expert on late-eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania, terms these collective reforms a "Revolution" in a bow to contemporary Polish rhetoric, but also reflecting the "substantial and swift" changes within the new corpus of legislation of this era (pp. 7–8). And yet, these very reforms—aimed at preserving an independent Polish-Lithuanian state—speeded on the Commonwealth's final hour, provoking a Russian invasion in 1792, the second partition in 1793, the Polish uprising in 1794, and the death blow of the third partition in 1795. The reforms, then, were dead upon arrival. Nevertheless, for historians, these reforms continue to fascinate, shedding light on the mentality of this era, greater social and cultural changes, and the aspirations of a nation pursuing republican ideals amidst autocratic neighbors.

This book addresses the efforts made during the Polish "Revolution" on church reform, primarily for the dominant Roman Catholic Church, but also for the Ruthenian-rite, or Uniate, and Orthodox Churches within the Commonwealth borders. Guided by theoretical considerations of political culture and public discourse and by an analytical concern with the shifting political balance among the monarch, the nobility, and the Church, Butterwick carried out exhaustive research, scouring relevant archives in Poland, Lithuania, and various European capitals and consulting a wide variety of published sources such as Sejm diaries, speeches, pamphlets, sermons, pastoral letters, and political treatises. The bulk of his text represents the enormous task of piecing together the arguments, counter-arguments, and decisions as they were made, blow by blow, throughout the Four Years' Sejm, written in Butterwick's characteristic engaging and lucid style. Presented in three parts, the narrative covers (1) discussions conducted to July 1789 on taxing the clergy, secularizing church estates, and redrawing diocesan borders that nearly brought Poland into schism with Rome; (2) subsequent negotiations for more limited reforms that guaranteed landed estates for the church and granted the Uniate Metropolitan a place in the Sejm, as well as discussions on retaining toleration and the church's role in education; and (3) the enactment and ratification of the 1791 constitution that guaranteed the Catholic Church dominant status but preserved toleration, as well as efforts toward creating an autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland. Specialists in Polish history can particularly applaud the author's close analysis of the different attitudes of the *sejmiki* (local assemblies) on these issues.

The weakness of the book lies in its failure to present this material in a broader context and for a broader audience despite the author's stipulated

intentions to do just that (p. vi). The introduction provides a limited overview of Commonwealth political history, but Butterwick presents almost no background on the history of the Church in Poland or discussion of how the Church there was faring in general with eighteenth-century Enlightenment trends and the stresses of (Orthodox) Russian political intervention. Various Polish historical figures or events are mentioned with no explanation for those unfamiliar with Polish history. Chapters and even the larger sections of the work end abruptly without an accounting of the greater significance of the sub-arguments or any discussion of how these parts fit into some larger argument. To his credit, Butterwick does compare components of the Polish church reforms to those made in revolutionary France, and to a lesser extent, to the reforms of Joseph II of Austria, but without reaching for a broader significance. The conclusion speeds through what are plausible legacies from this era of reform within the culture of the church, including the "myth of unity between church and nation" (p. 331), but these would have been more convincing had some previous argumentation been provided within the chapters themselves. All in all, this is a meticulously researched piece that has great value for specialists in Polish history; however, its broader significance gets lost within the concentration on micro-arguments that are not explicitly discussed in relation to larger issues.

Indiana State University BARBARA SKINNER

Late Modern European

Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought. By Emile Perreau-Saussine. Translated by Richard Rex. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 200. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-691-15394-0.)

Emile Perreau-Saussine has written the first in-depth study of the relationship between Catholicism and the republican legacy of the French Revolution. In *Catholicism and Democracy*, he argues that the Catholic religion sustained a fraught relationship with democratic ideals ever since the French revolutionary government provoked a schism within the French Church by proclaiming the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In requiring French clerics to swear allegiance to the state rather than the pope, the Constitution threw most French Catholics into the pope's arms. It also inspired the early conservative Joseph de Maistre to found political ultramontanism, which Perreau-Saussine describes as a form of historical pessimism and authoritarian politics whereby popes governed the Church independently of absolutist kings.

In 1814, however, the Bourbon Restoration established Gallicanism, which subordinated the Church to the state. This spelled the collapse of political ultramontanism as Félicité Robert de Lamennais, Maistre's ultramontanist dis-

ciple, accused the government of atheism before declaring that the people were Rome's true upholders and sovereignty's real source. In response, Rome adopted a reactionary position, condemning Lamennais and adopting the theological variant of ultramontanism, which led to the declaration of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council.

In the meantime, French Catholics had to confront the new republican tide. Drawing on Comtian sociology to set up laicity as a secular religion, France's Third Republic discriminated against the Catholic Church to the extent of denying it status as a civil association. Catholics were now obliged to fight for their political survival and to center their political thought on freedom of conscience, education, and religion. They also were forced to reflect more deeply on their place in the public sphere. Charles Péguy emphasized that Christians should cultivate both spiritual and political lives, practicing humility in private but "bursting with pride" as citizens. The resulting Catholic political thought, which defended temporal liberty and worked toward a brighter political future, prepared the Second Vatican Council.

Catholicism and Democracy constitutes an original and valuable contribution to the history of Christian political thought. However its central argument that the First and Second Vatican Councils were theoretically antithetical depends crucially on the unsustainable proposition that Maistre was an intolerant authoritarian and antiprogressivist whose absolutist legacy was overturned as Catholicism became democratized. This portrait, indebted to a caricature prevalent in French scholarship, crumbles before the facts. Maistre not only wrote extensively in favor of freedom of education and religion during his years in Russia, thus effectively paving the way for those whom Perreau-Saussine identifies as democratic Catholics. After the Revolution, Maistre also repudiated royal absolutism, developed a radically progressivist theory of history, recognized the advantages of democracy, and exercised a formative influence on Auguste Comte, the father of republican laicity. The battle lines between "reactionary" ultramontanism and "democratic" Catholicism were thus not as clearly drawn historically as they can be logically. Indeed, it is disputable that they could be drawn at all. What the evidence suggests instead is that throughout the nineteenth century, Catholics had to renew their political theoretical reservoir to carve out a political space for themselves. They had to combat, for instance, for freedom of education not only under the Third Republic but also during the Bourbon Restoration and the July monarchy. It is not, then, that absolutist "reaction" was replaced by libertarian democratism and that these corresponded to the First and Second Vatican Councils, respectively: absolutism was in any case well dead among loyal monarchists like Maistre by the turn of the nineteenth century. Rather, it is that the Revolution obliged Catholics to find new ways of expressing and practicing their religious beliefs, demonstrated by the continuous and contrasting examples of the First and Second Vatican Councils.

In all, though, *Catholicism and Democracy* treats an important subject with originality and erudition, remaining indispensable reading for anyone interested in the relationship between Christianity and modern political thought.

Palo Alto, CA CAROLINA ARMENTEROS

Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World. Edited by Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. ISBS, Portland, OR. 2011. Pp. 470. €55,00, $70.00. ISBN 978-1-84682-235-3.)

It is generally agreed that the two foremost statesmen in nineteenth-century Ireland were Daniel O'Connell, who died in 1847 during the worst period of the Great Famine, and Charles Stewart Parnell, who became leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1880. During the three decades between those two careers the most important Irish political figure was not a statesman, but a churchman: Paul Cullen, who had spent the first three decades of his career in Rome and returned to Ireland as archbishop of Armagh in 1849, became archbishop of Dublin in 1852 and was created a cardinal in 1866, and died in 1878. Ironically, despite his unquestioned significance in Irish history, no fully satisfactory academic biography of him has ever been published. Moreover, he was denied even the usual commemorative biography that most Victorians of his stature received, whereas his nationalist adversary in the Irish hierarchy, Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, was honored with not one, but two, biographies in the decade after his death. Nowadays, the most reliable account of Cullen's role as an archbishop is the first four volumes of the late Emmet Larkin's seven-volume history of the Catholic Church and Irish politics from 1850 to 1891—an achievement that, together with his theory of a "devotional revolution" during that period, is recognized by his role as author of the lead essay in the book under review.

Larkin's work, however, is not a biography, and neither is *Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World.* It is a collection of essays on many aspects of Cullen's complex life. Five essays address Cullen's relationship with particular individuals: Pope Gregory XVI, Pope Pius IX, Cardinal John Henry Newman, MacHale, and Margaret Aylward (founder of the Holy Faith Sisters). Five concern religious issues of special concern to Cullen: ultramontane spirituality, pastoral vision, social welfare, opposition to the government's national education system, and papal infallibility. One analyzes his brief administration of the Archdiocese of Armagh. Two address his interest in art and architecture, and another presents a fascinating analysis of the statue in Cullen in the Dublin Pro-Cathedral. Four essays address Cullen's major Catholic communities: Catholic Dublin, Catholic Belfast, Catholicism in the Antipodes, and Irish emigrants in general. Two explore Cullen's interest in Catholic institutions: the Mater Hospital in Dublin and the Irish College in Paris. Two examine Cullen's relationship with paramilitaries: the Irish Papal Brigade that was organized to

support his efforts for protection of the Papal States during the Italian unification, and the Fenian movement that he regarded as a potential Irish version of Italian nationalism. Two essays examine Cullen's dealings with parliamentary entities: Irish Conservatives and Gladstone's first Liberal government. The volume ends with the epilogue "Reassessing Paul Cullen."

The essay that really conveys the importance of the book, however, is Colin Barr's "'An ambiguous awe': Paul Cullen and the historians." He explains not only the political unpopularity that deprived Cullen of an early biography but also other obstacles such as scattering of some of Cullen's papers as far as the Antipodes and the failure of the Diocese of Dublin until well into the second half of the twentieth century to maintain a archive routinely usable by the historical profession. The good news is the recent funding by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences of a "Cardinal Cullen Project" that includes the book under review and the research of several of its contributors. The book is full of valuable information and analysis, promising further understanding not only of Cullen but also of the complex Irish transformation from a world of confessional states into one of nation-states.

Carnegie Mellon University (Emeritus) DAVID W. MILLER

The Vatican Files: La diplomazia della Chiesa. Documenti e segretti. By Matteo Luigi Napolitano. (Milan and Turin: Edizioni Sao Paolo. 2012. Pp. 424. $22.30. ISBN 978-88-215-7414-6.)

Matteo Luigi Napolitano (b. 1962), the author of *The Vatican Files*, is an associate professor of the history of international relations at Rome's Università degli Studi Guglielmo Marconi. This is one of several studies that he has produced in Italian dealing with the papacy and its diplomatic activities, including *Pio XII tra guerra e pace* (Rome, 2002; reviewed *ante* [90, 2004]).

Napolitano concerns himself in this book with a number of controversial issues that have arisen in the relations of the Vatican with different nations during the past 150 years. Specifically, they include the unification of Italy; the Lateran Treaty; Pope Pius XI's opposition to totalitarianism; the career of Cesare Orsenigo as papal nuncio in Adolf Hitler's Germany; the controversy about the alleged silence of Pope Pius XII during the Nazi persecution of the Jews; the case of Giovanni Frignani, the policeman who arrested Benito Mussolini after the fall of the Duce's government; the evidence of the thawing of relations with Moscow under Pope John XXIII when the latter received the 1963 Balzan Peace Prize with the support of Nikita S. Khrushchev; Giovanni B. Montini and his dealings with communism; the relationship of Pope John Paul II to Poland as well as to Presidents Jimmy Carter, Ronald W. Reagan, and George H. W. Bush, and to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev; the Wikileaks revelations; and a number of other related issues in Vatican diplomacy that remain current and divisive.

Certainly, *The Vatican Files* is a study of great interest to contemporary historians since it is characterized by clarity in its explanations that decipher the complex and burning issues in the relations of church and state while concentrating on the relevant documents and secrets. In his analysis of the different issues, Napolitano is careful to distinguish between interpretation and objective evidence in arriving at his conclusions to the problems that he is examining and to conclude most of his fifteen chapters with a helpful summary of his views. Likewise, he comes up with information grounded in unpublished and secret sources that have become available since those controversies originally came to light.

Of those issues that deal with the Vatican and Germany, the ones relating to Pius XII, especially his role during the Holocaust or the Shoah, have drawn the most attention in these pages. This is understandable since this issue is the one that has evoked the most comment among the pope's critics and defenders. In this controversy, Napolitano defends the pope by pointing out that Pius actually did all he could to help the Jews despite critics who claim that the pope gave no instructions to help Jews. The contrary evidence is forthcoming from Napolitano, who makes use of sources such as John XXIII, who stated that he simply carried out the pope's orders to save Jews; the documents of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Rome; and a number of other reliable testimonies that focus on the problem.

Perhaps the most interesting consideration (and the author's most extensive one apart from those issues dealing with Pius XII) has to do with the role that John Paul II played behind the scenes in guiding Poland to its ultimate independence from the Soviet Union and his support of the Solidarity movement. Of special interest are the pope's dealings with Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev and with the American presidents, especially Reagan. Although the relationship between Carter and the pope was evidently a very warm one (for example, the president signed his letters to the pope "*Vostro in Cristo*" and "*Suo in Cristo*," pp. 289, 293), the relationship with Reagan reminds this reviewer of the cover story in *Time* for February 24, 1992, on the "Holy Alliance" between the Vatican and Washington, DC—a story that was further developed in *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time* (New York, 1996) by Carl Bernstein and Marco Politi, as well as in the later work, *The End and the Beginning: Pope John Paul II—The Victory of Freedom, the Last Years, the Legacy* (New York, 2010) by George Weigel.

What Napolitano has done is to help the reader understand the events that marked the diplomacy of the Vatican, and how and why they happened. Through the unpublished materials that he has gathered, he illuminates the diplomatic activities of the Vatican in the last century and a half. At the same time, Napolitano brings out the important role that the Vatican has exercised in the international arena, most effectively in the relations with the United States under John Paul II (see chapters XIII and XIV).

College of the Holy Cross VINCENT A. LAPOMARDA, S.J.

When the Sun Danced: Myth, Miracles, and Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Portugal. By Jeffrey S. Bennett. [Studies in Religion and Culture.] (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 238. $55.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8139-3248-4; $24.50 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8139-3249-1.)

Jeffrey S. Bennett's *When the Sun Danced: Myth, Miracles and Modernity in Early Twentieth Century Portugal* is a very welcome and important addition to the literature. Bennett's mastery of the subject shines throughout the pages of this book. Bennett also shows considerable courage in selecting to study Fátima, given the complexity of the case as well as the significant controversies surrounding the apparitions.

The book consists of five chapters plus an introduction. The author's account of the apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary to three shepherd children at Fátima on the thirteenth day of six consecutive months in 1917, starting on May 13, demonstrates a deep grasp of the historical drama. Bennett introduces the topic in his first chapter, "Signs of the Times." The next two chapters detail the historical events surrounding the apparitions. His final two chapters offer a subtle analysis of the theological and political implications of the apparitions. Bennett cleverly inverses the title of the first chapter, "Signs of the Times," to "Time and the Signs" in his concluding chapter—perhaps signaling the movement from the children discerning their private revelations from heaven at the beginning of the story and then on to how their discernment and activities subsequently influenced societal cultural consciousness and ontological awareness in Portugal during António de Oliveira Salazar's New State in the 1930s.

Social scientists need to treat the consequences of wide-scale, popular religiosity more completely—not as a theological reality, but as a political one. Certainly, some cases have taken on more lasting political life than others, but all cases of popular devotion offer a revealing window into the political culture and life of a country. In this regard, Bennett's new work is an especially important addition to the literature: Fátima has exercised a lasting and significant political impact on Portuguese politics since 1917 and requires serious scholarly treatment. Bennett provides a very useful background to those unfamiliar with Fátima and helps to contextualize historically a fascinating and complicated story. His numerous interviews conducted for the book represent a wide segment on Portuguese society: pilgrims, fishermen, Freemasons, former revolutionaries, and the families of the seers of the Fátima apparitions. His historiography is careful, his writing is succinct, and his logic and presentation of the facts is careful and balanced.

Perhaps the singular achievement of this new book is in demonstrating how, in Bennett's words, "individual histories, national history, and the divine history of salvation are all synchronized by and through devotion to the Virgin

of Fatima" (p. 190). Fátima remains a defining characteristic of contemporary Portuguese civil society, with significant implications for the larger Catholic world. The visions at Fátima were declared worthy of belief by the Catholic Church in 1930. Five popes—Pius XII, John XXIII, Paul VI, John Paul II, and Benedict XVI—have supported the Fátima messages as supernatural. John Paul II was particularly attached to Fátima and credited Our Lady of Fátima with saving his life after he was shot in Rome on the Feast Day of Our Lady of Fátima on May 13, 1981. John Paul II subsequently donated the bullet that wounded him on that day to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Fátima.

Bennett's work is in the very best tradition of Marian apparition scholarship. His book is of equal or superior quality to other acclaimed works in this field, including William Christian Jr.'s *Visionaries* (Berkeley, CA, 1991), David Blackbourn's *Marpingen* (New York, 1994), and Ruth Harris's *Lourdes* (New York, 1998). The excellence of Bennett's scholarship ensures that this new book will make an immediate and lasting impact in the academy—especially so in the fields of comparative religion, politics, sociology, and Portuguese studies.

Mount Saint Mary's University PAUL CHRISTOPHER MANUEL
Emmitsburg, MD

Pie XI et la France: L'apport des archives du pontificat de Pie XI à la connaissance des rapports entre le Saint-Siège et la France. Edited by Jacques Prévotat. [Collection de l'École française de Rome, 438.] (Rome: École française de Rome. 2010. Pp. iv, 530. €63,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-7283-0902-3.)

This book gathers together twenty articles based on presentations at a December 2008 conference at the Istituto Sturzo in Rome. The presenters, mostly French scholars, met under the direction of historian Jacques Prévotat, who both edited and contributed to this timely book, which takes stock of the Secret Vatican Archives for the pontificate of Pope Pius XI that opened in September 2006. The contributions herein represent the fruit of the first two years of research activity supported by the École française de Rome. The main themes treated in this collection include relations between Pius XI and the French government, the foreign policy of the Holy See in the wider world, the condemnation of *Action française*, the mission of the Catholic intellectual, and the Holy See's attitude toward both missions and mysticism.

After a documentary inventory by Gianfranco Armando, François Jankowiak analyzes the negotiations that led to an implicit rapprochement between France and the Holy See, an *entente cordiale*—after a quarter century of discord—based on a tacit acceptance of the Republic's lay legislation on the one hand, and the authority of the Catholic hierarchy on the other. The dynamic personality of the civil servant and modernist Catholic Louis Canet

is treated by Fabrice Robardey, particularly his work of reintegrating and reorganizing the Catholic Theology faculty at the University of Strasbourg. Agathe Mayeres highlights the benevolent attitude of the Holy See toward Louis Massignon's efforts at fostering better understanding between Christians and Muslims and to finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Palestine. A particularly effective use of new documentary sources can be seen in Laurence Deffayet's contribution on the 1928 suppression of the Amis d'Israël, a controversial decision debated by historians, but traced here to the group's advocacy of reform of the Good Friday liturgy, a change that would only come on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. Other essays in this section include Laura Pettinaroli's inquiry into the disgrace of Vatican diplomat Monsignor Michel d'Herbigny and Marie Levant's convincing picture of France as a "*terre de consolation*" for Pius XI during the Age of the Dictators.

Prévotat contributes the first piece dealing with the *Action française* controversy, highlighting the sensitive diplomacy conducted in 1926 by chargé d'affaires Valerio Valeri between the departure of nuncio Monsignor Bonaventura Cerretti and his successor, Monsignor Luigi Maglione. The latter, Frédéric LeMoigne asserts, subsequently conducted an adroit behind-the-scenes diplomacy that systematically promoted candidates associated with social Catholicism to vacancies in the French episcopate. Articles by Magali della Sudda and Claude Troisfontaines treat respectively the roles of French Catholic women and the philosopher Maurice Blondel in responding to the condemnation of Charles Maurras's movement. Catholic intellectuals receive further attention in François Trésmolières's examination of the attempt by Dominican Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange to have Jean Baruzi's controversial study of St. John of the Cross placed on the Index and philosopher Jacques Maritain's behind-the-scenes supporting role in this endeavor.

The remaining pages are devoted to topics of doctrinal, educational, and apostolic interest. Marie-Thérèse Desouche offers a subtle historiographical revision in her article on the 1925 encyclical *Quas Primas,* seeing in the instituting of the Feast of Christ the King not the reactionary gesture of an intransigent pope, but an assertion of the independence of the spiritual realm—even an eschatological emphasis in Church teachings that would bear fruit later in the century. Pius XI's appraisal of modern sexuality is covered in essays by Jean-Baptiste Amadieu on the Holy Office's circumspect treatment of mystico-sensual literature and Guillaume Cuchet on the encyclical *Casti connubii* (1930) and its rigorous position on contraception. Looking forward to developments that would affect mid-century Catholicism, the reform of Catholic higher education is treated in exhaustively researched articles by Florian Michel and Marie-Thérèse Duffau, and the increased emphasis on the role of the laity under Pius XI is underscored in Damien Thiriet's article on workers' pilgrimages in the late 1920s and 1930s. Antoinette Guise-Castelnuovo contributes a fascinating piece on the role played by the Carmelite convent at Lisieux in seeking Maurras's conversion through prayer

and correspondence, a conversation encouraged by Pius with an aim at the Action française leader's submission, and sustained by Maurras with an eye on political advantage. The volume concludes with an article by Agnès Desmazières on Pius's support for a Catholic study of religious psychology as a tool to better understand mystical phenomena.

All in all, this useful collection of finely researched articles offers less a revelatory look at a papacy that spanned the aftermath of the modernist crisis and the rise of totalitarian movements than it elucidates the nuanced and sometimes prophetic response of Achille Ratti to the challenges and possibilities faced by the Catholic Church in the 1920s and 1930s.

Greensboro College, NC RICHARD FRANCIS CRANE

The Politics of Religion in Soviet-Occupied Germany: The Case of Berlin-Brandenburg 1945–1949. By Sean Brennan. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield. 2011. Pp. xxix, 235. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-5125-9.).

As Sean Brennan demonstrates, the relationship between the East German regime and the Catholic and Protestant Churches in the early post–World War II years cannot be reduced to a dichotomy of communists versus clergy. Moreover, the Soviet zone period—the four years between the war and the establishment of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1949—must be understood as a distinct political entity and not as a preview of the ensuing forty years. Brennan's examination of Christian Churches—he does not include the Jewish community—in the Soviet zone represents a much-needed attempt to access the official policies, personal agendas, and external and internal influences that affected the churches under socialism.

Brennan's opening premise is that the policy of the Socialist Unity Party (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei* [SED], the Soviet zone and the GDR's official party) toward the churches was similar to, and even an extension of, Nazi policies. Indeed, the entire first chapter summarizes secondary literature on the Nazis' treatment of Christianity. Certainly, scholars during socialism and after its collapse have made comparisons between the Nazi dictatorship and the Soviet zone/GDR, from the linguist Victor Klemperer's comparisons of Nazi and GDR political language (*Diaries*, *1945–59*, London, 2003) to the historian Sigrid Meuschel's analysis of political power (*Legitimation und Parteiherrschaft in der DDR,* Frankfurt am Main, 1992). These comparisons have been reconsidered in multiple scholarly works (see Richard Steigmann-Gall's *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity*, *1919–1945* [New York, 2003]); however, Brennan ignores these discussions. Fully twelve of the thirty-three endnotes for that chapter come from John S. Conway's *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches* (New York, 1968). Brennan's narrow use of secondary publications about Nazi policies in the opening chapter results in a weak and confusing beginning for a book about the Soviet zone.

Indeed, the book suffers from the use of too few, one-sided, primary and secondary sources—often older, general texts. Brennan's work needed rigorous research to have proven his thesis—that is, that the SED's policies resulted from Soviet-imposed decisions. Brennan's claims often lack citations or else reference books that tangentially mention the subject at hand. His bibliography comprises fewer than sixty secondary sources: fifteen that were published before 1989, seven German works, and one Russian book. His archival work, conducted in Russia, Germany, and the United States, actually covers only a handful of available files. Entirely absent is the significant documentation on the Christian CDU party—for instance, from the Secret State Archives (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz)—or references to, Martin Broszat and Hermann Weber's important overview of institutions and their personnel in the Soviet zone, *Das SBZ-Handbuch* (Munich, 1990).

One of the most unfortunate shortcomings of the book is the chapter on religious education. Inexplicably, Brennan heads the chapter with a secondary-source quotation about the identical nature of Soviet and GDR education (p. 69). Had Brennan looked at Soviet education (e.g., E. Thomas Ewing's *Separate Schools* on Soviet schools, DeKalb, IL, 2010), he would have known that neither GDR and USSR textbooks nor schools mirrored each other. It is an almost painful assumption, one that could also have been avoided by secondary source research on German educational history. The "unity schools" that Brennan believes originated in the Soviet Union, to mention one example, boasted a German heritage stemming back to educational and confessional arguments from the nineteenth century—and which suffered from extensive postwar Soviet criticism.

Other problems distract from his argument and should have been caught by the publisher. Misspellings in German, grammar and stylistic mistakes, and missing or incomplete citations abound. This combination of substantive and stylistic inaccuracies makes it difficult to situate this work historiographically. It is an important topic—but one that needed more careful treatment than it received here.

University of Vienna BENITA BLESSING

My Journal of the Council. By Yves Congar, O.P. Translated from the French by Mary John Ronayne, O.P., and Mary Cecily Boulding, O.P. English translation edited by Denis Minns, O.P. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2012. Pp. lxi, 979. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8146-8021-2.)

During the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Second Vatican Council, an excellent way to revisit the Council and grow more appreciative of it would be to study the diary of that event of Yves Congar, O.P. The work records Congar's myriad activities, impressions, and judgments beginning in mid-1960, when he became a *peritus* of the Preparatory Theological

Commission, and continuing to the September 1966 congress in Rome on the theology of the Council. Two great dramas of the Council unfold before the reader as they involved this committed exponent of ecclesiological *ressourcement*. First, one learns much about how the Council was prepared and then how major portions of this preparation were criticized, set aside, and began to be replaced during the 1962 and 1963 conciliar working periods. Second, Congar participated in the struggles of 1964 and 1965 to create, after long hours of study and discussion in commissions, revised texts that would realize the aims of the Council in ways satisfactory to most Council Fathers, so that the texts would gain a virtual unanimity of approval in the final votes before their promulgation.

Congar's French original came out in 2002, from which we have now an easily readable translation. The publication enhances the diary itself by offering five introductory texts—namely, a family note by the theologian's nephew, Dominique Congar; an informative introduction to the diary's contents by Éric Mahieu, who edited the French original; a review (not accurate in every respect) by Mary Cecily Boulding, O.P., of the Council documents; an interpretation by Paul Philibert, O.P., of the *intégrisme* of the Council minority that Congar had described—and sharply criticized—in an appendix of his 1950 work on true and false reform; and Mahieu's note on Congar's manuscript and typescript of his diary. The introductions by Boulding and Philibert are new in this translation. At the end, appendices are translated from the French that supply information on the timeline of the Council, a chronology of Congar's work of assisting Council members and Commissions on nine Council documents, lists of Latin titles used by Congar for preparatory schemas and conciliar texts, the official and unofficial names of the Commissions, a Council glossary, works by Congar mentioned in the diary (but without indication of English translations), a map of Rome showing places to which Congar went for meetings, and indices of the diary's references to Council Fathers and other persons.

A major and lasting impression from this work is the sense that the Council was in fact an enormous ecclesial undertaking, which no short formula or sound bite can adequately describe. As one reads and reflects, Congar's advocacy of reform and ecumenism, of respectful encounter with the world, and of drawing on early Christian sources gradually convinces the reader of its coherence with the aims of Popes John XXIII and Paul VI. The challenge then was to rally the bishops, the Council's voting members, to make their own the needed steps toward realization.

The length allotted to this review excludes an account of Congar's many taxing labors at the Council, which this reviewer gave on the basis of the French original in *Gregorianum,* 83 (2003), 499–550. However, the translation leads to some further insights regarding the Council documents. For the Constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium*, one must especially credit the

sagacity and dedication of the *relator* or coordinator, Monsignor Gérard Philips, who—with his Belgian collaborators—gave the text both depth and unity of vision, contrasting with the haphazard growth by accumulation of the Pastoral Constitution, *Gaudium et spes*. Regretfully, Philips's *Lumen gentium* commentary is not translated into English. Congar assessed the Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei verbum*, as having huge potentialities for making Catholic thought and life truly evangelical. In the Constitution's chapter II, he repeatedly insisted on moving beyond the badly framed question of the respective contents of scripture and tradition to rightly grasp tradition in its vital character within the Church's self-perpetuation through the ages. At the Ariccia meeting of the Commission responsible for Schema XIII in early 1965, Congar was deeply impressed by Archbishop Karol Wojtyla as the latter presented a schema on the Church/world relation drafted in Cracow. Portions of this went into *Gaudium et spes*, part I, chapter 4, through a text on which Congar, Wojtyla, and Alois Grillmeier, S.J., collaborated. But these are just a few of the many ways in which Congar's diary leads us into the Council event and toward fresh study of the Council documents.

Pontifical College Josephinum JARED WICKS, S.J.
Columbus, OH

American and Canadian

The Spice of Popery: Converging Christianities on an Early American Frontier. By Laura M. Chmielewski. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012. Pp. xvi, 366. $38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02307-2.)

"Christian eclecticism" (p.7) characterized the sometimes porous borders between transplanted French Catholics and English dissenting Protestants in early-seventeenth-century Maine. By the early-eighteenth century, however, "lived religion" in the forms of material culture Laura Chmielewski identifies as "Protestant Ornaments and Popish Relics" (pp. 211–42) resolidified European confessional hostilities. First Peoples who had fought as allies for the two European confessional groups contributed unintentionally to the process since European captives sometimes adopted the religion of their captors' European allies. Parents who wished to leave inheritances to children still held captive sometimes did so with stipulations that those heirs would only benefit from bequests if they were still staunch in the parents' faith or were willing to be reconverted. By the 1690s the "eclecticism" of the early Maine exchanges among Europeans and First Peoples began to vanish with the emergence of patterns familiar elsewhere in the English mainland colonies—that in Protestant areas "the land should be worked and the waters fished by Protestant hands, and that Maine's native peoples should be brought to a Protestant form of Christianity" (p. 270).

Chmielewski argues, however, that the ferocious confrontations between French and English settlers and their indigenous allies in the decades from

1688 to 1727 alerted at least Protestant observers in the Massachusetts Bay colony that this province to the northeast badly needed a shot of Puritan orthodoxy to prevent the infection of Catholicism—the "spice of popery" of Chmielski's title—from spreading (pp. 3–4). A certain ambivalence in interpretation, therefore, makes it sometimes difficult to ascertain exactly what the author wishes to argue. In the end, she seems to be advancing a perspective that is very much in line with what other scholars such as Jane Merritt have posited for other European-First Peoples encounters. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, older alliances and the exchanges in cultures and religious views of the world declined as more familiar European institutions—and especially demographic explosion—erased the patterns of eclectic exchanges that Chmielewski has tried to recover for that earlier story fashioned by Maine's different cultural groups. Despite sometimes heroic efforts to demonstrate the robustness of her posited eclectic religious world of the mid-seventeenth century, however, the author perhaps tries a bit too hard. She has to admit, for example, that the confessional hostilities of Europe fairly quickly put an end to the porous boundaries, nowhere more so than in the figure of the Virgin Mary "representing both triumphal, militant Catholicism and, for Protestants, the worst and perhaps most dangerous hallmarks of popery." (228) In truth, not only in this context but also globally, non-Europeans grasped quite quickly—and appear to have made their own—commitments to a confessionally-specific Christianity, even when adapting the faith to some of their own cultural norms. Nonetheless, this book tells a story of a part of the North Atlantic world with which most readers will be only vaguely familiar. Solidly grounded both in research and awareness of the scholarly literature (especially on the northeastern geographic areas of European-indigenous exchanges), Chmielewski reaffirms the centrality of antipopery and its transplantation to Maine. Moreover, whatever a few elite figures may have deprecated the act, her rather grim afterword on the nineteenth-century vandalism of the monument to the Jesuit missionary Sebastian Rale actually suggests that precisely at the level of "lived religion" confessional worldviews had, perhaps, never changed all that much.

Penn State University–University Park A.-G. ROEBER

English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750–1830. By Hilary E. Wyss. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 251. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4413-7).

"There are some traits in the character of my countrymen that are truly admirable, and are worthy of imitation," declared Cherokee David Brown in 1823. "In these respects I firmly believe that Indians are more like the offspring of Jehovah, than many who call themselves civilized. I fondly hope that these principles of virtue will never be wholly eradicated from the Indian character" (p. 174). Thus did a Christian convert actively employ his com-

mand of English and literacy to speak for his people, and indeed for all Native Americans, in the face of advancing white civilization.

Hilary E. Wyss, Hargis Associate Professor of American Literature at Auburn University, notes earlier scholarly attention to Indian literary productions such as novels, poetry, and translated oratory. But here, she strongly validates other forms of literacy. Acknowledging indigenous forms, including wampum and weaving, she focuses upon uses of English literacy gained at Congregational and Presbyterian mission schools from 1750 to 1830. She convincingly employs a binary categorization: *readerly* literacy, the passive ability to read and even write English; and *writerly* literacy, the deliberate use of the new skills to promote personal and communal goals, even if these clashed with missionary designs.

After contextualizing her study in the relevant scholarly literature, Wyss briefly outlines the history of the New England missions and moves to the sometimes surprising methods of teaching "technologies of literacy" then. In the body of the book she examines activities at a number of missionary schools both within and generating from New England: Moor's Charity School, the Stockbridge School, the Brainerd Mission School among Cherokees in Tennessee, and the Cornwall Foreign Mission School. She also analyzes the writerly efforts of individual converts such as Brown and Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan who later taught Oneidas and helped found the Indian community of Brothertown. Rather than ending with a conventional conclusion, Wyss follows the struggles to achieve literacy in the Cherokee language and highlights Sequoyah's "extraordinary achievement" (p. 198), the famous Cherokee syllabary. All such developments produced even greater degrees of writerly literacy, both in Cherokee and English.

This is a stunning performance by both Indians and by Wyss. The research is impressive, the argumentation sophisticated, the language clear—if occasionally difficult for a plain-talking historian. There are (a few) instructive illustrations. Above all, Wyss conveys the complexity of issues, including gender issues, relating to literacies: to indigenous forms, to literacies in English, or—as often occurred at both Catholic and Protestant missions—in tribal languages. Her readerly/writerly model is never used simplistically: an Indian might pass from one stage to the other, or oscillate between the extremes.

A few criticisms need to be noted. The question of race, touched upon occasionally (for example, pp. 77, 86), might have been more systematically examined. Wyss devotes valuable attention to the often writerly correspondence of Cherokee girls at Brainerd and even cites this reviewer's article on these girls as "cultural brokers."[1] Yet she avoids this term for such cultural

[1]Michael C. Coleman, "American Indian School Pupils as Cultural Brokers: Cherokee Girls at Brainerd Mission, 1828–1829," *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker,* ed. Margaret Connell Szasz (Norman, OK, 1994), pp. 122–35.

mediators. Has the "broker" concept, so useful to ethohistorians, passed out of favor? Unmentioned is *America's Second Tongue: American Indian Education and the Ownership of English, 1860–1900* (Lincoln, NE, 2002), Ruth Spack's important examination of English teaching in later boarding schools and Indian exploitation of the language.

This book is strongly recommended for scholars of literacy, both Indian and beyond; of missionary encounters with indigenous peoples; and of cross-cultural education. It is a demanding but enriching tour de force.

University of Jyväskylä, Finland MICHAEL C. COLEMAN

Shaping American Catholicism: Maryland and New York 1805–1915. By Robert Emmett Curran (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012 . Pp. vii, 308. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1967-7.)

In February 2012 Pope Benedict XVI elevated the archbishops of Baltimore and New York to the College of Cardinals. As this reviewer congratulated Cardinal Timothy Dolan of New York, the new cardinal pointed across the Paul VI Audience Hall to where Cardinal Edwin O'Brien of Baltimore was receiving well-wishers: "Make sure you go and check out Ed O'Brien," he said. "He's wearing Archbishop Carroll's pectoral cross!" It was an acknowledgment of the presence in Rome of an historic American Catholic artifact. Or perhaps it was an acknowledgment by the prelate of the Big Apple and president of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops that Baltimore still has an historic prerogative of place in American Catholicism.

That dichotomy is masterfully treated in Robert Emmett Curran's splendid new book. Curran traces the nineteenth-century leadership shift in the American Church from the genteel, measured and essentially rural Southern focus provided by the Maryland Church to a northern, urban, and more immigrant-focused leadership embodied by the bustling metropolis of New York. Professor emeritus of history at Georgetown University, Curran has been a mainstay in the historiography of U.S. Catholicism for more than forty years. The five pages of primary sources in this book underscore the author's reputation for solid historical research and interpretation.

This is a somewhat unusual book. First, most of the chapters, in whole or in part, have appeared in earlier versions in a variety of journals and collections. As such, each of the chapters can stand alone as a window on a very particular event in American Catholic development. Second, going back as far as 1976 in their original form, the chapters are a testament to the author's ongoing scholarly research and revision, and give us a window on the development of Curran's own historical perspective. Finally, although the book is a Festschrift-like collection of articles, all the entries are by the same author—in a sense, this book is "Curran, edited by Curran." Thus the author/editor is

uniquely able to show us that the chapters share more than just common authorship. Rather, he demonstrates that the very different pieces fit together and form a pattern, delineating a gradual change in focus in the American Church.

One very minor criticism is the consistent reference to the first apostolic delegate to the United States as *Francisco* Satolli, rather than *Francesco* Satolli. This work is a marvelous read for students of American Catholic religious and cultural history, as well as those particularly interested in Maryland and New York. Moreover, it would be very useful as a one-volume supplemental text for college and seminary survey courses on American Catholicism.

Immaculate Conception Seminary RAYMOND J. KUPKE
Seton Hall University

Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, c. 1840. By Lisbeth Haas, with Art by James Luna. 2011. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. xx, 267. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-520-26189-1.)

Lisbeth Haas, a California social historian, has made available translations of the writings of Pablo Tac, a Luiseño (*Payomkowishum*) Native American who was born and raised at Mission San Luis Rey in Southern California in the early-nineteenth century. The first section includes Haas's essay on Tac's life in colonial California from birth at the mission in 1820 and his departure at the age of twelve for Europe with Father Antonio Peyri to his death in 1841 at the Vatican. Haas succinctly presents the picture of Tac's life during the uneasy transition of California from a Spanish colonial territory to a province in the new Mexican republic. Another transition, from rural colonial outpost to the European continent and the heart of the Roman Catholic Church, is covered vividly and with a deep understanding of the 1830s. She provides the reader with necessary information to understand the context of Tac's writing and at the same time their utter uniqueness as he moved to Rome and studied for the priesthood. The foreword was written by Melvin Vernon, tribal chair of the San Luis Rey Luiseño community, honoring Tac for his contributions and demonstrating that his people remain in the place Tac called home—*Cheebnajuisci*. James Luna, Luiseño performance artist and cultural commentator, adds insight and images in a separate chapter. Showing his installation in Venice on Pablo Tac and a series of ethnographic photos contrasted with contemporary photos he produced brings Tac into the present and places him among the line of elders who maintained traditions and the living culture through hard times.

The second part of the book consists of Tac's writings. This begins with grammatical notes on the Luiseño language in Spanish, Latin, and Luiseño.

Interspersed is a "history" of the Luiseño people—a rare, first-person mix of history, narratives, descriptions of Native culture, and personal observations. Tac produced these writings at the request of the Vatican librarian, Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzofanti, providing multiple variations of the stories with changes in emphasis and detail containing an indigenous approach to narrative that has rarely been recorded, an insight into the Native Californian culture. Here also is Tac's Luiseño-Spanish dictionary covering the letters A through C (that is, words beginning with the sounds *A*, *K*, and *Ch*)—many further terms may be found as examples in the grammar exercises. Tac's original manuscript is provided in full on the left pages with English translation on the right.

Haas's work on Tac is an invaluable volume for anthropologists and Native scholars, going far beyond the truncated version of his texts prepared by Minna and Gordon Hewes (*Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey. A Record of California Mission Life by Pablo Tac, an Indian Neophyte* [San Luis Rey, CA, 1958]). This will be the definitive work on Tac for historians hoping to understand California's Franciscan mission system from a Native perspective and aspects of Hispanic colonial history, as well as for those who care to hear the voices otherwise nearly absent in California historical narrative.

Laguna Beach, CA STEPHEN O'NEIL

Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840–1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada. By Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau. [Themes in Canadian History, 9.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2010. Pp. x, 232. $65.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8020-8949-6; $27.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8020-8632-7.)

The well-known authors of Canadian religious history, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, team up in this volume to assert that the Canadian people from 1840 to 1965 experienced their religion both inside and outside institutional churches. From this central theme they develop the argument that the study of popular religion for the historian is as important as the study of institutional religions. They see popular religion not as the radical religious fringe but as "the beliefs and practices of laypeople" (p. 1) who simply follow the forms of religion that are different from those recommended by clergy. The authors go on to contend that although institutional religion fluctuated during this extended period, popular religion "remained relatively constant between 1840 and the 1970s" and grew in number (p. 4).

The authors develop their themes chronologically beginning with the period from 1840 to 1870 when the institutional churches left their otherworldly view of religion behind to move "to more open and anonymous institutions . . . to evangelize Canadian society" (p. 60). Adjusting to expectations of religious people, these religious institutions initially gained congregants by voluntary attendance, but the subsequent period (1880–1910) turned out to

be "one of the most conflictual periods in Canadian religious history" (p. 61). Tensions rose between rural people and urbanists, individuals within sectarian congregations, and males and women's rights advocates. For many religionists, social service became central to Christian life and replaced the concern for the fatherhood of God.

But the most pellucid of their arguments was the authors' discussion of the Christian missions to the Canadian Northwest. Casting doubt on the historical view of missionaries as "heroic figures" and likewise the revised view of the missionary as an "anti-hero wreaking utter destruction upon non-Christian societies," the authors choose a third, more complex interpretation of mission work as a "cultural encounter between missionaries and non-Christian peoples" (p. 107). This fresh view contends that "the aboriginal societies were able to select and reinvent the Christian message in order to fashion an indigenized but no less authentic expression of Christianity" (p. 107). In a second assertion about Canadian missions, the authors point out that the different viewpoints among the missionaries, merchants, and government officials in the Northwest were many and that they were far from an oppressive monolith aligned against Indigenous people.

Social Christianity emerged among Canadian religions between 1910 and 1940, the authors continue, and demanded that Christian conversions be shared with the community through engagement in social reform. Both men and women's organizations became part of "a constellation of reform agencies, social policy research, and legislative lobbyists" (p. 142) that helped steer the social policies of the modern Canadian state. The book contends that, during this period, Christian lay leadership drove Canadian social reform.

In the 1960s Pierre Berton in *The Comfortable Pew* is given credit for challenging the Canadian churches to leave their comfort to become critics of the middle class and the social forces that dominate Canadian life. Berton hoped to reinvigorate social concern so that Christians would become "the central animating force for the creation of a truly humanistic culture" (p. 180) that would give leadership to Canadian social reform.

A decline began in 1965 for institutional churches, whereas in contrast popular religion grew among Evangelical denominations and Pentecostal groups. The Protestant churches espoused the "freedom of religious choice" that thus decreased church affiliation and could no longer pursue the project of creating a Christian society. Noninstitutional religion continued to attract many believers who followed "a system of private practices and personal values" (p. 199) that remained constant during this period, in contrast to the churches that were in fluctuation. The goal of marriage shifted from procreation and the founding of a family to personal fulfillment. The authors conclude that many Canadians rejected institutional religions as "conformist and constraining to individual freedom" to choose the freedom of noninstitutional religion (p. 199).

The volume is interesting and continually challenges the reader, but it is not an easy read. The themes remain complex; the data supporting various statements are obscure, and the number of denominations treated in addition to occasional references to Catholicism is too large a number for a clear presentation of the complex issues involved. Yet this concise treatment of the social history of Christian churches and Canadian peoples can be recommended for scholars, historians, and sociologists who are able to deal with its scholarly sophistication.

University of Toronto TERENCE J. FAY, S.J.

Latin American

Building Colonial Cities of God. Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain. By Karen Melvin. (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. Pp. xviii, 365. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8047-7486-4.)

Writing on the religious orders of New Spain is not an easy task. It demands solid research to examine the great variety of published and unpublished documents, books, articles, and doctoral theses. That would be reason enough to appreciate this book of Karen Melvin. But the subject of her work is what deserves special mention. The study of religious orders in New Spain customarily has focused on the evangelization of the Indian communities. Little work has been done on their activities in the cities where a significant number of churches and monasteries have been established since the second part of the sixteenth century. Melvin has dealt skillfully with this topic, studying the importance of the mendicant orders in building the religious culture in urban centers of colonial Mexico.

Given the vast range of this matter, the author has chosen an intelligent approach to deal with it. She has divided the book in two parts. The first one studies general themes pertaining to five mendicant orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Discalced Carmelites, and Mercedarians. Through a close examination of religious chronicles, manuscripts, and rare book collections, Melvin details, among other issues, the founding of religious houses in the cities, the patterns of and reasons for their urban expansion, and the impact of eighteenth-century reforms on the presence of the mendicant orders in the cities. Special attention is given to the identities of each order and to the role of their clergy as preachers, confessors, spiritual directors, alms collectors, educators, and urban missionaries. Conflicts emerging from these activities with the episcopal authorities are well exemplified with the study of the disputes between the Discalced Carmelites and Juan José de Escalona y Calatayud, bishop of Valladolid (Morelia), over his attempts to regulate the activities and internal life of the Carmelites.

The second part of the book examines the relationships between the mendicant orders and provides a comprehensive discussion of their contri-

butions to the practice of urban Catholicism in colonial Mexico. Given the impossibility of studying all the issues involving this topic, the ones chosen are sufficient to reflect the complex variety of religious experiences conducted by the mendicant orders in the cities. Notable is the study of the so-called "*Ordernspatriotism*"— that is, the fight for the orders' rank in urban society, which was especially evident in the numerous disputes over the place of the mendicant orders in religious processions. Equally significant is the study of the conflicts over the territories in which the orders sought to have influence within the cities. Special devotions such as the Immaculate Conception or the stigmata of their patriarchs also were points of discussion—for example, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites arguing for the devotion to the stigmata of Ss. Francis, Catherine of Siena, and Maria Magdalena de Pazzi.

The last chapter of this second part is a fine summary of the most significant activities, conflicts, and contributions of the mendicant orders to the urban religious culture of colonial Mexico. The author takes Toluca (near Mexico City) as a case study, as this city has hosted two major mendicant orders: the Franciscans (since the sixteenth century) and the Discalced Carmelites (since the seventeenth century). The discussions of these orders over territoriality, third-order memberships, sermons, processions, and spiritual directions are a good example of the complex relationships and influence of the mendicant orders in colonial Mexico.

Melvin, evoking Robert Ricard's classical work on sixteenth-century Mexico, is inclined to call the activities of the mendicant orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the "spiritual consolidation" (p. 267) of Mexico. Her research could be interpreted by some church historians as strengthening the view of the Catholic Church as one of the first global organizations of early-modern Europe. Melvin's book provides enough evidence to argue that the Church in New Spain is not only a missionary extension of the European Church "but [also] is best understood as part of a connected early modern world" (p. 274).

Estudios Franciscanos en Humanidades, fray Bernardino de Sahagún
Universidad de las Américas, Puebla
FRANCISCO MORALES, O.F.M.

The New Orleans Sisters of the Holy Family: African American Missionaries to the Garifuna of Belize. By Edward T. Brett. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012. Pp ix, 227. $22.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02230-3.)

The New Orleans Sisters of the Holy Family were the first African American Catholic religious congregation to serve as missionaries. They played a defining role among Belize's Garifuna population for nearly a cen-

tury by directing schools, developing pastoral programs, and assisting the elderly. The sisters' successes came even as they confronted racism, gender inequities, and poverty in the United States and in their Belize mission.

Edward T. Brett engages extensive archival research, interviews with Holy Family sisters, and testimony by Garifuna community members to provide a compelling and comprehensive overview of the contributions of this pioneering group of women religious. He expertly contextualizes the work in the understudied history of African American Catholicism, U.S. mission history, and the history of women religious.

The New Orleans Sisters of the Holy Family is chronologically organized in two parts with the first devoted to examining the pre–Second Vatican Council history and the second to examining the period following the Council. The congregation developed in the racially segregated context of Civil War-era New Orleans and the particular experience of relatively privileged free women of color. The racism of the place and time made formal Catholic Church recognition of the religious order so challenging that the history of the congregation's foundation remains ambiguous.

It is clear, however, that in 1897 Bishop Salvatore Di Pietro, a Sicilian Jesuit, invited the Holy Family Congregation to take charge of a school for Garifuna children in Stann Creek, British Honduras. Despite (or because of) the challenges of poverty and racism that the Holy Family sisters confronted in the United States, they accepted the invitation to serve a population considered marginal in this British colony. With so little knowledge of their mission field that the sisters were surprised to learn that their Garifuna pupils did not speak English—and with nothing more than a contract with the bishop guaranteeing payment of their passage, $60 a month teaching salary, and a furnished house—four sisters departed for Belize in 1898.

During close to a century of mission that spanned British Honduras's transformation from a colony to the nation of independent Belize, the sisters directed three primary schools, a high school, an education program for children who could not gain admission to the national high school, programs for the elderly, catechetical programs, and a lay association. Brett suggests that a shared African-descendent background granted the Holy Family sisters greater opportunities for cultural engagement with the Garifuna population than those enjoyed by white nuns: ". . . [The] black racial identity [of the Holy Family sisters], which caused them to suffer discrimination in the United States, turned into an advantage in British Honduras" (p. 32). As Brett documents, however, this shared identity did not eliminate challenges within the Holy Family Congregation, where lighter-skinned African American sisters dominated positions of authority, and Garifuna sisters struggled at times to assert a cultural presence.

Among the most compelling contributions of the book are the testimonies of the women religious, their former students, and their lay associates. These accounts reveal that the richness of mission history rests as much with the joy and challenge of creating shared communities as it does with the concrete accomplishments denoted by students educated, teachers formed, and vows taken. This is, in short, an important contribution to Catholic history that establishes the crucial role played by an African-descendent congregation in mission history.

California State University–Northbridge SUSAN FITZPATRICK BEHRENS

BRIEF NOTICE

Stoyanov, Yuri. *Defenders and Enemies of the True Cross: The Sasanian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614 and the Byzantine Ideology of Anti-Persian Warfare*. [Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 819. Band; Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik, Nr. 61.] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2011. Pp. 103. €16,20 paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-6957-4.)

In this short book, stemming from a research project of the Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo, the author links two subjects that are currently attracting intense interest: first, the question of whether the Byzantines had a concept of holy war; and second, the contemporary responses to the Persian invasion of the Near East in the early-seventh century and the capture of Jerusalem in AD 614. In three chapters, he surveys the archaeological evidence for the effects of the invasion; the previous development of Christian attitudes to warfare; and the ideological and religious reactions by Byzantines, eastern Christians, and Jews to the war against the Sasanians (AD 603–28). He argues that the strongly expressed eschatological and apocalyptic themes in contemporary writing, including the accounts of the campaigns of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (who dramatically defeated the Sasanians in 628 and restored the captured relic of the True Cross to Jerusalem in 630). Although Heraclius did not develop a full doctrine of holy war, he nevertheless played an important part in later Byzantine conceptions and contributed to "the grand narrative of medieval Christian apocalypticism" (p. 75).

Even more important, although Stoyanov does not write about it here, was the extent to which Heraclius's victory paved the way for the Arab conquests that followed immediately afterward. It is now being argued that the apocalyptic and eschatological themes that are so prominent in the Qur'an may themselves echo the existing Christian and Jewish trends that also found expression in relation to the events that Stoyanov describes. The tumultuous changes in the Near East in the early-seventh century are giving rise to a wave of new publications, including a recent lengthy book by James Howard-Johnston and the Menahem Stern Lectures given in Jerusalem by Glen Bowersock. Stoyanov covers some of the same ground, but from a different perspective, reminding us of the many different ways in which these momentous years shaped the centuries to come. Averil Cameron (*University of Oxford*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association Notice

The next spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held on April 5–6, 2013, at Stonehill College in North Easton, Massachusetts. Proposals for individual papers or panels may be submitted to Richard Gribble, C.S.C., chair of the Program Committee, at rgribble@stonehill.edu. Stonehill College is an undergraduate institution founded in 1948 and sponsored by the Congregation of Holy Cross. It is located approximately twenty miles southeast of Boston and is served by both the Boston and Providence airports. For details on transportation, lodging, and registration, contact Father Gribble.

Archives

Controversy has erupted over the plan to disperse the Scottish Catholic Archives, currently housed in Columba House in Edinburgh, to regional centers while a new episcopal center is constructed in Glasgow and to sell off some of the items in the collection to pay for the shortfall in funding the center. Pre-Restoration (1878) materials are to go to the library of the University of Aberdeen, whereas post-Restoration items are to be returned to their diocese of origins until the new center is ready to house them. Critics have claimed that Edinburgh, which hosts the National Library and National Galleries of Scotland, is a more appropriate location for a centralized archive. As some Catholic materials on loan are already housed in the National Library of Scotland, critics contend that it is more logical to send materials there rather than Aberdeen, which is in the northeastern corner of the country. Questions of finance and regional loyalty are influencing the debate.

Michael F. Lombardo (Anna Maria College, Paxton, MA), has submitted the following report on the "Archival Sources for the Life and Career of John J. Wynne, S.J. (1859–1948)":

Few individuals shaped the course of early-twentieth-century American Catholicism more than John J. Wynne, S.J. (1859–1948). As founder of two of the most successful publishing ventures in American Catholic history—the national Catholic weekly *America* (1909) and the original *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907–14)—Wynne left an indelible impression on American Catholic intellectual life. Wynne was among the American Catholic Historical Association's founding members and also served, at Peter Guilday's urging, as

the association's first vice-president in 1921. Less well-known, but equally important, was his lifelong work as vice-postulator for the canonization causes of the first American saints, the North American Martyrs, and as vice-postulator for Kateri Tekakwitha, who was canonized on October 21, 2012.

Perhaps due to the fact that Wynne never held a permanent academic post, his papers were scattered upon his death in 1948. Today, the bulk of materials related to his professional career can be found in five collections.

The Archives of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus contain Wynne's personnel file, which includes biographical information and several photographs related to his long career as a Jesuit. The archives also include five bound volumes that contain the original minutes of the editors' meetings of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, as well as a significant number of pamphlets issued by the Encyclopedia Press and the Universal Knowledge Foundation. Documents related to the founding of *America* magazine and several collections of personal correspondence fill out the collection. Notable among these are documents detailing Wynne's work with the State and War Departments regarding the settlement of claims in the Philippines, letters detailing his work to secure publication rights to the Jesuit Relations, and an extended correspondence with New York State Board of Education Regent and State Supreme Court Justice Eugene A. Philbin.

The Special Collections of the Georgetown University Libraries houses the archives of *America* magazine. This collection includes additional correspondence from the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* dating back to approximately 1900—shortly before the journal was separated from the *Messenger* (1902), which was converted into *America* in 1909.

The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at The Catholic University of America contains the archives of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. This collection contains the correspondence of the editors of the encyclopedia to 1936; ancillary materials related to the publication of the encyclopedia; several original proofs; personal subject folders belonging to Wynne; and a broad collection of materials related to the *Cyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*. The personal papers of Guilday, also at The Catholic University of America, contain an extensive correspondence with Wynne about the *Catholic Encyclopedia*; Guilday served as an editor of the second edition of the encyclopedia published in 1936.

The archives at the National Shrine of North American Martyrs in Auriesville, New York, contains material related to Wynne's time as director of the shrine and additional documents related to the publication of the Jesuit Relations.

Finally, the Special Collections and University Archives of Marquette University contains the records of the Marquette League for Catholic Indian

Missions, an organization based in New York City that worked with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for the relief and education of the Native American population of the United States and for the canonization of Tekakwitha. This collection includes correspondence, lectures, and presentations by Wynne, who served as a director of the organization.

Upon his death in 1948, Wynne was widely heralded as a giant of early-twentieth-century American Catholicism. In his 1955 speech, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," Msgr. John Tracy Ellis called the *Catholic Encyclopedia* "the greatest single monument to Catholic scholarship in the United States to date" and lauded Wynne for his advocacy of Catholic literacy and education. However, for all of his professional accomplishments, it was the canonization of Tekakwitha that remained dearest to Wynne's heart in his final years. Among the few extant portraits of Wynne in the archives is a rare photograph that shows him smiling sheepishly as he wears a Native American headdress. On the back of the photo, he had typed the following inscription:

> Ondessonk, "Ever Bright Light,"
> Same name as Indians gave Father Jogues,
> given me July 1, 1934 at Caughnawaga, Canada,
> when inducted honorary chieftain of the Iroquois
> for my efforts for the beatification of Tekakwitha,
> venerated by them as "Lily of the Mohawks," one of their Five Nations.

Research Project

Directed by Roberto Rusconi, Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice (RICI) is a collaborative project that surveys books held by various religious houses in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century. The Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books ordered a listing of such books. Volumes containing these lists were transferred in 1917 to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and are preserved there as Vaticani Latini 11266–11326. Systematically studying these lists is a team of scholars; each scholar is concentrating on a different religious order. For more information on the project, visit http://ebusiness.taipropora.it/bib/index.asp.

Quincentenary

At First Vespers of the Solemnity of All Saints Pope Benedict XVI commemorated Pope Julius II's inauguration on November 1, 1512, of the fresco of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. The pope recalled that Michelangelo, at the request of Julius, executed the fresco in about four years (1508–12), and he quoted Giorgio Vasari's famous passage in the *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*: "This work was and is truly the lamp of our art that gave so much benefit and light to the art of painting, which has been sufficient to illuminate the world."

Conferences and Meetings

The Newberry Library of Chicago will sponsor the conference "Early Modern Religious: Comparative Contexts" on March 21–23, 2013. Sixteen speakers from Canada, England, Italy, Scotland, and the United States will examine the frontier between religious and lay life, crossing national borders as well as comparing male and female orders. For more information, email renaissance@newberry.org, or visit the web site http://www.newberry.org/renaissance.

The Newberry also is sponsoring a summer institute on Spanish paleography for fifteen advanced graduate students and junior faculty members at American and Canadian institutions. The deadline for application is March 1. 2013. For more information, visit http://www.newberry.org/sites/default/files/calendar-attachments/SpanishPaleography213.pdf or http://newberry.org/06032013-2013-mellon-summer-institute-spanish-paleography.

In addition, the Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies is sponsoring a summer institute in French paleography under the direction of Marc Smith (École Nationale des Chartes, Paris), which will be held on July 22–August 16, 2013, at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles. The application deadline is March 1, 2013; first consideration will be given to advanced graduate students and junior faculty members at U.S. colleges and universities. For more information, visit: http://www.newberry.org/07222013-2013-mellon-summer-institute-french-paleography. Requests for application material should be emailed to kdecker@getty.edu.

The American Cusanus Society will sponsor two sessions at the meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in San Diego on April 4–6, 2013. The theme of both is "Instruments of the Mind: Tools Real and Imagined in Northern European Philosophy, 1400–1600." For further information, email David Albertson at the School of Religion in the University of Southern California at dalberts@usc.edu.

A conference on "I Santi Cirillo e Metodio e la loro eredità religiosa e culturale, ponte tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente" will be held in Bratislava, Slovakia, on May 8–12, 2013. Sponsors are the Catholic University of Bratislava, the Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences, the Institute of Universal History of the Russian Academy of Sciences of Moscow, and the Department for Foreign Relations of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow. For the program and other details, email addetto@historia.va.

The Université de Lille in France is sponsoring the conference "La Dramatique Conciliare: Coups de théatre, tactique et sincérite des convictions dans les débates conciliaries de l'Antiquité à Vatican II" on May 15–17, 2013. Twenty-eight speakers from Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Spain, and

the United States will address various aspects of the topic. For more information on the program, email Charles Mériaux at Charles.meriaux@uni-lille3.fr.

The Académie Internationale des Sciences Religieuses will sponsor the conference "The Formulas of Convocation in Orthodox Synods," which will be held at the Penteli Monastery in Greece on May 18, 2013. For more information, contact Frederick Lauritzen at lauritzen@fscire.it, or visit the website http://www.lesacademies.org/alsr/index.html.

The eightieth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA) will be held at the University of Victoria on June 3–4, 2013, in conjunction with the Annual Congress of the Canadian Federation of the Humanities and Social Sciences. The main theme of the congress is "Intersections and Edges." The CCHA invites proposals for scholarly papers, especially such as deal with the Congress theme as it relates to Canadian Catholic history, but proposals dealing with any aspect of the history of the Catholic Church or Catholicism in Canada will be considered. Inquiries should be emailed to Edward MacDonald, president of the CCHA and chair of the Program Committee, at gemacdonald@upei.ca.

The National Endowment for the Humanities is sponsoring a summer institute in St. Louis on June 3–28, 2013, for university teachers and advanced graduate students who wish to investigate the topic "Empires and Interactions across the Early Modern World, 1400–1800." Among the topics to be investigated are the globalization of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism and the encounters of missionaries with native peoples. The deadline for application is March 4, 2013. For more information, visit http://sites.slu.edu/empiresandinteractions, or email inquiries to empires.interactions@gmail.com.

A conference on "Das Konzil von Trient und die Katholische Konfessionskultur (1563–2013)," marking the 450th anniversary of the conclusion of the Council of Trent, will be held on September 18–21, 2013, in the Catholic Academy of the Archdiocese of Freiburg. The program can be found at http://www.corpus-catholicorum.de/.

The forty-first international conference on Franciscan studies, "Ubertino da Casale," will take place in Assisi on October 18–20, 2013. Alberto Cadili will deliver a paper on "L'ʻenigma' degli ultimi anni di Ubertino." For further details, email Cadili at cadili@fscire.it.

The Sixteenth Century Society and Conference will hold its annual meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on October 24–27, 2013. The deadline for submitting proposals is March 15, 2013, and they must be submitted via the online submissions program website: http://www.sixteenthcentury.org/conference. For more information, email Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, program chair, at e.lehfeldt@csuohio.edu.

Planning is underway for the conference of the International Commission of Historical Sciences to be held in Jinan, China, on August 23–29, 2015. The Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences will sponsor the roundtable "Les grandes archives et les grandes bibliothèques, sources de l'histoire de l'humanité."

A call for papers has been issued for the conference "Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Asia," which will be held at the Macau Ricci Institute on November 9–11, 2016. The submission deadline is May 31, 2013. Further information may be found at the following website: http://www.rsa.org/news/112561/CFP-Encounters-between-Jesuits-and-Protestants-in-Asia.htm

Journal

A new quarterly periodical, *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, will be launched in 2014, the bicentenary of the restoration of the Society of Jesus. Published by Brill, it will appear both in print and online. The language used will be English, but translations of important articles in other languages, especially non-Western and Slavic languages, will be presented. The editor-in-chief is Robert A. Maryks (Brooklyn Community College, City University of New York); the book review editor is Jonathan Wright (Durham University, United Kingdom). Maryks also will edit a new "Series of Jesuit Studies," which will likewise be published by Brill. The journal will aim at helping scholars to be better oriented in the rapidly expanding field of Jesuit history and will emphasize the areas of Jesuit history that have been generally neglected. The monographic series will be focused on the same mission. The editors will present a variety of topics but intend to produce thematic issues that will illustrate the interdisciplinary nature of the journal. Each article will be rigorously and confidentially peer-reviewed by two experts. Every fourth issue will contain the most recent bibliography in Jesuit studies. The book reviews will treat works both in English and in foreign languages, especially those based on Jesuit archival or bibliographic resources. There also will be short notices that will keep readers acquainted with the latest scholarship. To submit an article, email Maryks at Robert.Maryks@bbc.cuny.edu.

Saints

On Pentecost 2012, Pope Benedict XVI proclaimed:

> We, having obtained the opinions of numerous brothers in the episcopate and of many of Christ's faithful throughout the world, having consulted the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, after mature deliberation and with certain knowledge, and by the fullness of the apostolic power, declare St. Hildegard of Bingen, professed nun of the Order of St. Benedict, doctor of the Universal Church.

The pope set September 17 as St. Hildegard's feast day. She died in 1179 at age eighty-one, and although she had been venerated for centuries, she had never been officially canonized.

Publications

A special issue of the *Journal of Ancient Christianity—Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* for 2012 (vol. 16, no. 1) is titled "Between Education and Conversion: Ways of Approaching Religion in Late Antiquity." Edited by Peter Gemeinhardt and Tobias Georges, it contains papers delivered at an Oxford workshop on August 9–10, 2011, as follows: Jörg Ulrich, "What Do We Know about Justin's 'School' in Rome?" (pp. 62–74); Tobias Georges, "Justin's School in Rome—Reflections on Early Christian 'Schools'" (pp. 75–87); Peter Gemeinhardt, "In Search of Christian Paideia: Education and Conversion in Early Christian Biography" (pp. 88–98); Ilka Issermann, "Did Christian Ethics Have Any Influence on the Conversion to Christianity?" (pp. 99–112); Andrea Villani, "*Nos ergo soli innocentes!* (*Apologeticum* 45,1): Innocence as a Marker of Christian Affiliation in Tertullian's *Apologeticum*" (pp. 113–28); Jakob Engberg, "The Education and (Self-)Affirmation of (Recent or Potential) Converts: The Case of Cyprian and the *Ad Donatum*" (pp. 129–44), and Anders-Christian Jacobsen, "Conversion to Christian Philosophy—the Case of Origen's School in Caesarea" (pp. 145–57).

The papers presented at a seminar on "L'acqua e il corpo: Bagni e terme nel mondo patristico," which was held in Florence on May 30–31, 2011, have been published in *Vivens Homo* for January–June 2012 (vol. 23, no. 1), as follows: Gianni Cioli, Elena Giannarelli, and Carlo Nardi, "Una pubblicazione, un convegno, una tematica" (pp. 115–23); Gabriella Capecchi, "*Florentia* e le acque. Fonti, acquedotto e terme dell'antica città" (pp. 125–46); Elena Giannarelli, "I luoghi dell'acqua viva. Consegne patristiche" (pp. 147–64); Nadia Toschi, "Ai bagni di Alessandria. La proposta di Clemente" (pp. 165–74); Guidalberto Bormolini, "Un 'santo calore' nei bagni freddi della tradizione monastica" (pp. 175–94); and Carlo Nardi, "L'ambiguo bagno. Agostino delle *Confessioni* e *Agostino* di Moravia" (pp. 195–228).

Peter Hünermann and Giuseppe Ruggieri have edited a special issue of *Cristianesimo nella storia* (vol. 32 [2011], no. 3) dedicated to "I sinodi: organi di governo e/o luogo di formazione del consenso nella Chiesa?" Following their introduction (pp. 821–26) are the following articles: Alberto Melloni, "Osservazioni a margine del rapporto consenso/concilio" (pp. 827–42); Peter Hünermann, "Synodalität der Kirche—Grammatik des Glaubens: Reflexionen zur Frage Charismen und gläubige Identität" (pp. 843–74); Davide Dainese, "Συνέρχομαι—συγκρότησις—σύνοδος": Tre diversi usi della denominazione" (pp. 875–943); Frederick Lauritzen, "La formazione del consenso nella chiesa bizantina (843–1453)" (pp. 945–62); Alberto Cadili, "Composizione, ruoli e formazione del consenso nei concili della chiesa latina

medievale (secoli XI–XIII)" (pp. 963–1004); Giuseppe Ruggieri, "I diritti della sposa. Note sulla dottrina conciliare di Jean Gerson" (pp. 1007–36); Hans-Peter Grosshans, "Die Synoden in den lutherischen Kirchen" (pp. 1037–53); Patrizio Foresta, "Sinodi e consenso nelle chiese reformate" (pp. 1055–83); Paul Avis, "Conciliarity in the Anglican Communion: History, Theology and Polemic" (pp. 1085–1104); Maria Teresa Fattori, "«In Synodo, extra Synodum»: limiti del consenso in età tridentina" (pp. 1105–35); and Arnaud Join-Lambert, "Les processus synodaux depuis le concile Vatican II: Une double experience de l'Église et de l'Esprit Saint" (pp. 1137–78).

"La Chiesa e il denaro" is the theme of the second issue of *Cristianesimo nella storia* for 2012 (vol. 33). The contributors and their contributions are Peter Brown, "«Treasure in heaven». The implications of an image" (pp. 377–96); Ramon Teja, "La estrategia de la corrupción: «el oro de la iniquidad» de Cirilo de Alejandría en el concilio de Éfeso (431)" (pp. 397–423); Vincenzo Aiello, "Edilizia religiosa e finanziamento imperiale al tempo dei Costantinidi" (pp. 425–48); Rita Lizzi Testa, "La vendita delle cariche ecclesiastiche: interdizione canoniche e provvedimenti legislative dal IV al VI secolo" (pp. 449–74); Lucia Travaini, "Il lato buono delle monete: devozione, miracoli e reliquie monetali" (pp. 475–92); Andrea Tilatti, "Il denaro e i preti. Qualche reflessione per i secoli bassomedioevali" (pp. 493–517); Roberto Lambertini, "Povertà volontaria ed «economia mendicante» nel basso Medioevo. Osservazioni sui risultati di recenti indagini" (pp. 519–40); Klaus Ganzer, "Die Zahlungen für päpstliche Benefizien-Verleihungen im späteren Mittelalter" (pp. 541–55); Vincenzo Lavenia, "Avidi inquisitori? Tribunali della fede e denaro tra Medioevo ed età moderna" (pp. 557–94); Karl Hausberger, "Die aus der Säkularisation von 1803 resultierenden Staatsleistungen an die katholische Kirche in Deutschland unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Bayerns" (pp. 595–618); Carlo Maria Fiorentino, "La soppressione delle corporazioni religiose a Roma (1873) e i suoi risvolti sociali ed economici" (pp. 619–39); Maurizio Pregrari, "La Banca romana: protagonisti e retroscena" (pp. 641–74); Jean-Pierre Moisset, "Aspects des finances diocésaines en France au XX^{e} siècle" (pp. 675–714); and Philippe Denis, "Economic activity and money exchanges in the African Independent Churches of South Africa" (pp. 715–32).

Glastonbury is the subject of the articles appearing in the January 2012 issue of *The Downside Review* (vol. 130, no. 458). After an introduction (pp. 1–2) by Dom Aidan Bellenger, O.S.B., four articles appear: Timothy Hopkins-Ball, "The Cultus of Our Lady at Glastonbury Abbey: 1184–1539" (pp. 3–52); Michael J. Protheroe, "Towards a Catholic Historiography of Post-Dissolution Glastonbury" (pp. 53–78); Giles Mercer, "The 1895 Glastonbury Pilgrimage" (pp. 79–107); and Gilliam Hogarth, "Bishop Lee and the Glastonbury Pilgrimage" (pp. 108–15).

"Les abbayes martiniennes" is the theme of the articles published in *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* (vol. 119, no. 3, 2012). Following

an introduction (pp. 7–12) by editors Bruno Judic and Christine Bousquet, the articles are: Lucien-Jean Bord, O.S.B., "Aux origines du monachisme en Gaule: Les communautés martiniennes du IV siècle" (pp. 13–25); Sylvie Labarre, "Aux sources du monachisme martinien, les *Vies de Martin* en prose et en vers" (pp. 27–40); Jean-Michel Picard, "Les réseaux martiniens en Irlande medievale" (pp. 41–53 and two color plates); Juliet Mullins, "La place de saint Martin dans le monachisme anglo-saxon" (pp. 55–70); Klaus Krönert, "Saint Martin, l'*abbatiola* de Trèves" (pp. 71–87); Bruno Judic, "Le patronage martinien au X^e^ siècle" (pp. 89–105); Etelvina Fernández González, "Images polyvalentes de saint Martin de Tours dans le context médiéval" (pp. 107–29); Jean François Goudesenne, "«*Pannonia letetur, Italia exultet et Gallie trina divisio, Francorum atque Germaniae, omnes partier gaudeant…*» Les répertoires liturgiques latins pour saint Martin (VI^e^–X^e^ siècle)" (pp. 131–50 and six color plates); Daniel Pichot, "Les prieurés Bretons de Marmoutier (XI^e^–XII^e^ siècle)" (pp. 153–74); and Élisabeth Lorans, "Aux origines du monastère de Marmoutier: le témoignage de l'archéologie" (pp. 177–202).

Il Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione, edited by Adriano Prosperi with the collaboration of Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi and published in November 2010, is the subject of a series of brief articles under the heading "Usare un Dizionario" in series 5, no. 3/2 (2011) of the *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, to wit: Stefania Pastore, "Introduzione" (pp. 295–98); Guido Calabresi, "L'Inquisizione e il diritto Americano" (pp. 299–307); Marco Santagata, "Una lettura del *Dizionario*" (pp. 309–15); Pier Cesare Bori, "Immagine di Dio e Inquisizione" (pp. 317–26); Pietro Costa, "Il *Dizionario* come 'rete': alcuni percorsi di lettura" (pp. 327–38); Michele Battini, "Leggere e pensare questo *Dizionario*" (pp. 339–46); Andrea Del Col, "Il futuro del *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*" (pp. 347–61); Jean-Pierre Dedieu, "How to make it more efficient. A proposal to computerize the *Dizionario*" (pp. 363–75); and John Tedeschi, "Addio al *Dizionario*: un saluto conclusivo" (pp. 377–82).

"The Medieval Chantry in England" is the theme of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (vol. 164, 2011) edited by Julian M. Luxford and John McNeill. The articles are: John McNeill, "A Prehistory of the Chantry" (pp. 1–38); Julian M. Luxford, "The Origins and Development of the English 'Stone-Cage' Chantry Chapel" (pp. 39–73); Antje Fehrmann, "Politics and Posterity: English Royal Chantry Provision 1232–1509" (pp. 74–99); Clive Burgess, "Chantries in the Parish, or 'Through the Looking-glass'" (pp. 100–29); Roger Bowers, "Liturgy and Music in the Role of the Chantry Priest" (pp. 130–56); Kate Heard, "'Such stuff as dreams are made on': Textiles and the Medieval Chantry" (pp. 157–68); Anna Eavis, "The Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham" (pp. 169–95); Cathy Oakes, "In Pursuit of Heaven: The Two Chantry Chapels of Bishop Edmund Audley at Hereford and Salisbury Cathedrals" (pp. 196–220); Charles Tracy and Hugh Harrison, "Thomas Spring's Chantry and Parclose at Laverham, Suffolk" (pp. 221–59);

John Goodall, "The Jesus Chapel or Islip's Chantry at Westminster Abbey" (pp. 260–76); and Phillip Lindley, "'Pickpurse' Purgatory, the Dissolution of the Chantries and the Suppression of Intercession for the Dead" (pp. 277–304).

Completing the observance of the "Seventh Centenary of the Founding of the Order of Poor Clares," the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (vol. 105, 2012) is devoted to "The Poor Clares during the Modern Period, 16th–19th Century." Under "Discussiones et Documenta" are Fabien Guilloux, O.F.M., "Musique et liturgie aux Cordelières de Saint-Marcel. À propos de quatre processionnaux manuscrits (15^{e}–17^{e} siècles)" (pp. 9–50); Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, O.F.M., "Los monasterios de Santa Clara de Manila y Macao. Nuevos documentos para su historia" (pp. 51–139); Elsa Penalva, "Les Clarisses à Macau au 17^{e} siècle: foi, pouvoir et liberté" (pp. 141–64); Martin Elbel and Jarmila Kaspárková, "Continuity and Reform: The Znojmo Poor Clares and the Bohemian Franciscan Province in the Early Modern Period" (pp. 165–95); Rosalva Loreto Lopez, "Dichosa desdicha. El epistolario espiritual de Isabel Rosa de Jésus, monja clarisa novohispana" (pp. 197–220); Elke Tkocz, "Übergänge gestalten: Die Kandidaturphase im Klarissenkloster Bamberg während der Frühen Neuzeit" (pp. 221–75); Bernadette Cunningham, "An Account of the Poor Clare Order in Eighteenth-Century Dublin" (pp. 277–310); Giovanna Chiara Cremaschi, O.S.C., "Una donna del Settecento narra la sua storia spirituale: Teresa Eletta Rivetti (1723–1790)" (pp. 311–402); Pierre Moracchini, "«Nationales» contre «aristocrates»: une scission au sein du monastère des clarisses de l'Ave Maria (Paris) pendant la Révolution française" (pp. 403–53); Asunción Lavrin, "La religiosa y su confesor: epistolario de una clarisa Mexicana, 1801–1802" (pp. 455–78); Rafael Sanz, O.F.M., "Las clarisas de San Antonio de Segovia en la época de las guerras con los franceses en 1808" (pp. 479–90); María José Vilar, "Los monasterios españoles de clarisas entre la exclaustración de 1835–1836 y el concordato de España con la Santa Sede de 1851. El caso de Santa Clara la Real de Murcia" (pp. 491–511); Alicia Fraschina, "Las capuchinas de Buenos Aires. De la monarquía a la república (1749–1865)" (pp. 513–56); and Mauro Papalini, "Le regole delle suore questuanti del monasterio delle Cappuccine di S. Chiara in S. Fiora" (pp. 557–88). There are summaries of the articles, all in English except two in Italian, on pages 589–94.

The Way, a Review of Christian Spirituality Published by the British Jesuits, focuses on the life and work of Mary Ward in its issue for July 2012 (vol. 51, no. 3). Gemma Simmonds has written the foreword, "Playing within the Rules" (pp. 9–14). The other contributors are Mary Wright, "Mary Ward's Dilemma: The Choice of a Rule" (pp. 15–28); Brian O'Leary, "'Hither I must Come to Draw': Mary Ward and the Ignatian Constitutions" (pp. 29–41); Gill K. Goulding, "'Take the Same'—But Differently: Mary Ward's Appropriation of the Ignatian Charism" (pp. 43–58); and Philip Endean, "Mary Ward and Jesuit Myths" (pp. 59–77).

Volume 78 (2012) of *Historical Studies,* the journal published by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, contains the following articles: Catherine Foisy, "Preparing the Québec Church for Vatican II: Missionary Lessons from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1945–1962" (pp. 7–26); Gordon L. Heath, "The Protestant Denominational Press and the Conscription Crisis, 1917–1918" (pp. 27–46); and Gabriela Pawlus Kasprzak, "How the Poles Got Organized:The Emergence of Organizational Life amongst Polish Canadians in the 1920s and 1930s" (pp. 47–72). There also are two "Historical Notes": Ollivier Hubert, "A Nineteenth Century Montreal *Collège Classique*: Antiquarian Survival or Education for the Future?" (pp. 73–80); and Jean-Philippe Warren, "Some Thoughts on Catholicism and the Secularization Question in Quebec: Worldly and Otherworldly Rewards (1960–1970)" (pp. 81–91). The same volume comprises the *Études d'histoire religieuse, Revue publiée par la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique.* Five articles are included: François Dufaux, "Reconnaître la spiritualité des lieux: la concrétisation des valeurs immatérielles dans l'acte de batir le patrimoine religieux du Québec" (pp. 5–24); Édith Prégent, "Du culte à l'espace muséal, quel patrimoine? Une étude de cas: la statuaire religieuse en plâtre du Québec" (pp. 25–39); Marie-Eve Bernier-Cormier, "La Fête-Dieu dans trois quotidiens québécois (1910–1965)" (pp. 41–58); Isabelle Perreault and Marie-Claude Thifault, "Les Sœurs de la Providence et les psychiatres modernistes: enjeux professionals en santé mentale au Québec, 1910–1965" (pp. 59–79); and Jean-Philippe Croteau, "Les écoles privées juives à Montréal (1874–1939): des instances de reproduction identitaire et de production sociale?" (pp. 81–101).

The spring 2012 issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* (vol. 30, no. 2) is the first of two issues commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Second Vatican Council. The issue consists of four articles: Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., "The Cold War, the Council, and American Catholicism in a Global World" (pp. 1–24); Steven M. Avella, "'I don't think any council father could go back home the same': Albert G. Meyer and Preparing for Vatican II: A Case Study of Episcopal Transformation" (pp. 25–37); Thomas J. Shelley, "*Sacrosanctum Concilium*: Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy" (pp. 39–54); and Patrick J. Hayes, "'Bless me, Father, for I have Rynned': The Vatican II Journalism of Francis X. Murphy, C.Ss.R."

Obituaries

Emmet Larkin (1927–2012)

Emmet Larkin was one of the major modern historians of Ireland and supporter of Irish studies in the United States. Born in New York on May 19, 1927, he served in the U.S. army at the end of World War II. His family was from County Galway in Ireland, and his father had been involved in the Irish war of independence of the early 1920s. He received his BA in history in 1950

from New York University and his PhD in history from Columbia University in 1957. His first academic interest resulted in his book, *James Larkin, Irish Labour Leader, 1876–1947* (Cambridge, MA, 1965). He taught at Brooklyn College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology before moving to the University of Chicago in 1966 where he served as professor of British and Irish history until his retirement in 2006.

As a scholar Dr. Larkin's great contribution was in investigating the role of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland. His ground-breaking article, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–75,"[1] argued that the Irish people as a people only became practicing Catholics in the full sense outlined by the Council of Trent after the famine of the 1840s. This was the time when Sunday Mass attendance rates and reception of the sacraments soared to levels maintained until the late-twentieth century. It was also the time of the institutional consolidation of Catholicism under Cardinal Paul Cullen with the building of new churches and the founding of religious, educational, and medical institutions.

In 1972 this seemed like a shockingly radical thesis when set against the myth of the unvarying constancy of Irish Catholics to their faith. However, backed by Dr. Larkin's gargantuan archival work in Ireland, in Britain, and on the continent over the years, the notion of the devotional revolution took hold as a central way of interpreting the religious, social, and political development of nineteenth-century Ireland. According to Lawrence J. McCaffrey, his friend and fellow Irish American historian, Dr. Larkin believed that the Catholic Church "provided an impoverished and oppressed people with consolation, hope, discipline, and cultural and national identity."

With the establishment of such an important notion as the devotional revolution, it was natural that younger scholars would seek to test its coherence and veracity. Over the years several arguments were made for locating the beginnings of the devotional revolution in the 1830s or even the 1790s. There had even been a devotional revolution of sorts in the early-seventeenth century. Ever the scholar of integrity, Dr. Larkin considered all these contributions and even admitted that perhaps his devotional revolution was a revolution with a small "r" rather than a capital one. However, his work for his last published book, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750–1850* (Dublin and Washington, DC, 2006), convinced him that his original thesis had been correct and that, with fewer clergy and a higher population, the devotional revolution could not have begun before the famine. At the time of his death, Dr. Larkin's book manuscript in progress was *The Devotional Revolution in Ireland 1850–1880*. In his early writing Dr.

[1]Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–75," *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972), 625–52.

Larkin saw the turn to Tridentine religion in functionalist terms—for example, as a compensation for the loss of the Irish language as a marker of Irish identity. In later years, however, he had become more sympathetic to understanding the devotional revolution in terms of the self-declared motives of those involved to address a perceived "spiritual destitution" in the Irish population.

It comes as a surprise to learn that most of Dr. Larkin's work was not directly about the devotional revolution at all. Between 1975 and 1996 he published seven volumes, totaling more than 3000 pages, which charted the interaction of the Catholic Church, the British State and Irish nationalism between 1850, and the fall of the nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell in 1891. With titles referring to "the emergence of the modern Irish political system" and "the creation of the modern Irish state," this was not religious but constitutional history. Dr. Larkin's point was that the Church and nationalists reached an accommodation that laid the foundation for the surprising political stability of modern Ireland, and that, for example, enabled Ireland to resist fascism and remain, for all its relative youth as a state, one of the very oldest continuous democracies in the world.

Dr. Larkin was an inspiring teacher and generous to younger scholars. He was deeply committed to the scholarly and career success of his numerous graduate students. He was a New-Deal Democrat, and this showed in the egalitarianism of the organization he founded with Dr. McCaffrey in 1960: the American Conference (originally Committee) for Irish Studies. In the past twenty years a new pattern has emerged that has seen the development of several high-prestige and well-resourced Irish studies programs in the United States. The vision of Drs. Larkin and McCaffrey for ACIS, which is still a flourishing enterprise, was different. They wanted to gather together scholars of Ireland working in a whole variety of institutional settings.

Because Dr. Larkin could sometimes be mischievous, occasionally this could create a wrong impression. When people would ask him if he had read a particular new study, he would cheerily reply that he was too busy writing history to read it. This led to some people believing he was out of touch with recent scholarship, and reviewers began to take him to task over why he had preferred an older book to a more recent one. Anyone who had ever visited him in his study would know how untrue this impression was. His desk was piled high with the latest volumes of Irish history—from the sixteenth century to the present—to be read.

Dr. Larkin was blessed with a happy family and was wonderfully cared for by his wife, Dianne, in his final illness. He died on March 19, 2012. He is survived by his wife; his daughters, Heather and Siobhan; and his granddaughters, Alexis and Erin.

DePaul University JAMES H. MURPHY

Timothy W. Tifft (1942–2012)

The Very Reverend Thomas W. Tifft, president-rector of Saint Mary Seminary and Graduate School of Theology, in Wickliffe, Ohio, died on July 9, 2012, three days after suffering a massive stroke. He was born on October 5, 1942, and was educated at St. Joseph High School, Borromeo Seminary College, and Saint Mary Seminary. He was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Cleveland on May 31, 1969. After serving as a parochial vicar at the Church of Saint Bridget of Kildare in Parma, he was appointed a residential member of the faculty of Saint Mary Seminary in 1973 to teach church history. He then undertook graduate studies in history at The Catholic University of America and received his PhD in 1979 after submitting the 713-page dissertation "Toward a More Humane Social Policy: The Work and Influence of Monsignor John O'Grady." Father Tifft was appointed registrar of Saint Mary Seminary in 1981, vice-rector and academic dean in 1985, and president-rector in 2001 after his predecessor's troubled tenure. Facing financial stringency, lack of prepared faculty, and low enrollment (which, however, rose in the last few years), he succeeded in expanding programs for the community, especially for lay ministers. With his placid, congenial, and cheerful personality, he was well liked by both faculty members and students. A member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1977, he continued teaching church history in addition to his administrative work. Meanwhile, he collected source materials for a history of the Diocese of Cleveland that he intended to write during his retirement.

He also was interested in baseball and was a member of the Society for American Baseball Research. He was a gifted homilist, weaving baseball stories in with church history and personal anecdotes.

Bishop Richard G. Lennon was the principal celebrant of the funeral Mass in Saint Gabriel Church, Concord Township, on July 13, and his successor as head of the seminary, Father Mark Latcovitch, presided over the interment in All Souls Cemetery.

The Catholic University of America ROBERT TRISCO

Jacques Marie Gres-Gayer (1944–2012)

Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, professor of church history at The Catholic University of America, died on December 19, 2012, at Smilow Cancer Hospital in New Haven, Connecticut. He was born Jacques Gres in Béziers, France, on February 24, 1944. His father died before his birth and his mother remarried; he subsequently added the surname of his stepfather, Pierre Gayer, to his original surname.

Dr. Gres-Gayer began philosophical studies in 1961 at the Gregorian University, Rome. After teaching at Collège Notre-Dame de Jamhour in Beirut,

Lebanon, in 1963–65, he returned to the Gregorian to complete his theological studies. Ordained a priest for the Diocese of Montpellier in 1969, he served as a chaplain at Saint-Thomas d'Aquin School and the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris while pursuing graduate studies in history and theology. In 1982 he received his doctorate in history from the Université de Paris IV (Sorbonne) and his doctorate in theology from the Institut Catholique de Paris; his doctoral dissertation, "The Project to Unite the Gallican and Anglican Churches, 1717–1720," was awarded the Prix de Pange as the best doctoral dissertation of the year.

A 1982–83 postdoctoral fellow at Yale University, Dr. Gres-Gayer was the principal translator of the French edition of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* (*Le Livre de la Prière Commune,* New York, 1983). In 1985, after service as a professorial lecturer in the Departments of History and Theology at Georgetown University, he was appointed to the faculty of The Catholic University of America, where he advanced from assistant to associate to Ordinary Professor. In addition to serving briefly as the chair of the Department of Church History and then as director of the Church History Program, he was an advisory editor of *The Catholic Historical Review* (1986–2009). Among his courses at Catholic University was a popular undergraduate elective on "Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes"; however, most of his teaching was at the graduate level with an "Introduction to Church History," a number of different courses on early and modern church history, and doctoral seminars on such topics as "Aspects of Jansenism."

Dr. Gres-Gayer's research specialty was the history of the Sorbonne during the reign of Louis XIV. Although he published a number of articles in English in refereed journals, encyclopedias, and books, the majority of his publications were in French; in addition to dozens of articles, he published six major works: *Paris-Cantorbéry, 1717–1720: le dossier d'un premier œcuménisme* (Paris, 1989); *Théologie et pouvoir en Sorbonne: la Faculté de théologie de Paris et la bulle Unigenitus, 1714–1721* (Paris, 1991); *Le Jansénisme en Sorbonne, 1643–1656* (Paris, 1996); *En Sorbonne, autour des Provinciales: édition critique des Mémoires de l'abbé de Beaubrun, 1655–1656* (Paris, 1997); *Le Gallicanisme de Sorbonne: chroniques de la Faculté de théologie de Paris, 1657–1688* (Paris, 2002); and *D'un Jansénisme a l'autre: chroniques de Sorbonne (1696–1713)* (Paris, 2007). George Carey, archbishop of Canterbury, recognized Dr. Gres-Gayer's interest in the relationship between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church with the conferral of the Cross of St. Augustine in 1999.

A joint requiem for Dr. Gres-Gayer and his stepfather, who survived him by only a few hours, was scheduled in Paris, to be followed by the private interment of their remains in the family chapel in Béziers.

The Catholic University of America JOHN T. FORD, C.S.C.

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OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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Covers: I Libri di Joseph Ratzinger: Fra Testi e Contesti. (Rome: Liberia Editrice Vaticana. 2012. Pp. 296. €40,00.) Following Silvano Petrosino's introduction, "La Soglia della copertina" (pp. 9–16), are small-scale, full-color reproductions of the covers of Joseph Ratzinger's 618 books with all the translations; for each title the country, publisher, and place and year of publication are given. The bibliography contains the writings of Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI) published in Italian, which are divided into "Singole opere" (16 pages) and "Singoli contributi" (14 pages). The origin of the book was the exhibition "Ad multos libros" set up by Herder Verlag and the Libreria Editrice Vaticana on the occasion of the pope's visit to Germany in September 2011. It does not pretend to be a complete catalog.

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