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WHY POPE JOAN?

BY

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For 700 years a tale has been told about an English woman who was elected pope in the mid-ninth century. Called Pope Joan, she supposedly was born in Mainz of English parents. Dressed as a man, she traveled to Athens with a lover, acquired an education, moved to Rome, impressed the cardinals (who did not know she was a woman), and was unanimously elected pope. While crossing the city in a procession she unexpectedly gave birth near the church of San Clemente, died on the spot, and was buried there. Joan's story cannot be traced back to the ninth century. It arose in the thirteenth century and was universally believed until the sixteenth century. In succeeding historical periods the figure of Joan proved useful to many writers.

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I present the story of a woman who never lived but who nevertheless refuses to die. I have been reading, writing, and teaching papal history for forty years, and I have lost count of how many times I have been asked by students, colleagues, friends, fellow parishioners, and out-of-the-blue email correspondents to tell them about Pope Joan. Enter "Pope Joan" into Google, and nearly 3 million hits result. By contrast, Pope Benedict XVI boasts a robust 33.8 million hits. Still, Joan's total is impressive. I certainly did not read them all, but I read quite a few; they range from the serious and scholarly to the ideological and

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polemical and from the viciously anti-Catholic to the just plain weird. Enter "Pope Joan," "Die Päpstin," "La papesse," or "la papessa" into WorldCat, and almost 1100 titles result, including scholarly books, plays, novels, poems, and films. These numbers suffice in signaling the magnitude of the problem. No real pope commands anything like this concerted attention reaching back eight centuries. What I want to discuss is why that should be the case, but space considerations will require me to be selective.

Here is a bare-bones account of Joan's story as it came to be known in the later Middle Ages and has persisted to our own time. A girl was born to English parents living in Mainz. Perhaps as a late adolescent, she disguised herself as a man and fled with her lover to study in Athens. After some time, she went to Rome, was warmly received, was admired for her learning, and was unanimously elected pope. No one knew she was a woman until, after a pontificate of two years and some months, she gave birth to a child while processing from St. Peter's to St. John Lateran. She died on the spot, and later papal processions avoided the place. Supposedly a statue of Joan and her offspring was placed near where she died. Subsequently a ritual was inserted into the papal installation ceremonies to verify that the newly elected pope was indeed male. Joan's pontificate was believed to have followed that of Pope Leo IV who died in 855.[1]

Only in the central decades of the thirteenth century was Joan's story recorded for the first time. Within a short time several further accounts appeared. In his *Universal Metz Chronicle*, written around 1255, the Dominican Jean de Mailly included this account:

> To be verified: About a certain pope, or rather a popesse, for it was a woman. Pretending to be a man he was made a notary of the curia on account of the uprightness of his character, and then cardinal and finally pope. On a certain day, when he had mounted a horse, he gave birth to a child and immediately by Roman justice had his feet tied together and was dragged by the tail of the horse and was stoned by the people for half a league and where he died, he was buried, and it was written there: Peter, Father of Fathers, Publish the Parturition of the Popesse. Under him was instituted the fast of the Four Times, called the fast of the Popesse.[2]

[1]The story has been told many times. For an introduction to the subject, see J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 329–30.

[2]*Historiae mettensis Monumenta Varia*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 24:514 [=*Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab a. C. 500 usque ad a. 1500, Scriptores,*

A few points may be noted right away: In the autograph manuscript Jean apparently wrote *Require* ("Confirm") next to this passage; all of Jean's pronouns are in fact masculine; the popesse is not named, does not have a place of origin, and is not assigned dates.

A few years later another Dominican, Etienne de Bourbon, inserted a brief notice about the popes into the section on prudence in his treatise *On the Seven Gifts of the Spirit*. The question at hand was prudence in the election of clerics. He says:

> An astonishing stroke of audacity, or, rather of insanity, happened around the year 1100, as is reported in chronicles. A certain educated woman, learned in the art of writing, assuming male dress and presenting herself as a man came to Rome and, having been accepted both for her energy and her learning, was made a notary of the curia, then, with the devil's help, cardinal and afterwards pope. She became pregnant and gave birth when she mounted [a horse]. When Roman justice learned of these events, her feet were tied to the hooves of a horse and she was dragged out of the city; she was stoned by the people for half a league. She was buried where she died, and on the stone placed over her [body] this little verse was written: "Refrain, Father of the Fathers, from Publishing the Parturition of the Popesse." Behold to what an abominable end such rash presumption leads.[3]

This text calls for a few comments. The only "chronicle" to which Etienne could be referring is that of Jean de Mailly, and yet he alters

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vols. 1–32 (Hannover, 1826–1934), vol. 24, p. 514]: "Require de quodam papa vel potius papissa, quia femina erat, et simulans se esse virum, probitate ingenii factus notarius curie, deinde cardinalis et tandem papa. Quadam die, cum ascenderet equum, peperit puerum, et statim Romana iusticia, ligatis pedibus eius, et caudam equi tractus est et a populo lapidatus per dimidiam leugam, et ubi obit, ibi sepultus fuit, et ibi scriptum est: *Petre, pater patrum, papisse prodito partum.* Sub ipso institutum fuit ieiunium quatuor temporum, et dicitur ieunium papisse."

[3] *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. Jacobus Echard (Paris, 1719), 1:367: "Accidit autem mirabilis audacia imo insania circum annum Domini 1100 ut dicitur in chronicis. Quaedam mulier litterata et in arte nondi [sic; notandi?] edocta, assumpto virili habitu, et virum se fingens, venit Roman, et tam industria quam letteratura accepta, facta est notarius curiae, post diabolo procurante cardinalis, post papa. Haec impraegnata cum ascenderet peperit. Quod cum novisset Romana iustitia, ligatis pedibus ejus ad pedes equi distracta est extra urbem, et dimidiam leucam a populo lapidate, et ubi fuit mortua ibi fuit sepulta, et super lapidem super ea positum scriptus est versiculus: Parce pater patrum papisse prodere partum. Ecce ad quam detestabilem finem ducit tam temeraria praesumatio." Alain Boureau discusses the text in *The Myth of Pope Joan*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago, 2001), pp. 117–19. For a fuller discussion see Elisabeth Gössmann, *Mulier Papa: Der Skandal eines weiblichen Papstes*, [Archiv für philosophie- und theologie-geschichtliche Frauenforschung, 5], (Munich, 1994), pp. 24–32.

Jean's text in a few respects. Here we have a date—"around 1100"—and the active participation of the devil.

Between 1265 and 1277 Martin Strebsky produced three recensions of his *Chronicle of the Roman Popes and Emperors*. A Dominican usually called Martinus Polonus because he was a high official in the Polish province of the Order, Martin was a papal chaplain and was appointed bishop of Gniezno but died before taking up the position. Some skeptics have argued that a later hand interpolated the account of the popesse into Martin's third recension, but a century and a half ago Ludwig Weiland demonstrated that the account is in fact Martin's.[4] Here is what Martin says:

> After that Leo [that is, Leo IV], John, an Englishman, born in Mainz, reigned for two years, seven months, and four days. He died in Rome and the papacy was vacant for a month. He, as is said, was a woman, and when she was still a girl she was taken to Athens dressed as a man by a certain lover. She advanced so much in various branches of knowledge that no one could be found to equal her. Subsequently she taught the trivium in Rome and had great teachers as her disciples and auditors. And because her life and learning were held in high repute in the City, she was elected pope unanimously. But while pope she was impregnated by her lover. Not knowing the time of her delivery, when she was headed from St. Peter's to the Lateran, she gave birth in a narrow passage between the Coliseum and San Clemente and, after her death, as is reported, she was buried in that very place. Because the lord pope always avoids that street it is believed by many that he does this on account of his detestation of that event. He is not placed in the catalogue of the holy pontiffs on account of the deformity of the female sex as it applied to this matter.[5]

[4]Ludwig Weiland, "Die Chronik des Predigermönches Johannes von Mailly," *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 12 (1875): 1–78. Weiland studied the works of both Jean de Mailly (in fact, he identified him) and Martinus Polonus.

[5]*Chronicon Pontificicum et Imperatorum*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS 22:428: "Post hunc Leonem Iohannes Anglicus nacione Maguntius sedit annis 2, mensibus 7, diebus 4, et mortuus est Rome, et cessavit papatus mense 1. His, ut asseritur, femina fuit, et in puellari etate Athenis ducta a quodam amasio suo in habitu virili, sic in diversiis scienciis profecit, ut nullus sibi par inveniretur, adeo ut post Rome trivium legens magnos magistros discipulos et auditores haberet. Et cum in Urbe viat et sciencia magne opinionis esset, in papam concorditer elegitur. Sed in papatu per suum familiarem impregnatur. Verum tempus partus ignorans, cum de sancto Petro in Lateranum tenderet, angustiate inter Coliseum et sancti Clementis ecclesiam peperit, et post mortua ibidem, ut dicitur, sepulta fuit. Et quia domnus papa eandem viam semper obliquat, creditur a plerisque, quod propter detestationem facti hoc faciat. Nec ponitur in cathalogo sanctorum pontificum propter mulieris sexus quantum ad hoc deformitatem."

Martin's account merits a few more comments than the first two. He provides a name, John (whence Johanna or Joan); a locale (Mainz); a date (855 to 858); an English background; and a period of study in Athens and public teaching in Rome. Martin does not assign John/Joan any offices in the papal government, does not have John/Joan dragged through the streets of Rome, and does not mention the gravestone with the six Ps. Composing his text must have caused Martin some difficulties, because his pronouns slip back and forth between the masculine and the feminine. Finally, it will have been noticed that not one of these accounts mentions the supposed rite according to which the pope's masculinity was confirmed. I shall return to this point.

Martin's text became the canonical version of the Joan story. His chronicle survives in hundreds of manuscripts and was translated into Armenian, Czech, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, and Spanish. Literally countless later authors simply appropriated Martin's version of the Joan story. Ironically, when various scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries compiled lengthy lists of authors who attested to the truth of the story, they neglected to mention or else did not realize that those very authors were merely repeating, often verbatim, the account of Martin.

A first question that naturally imposes itself is: Where did this story arise? As previously noted, there are differences among the accounts of Jean de Mailly, Etienne de Bourbon, and Martinus Polonus, but there is also a recognizable core of common material. Suffice it to say that there is not a scrap of evidence from the ninth century bearing upon Joan; there is no gap in the papal succession between Leo IV and Benedict III;[6] there is a perfectly credible *vita* of Benedict in the *Liber Pontificalis*;[7] and there are authentic, datable letters of Benedict.[8]

For discussion see Boureau, *Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 123–28; Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 33–42; Max Kerner and Klaus Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna: Biographie einer Legende* (Cologne, 2010), pp. 69–84.

[6]Raymond Davis shows that Leo IV died on July 17, 855, and that Benedict III was elected on September 29 of the same year; see *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, [Translated Texts for Historians], (Liverpool, 1995), pp. 111, 167. This is a slightly long vacancy in the ninth century but not enough time to accommodate Joan.

[7]*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. M. O. Duchesne, [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome], (repr. Paris, 1981), 2:140–48.

[8]See Philippus Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (repr. Graz, 1956), 1:339–41, nos. 2663, 2664, 2666–73.

Some have suggested that a mysterious prophetess named Thiota who showed up in Mainz in 847 may be behind the story, but this theory seems highly improbable.[9] Centuries later, some writers asserted that Pope John VIII (872–82), perhaps the figure behind the Joan story, was "womanly" because he failed to stand up to Patriarch Photius, but there is no hint of this in any reasonably contemporary source.[10] Some point to the tenth century, to the so-called "Pornocracy," when Theodora and Marozia had lovers and sons named John who became popes.[11] Not too much can be made of this hypothesis. Pope Leo IX wrote to Patriarch Michael Keroularios in 1054 and upbraided him for promoting women and eunuchs in his church.[12] It has been argued that Leo could not have said such a thing if there had been a female pope, but that is only negative evidence and also reads too much into Leo's letter. Fourteenth-century manuscripts of the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, who died in 1086, and of Sigebert of Gembloux, who died in 1112, have Joan, but in the oldest manuscripts Joan is, like T. S. Eliot's cat Macavity, "not there."[13] Cesare d'Onofrio argues that it is just as likely that Joan was expunged from early texts as that she was added to later ones, but his argument has not gained any traction.[14] In his *Pantheon* of 1190 Godfrey of Viterbo seems to say that "the popesse Johanna is not numbered," *sans plus*. But in this case, once again, we are dealing with a later interpolation.[15] It seems likely that the story originated in Rome as what would now be called an "urban legend." Already in 1830 the colorful Johann Josef Ignaz von Döllinger,

[9]On Thiota see *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, [MGH, Scriptores in usum scholarum], (Hannover, 1891), sub anno 447, pp. 36–37. For discussion of her possible connection with Joan, see Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 57–59.

[10]Cesare Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Venice, 1711), 10: 465: "Johannem Octavum Papam fuisse foemineum." The connection among Baronius, John VIII, Photius, and Joan was first treated in scholarly fashion by Joseph Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel: sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma* (Regensburg, 1867), p. 394. For further discussion see Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 143–44, and Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, p. 127.

[11]See Cesare d'Onofrio, *La papessa Giovanna: Roma e papato tra storia e leggenda* (Rome, 1979), pp. 113, 207; Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 103–08; Rosemary Pardoe and Darroll Pardoe, *The Female Pope: The Mystery of Pope Joan. The First Complete Documentation of the Facts behind the Legend* (Wellingborough, UK, 1988), pp. 54–56; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 140–41.

[12]PL 143:744–69, esp. 760 [=*Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Series Latina*, 217 vols. (Paris, 1841–64), vol. 143, cols. 744–69, esp. 760].

[13]Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 69, 120–23, 126–27; Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 51–53; Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 116, 137.

[14]D'Onofrio, *La papessa Giovanna*, pp. 40–42.

[15]Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, p. 53; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna,* p. 69.

in *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*, attempted to assemble some common features of the prime versions of the story—the ones referred to above—to see if he could account for the legend. Although improved upon in some respects, his account remains fundamental. Döllinger pointed to the perforated chairs, the stone with the inscription PPPPPP, the statue of a woman with child allegedly in pontifical garb, and the detours in the papal procession.[16] I will take up these elements one by one.

Around 1290 Geoffroy de Courlon, a Benedictine, and Robert d'Uzès, a Dominican, first mentioned the famous chair. Here is Robert's account of one of his visions: "Then the Spirit took me to the palace of the Lateran. And there, it put me down in the porch, before the porphyry seats, where it is said that they verify that the pope is a man."[17] Probably owing to the papacy's long absence in Avignon, the story vanished until 1379, when Johannes of Viktring, after his discussion of Pope Joan, said, "To avoid such an error, as soon as the elected is seated on the throne of Peter, the least of the deacons touches his genitals on a chair pierced to that effect."[18] Until 1644, when the Swedish Lutheran Lars Banck claimed to have witnessed the rite of verification at the installation of Pope Innocent X, the story was endlessly repeated. In 1406 Jacopo d'Angelo ironically testified to the currency of the story when he insisted that people should cease believing this "senseless madness."[19] In 1479 Bartolommeo Sacchi, better known as Platina, gave the story a novel turn. He said the newly elected pope was placed on the *sedes stercoraria* to demonstrate that he was only a man and, like other men, had to defecate.[20] In fact, as will be seen in a moment, Platina was confused about the chairs that were actually used. In the early-sixteenth century several writers, with grim humor, said that the rite had fallen out of use because recent popes had so many bastard children that their sex was not in doubt.[21] Some said the rite had been introduced by Benedict III, Joan's supposed successor, but others attributed it to Pope John VIII.

[16]Johann Josef Ignaz von Döllinger, *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1830), pp. 32–53.

[17]Quoted by Boureau, *Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 11–12.

[18]Boureau, *Myth of Pope Joan*, p. 11.

[19]Boureau, *Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 13–14, 26–29.

[20]Bartolomeo Platina, *Platynae historici Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum*, ed. Giacinto Gaida (Città di Castello, 1932), pp. 151–52.

[21]Boureau names Janus Pannonius, Marko Marulić, and Jean-Jacques Boissard; see *Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 23–24.

This rite, let me emphasize right away, never existed. But its history can more or less be reconstructed. From at least the late-eighth century popes were installed at St. Peter's and then traveled across Rome to take possession of the Lateran. In 1099, on the election of Pope Paschal II, the chairs are first mentioned as part of the ritual of taking possession of the Lateran.[22] Now, there was on the Lateran porch a chair, the so-called *sedes stercoraria*, on which the pope sat briefly before entering the basilica. This chair was not pierced, and when the newly elected sat on it, he was addressed as follows: "May he lift up the poor man from the dust and raise up the poor from the dung and may he sit with princes and hold the seat of glory." The point was to emphasize humility.[23] What was new in 1099 was that Paschal sat on two perforated marble chairs—they were rosso antico, but the later story always turned them into porphyry—that were placed in front of the chapel of St. Lawrence in the Lateran complex. One of these is now in the Vatican, and one is in the Louvre.[24] They should not be confused with the—shall we say, "potty chair"—in the Lateran porch; it is now in the cloister. The rite came at a troubled time. The Investiture Controversy had not been resolved. Paschal faced an antipope. There were republican ideas swirling in Rome. And the religious rites pertaining to making a new pope were now all completed at St. Peter's, so the rite of taking possession of the Lateran was basically a secular ceremony symbolizing the pope's right to rule the city. Apparently Leo X in 1513 was the last pope to complete this ritual. In fraught circumstances, then, a modest change to an older rite provoked a playful, parodic story that spread in the way such stories often do.

The other constituents of Döllinger's myth kit may be treated more briefly. First, Joan's supposed gravestone with the mysterious six Ps. Wherever this stone was, it vanished centuries ago, and there is no reason to believe that any of our witnesses to the Joan story had ever actually seen it. Almost certainly the stone was a plinth for a statue of Mithras or perhaps for a priest of that cult erected by a devotee. Mithras was often called "Father of Fathers," so the Ps probably resolve as "Have mercy, father of fathers, paid for with his own money" (*Parce, pater patrum, pecunia propria posuit*). At some unknown moment

[22]Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis*, 2:296.

[23]Text quoted and translated from R. Pardoe and D. Pardoe, *The Female Pope*, pp. 49–52.

[24]For a full discussion see Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 72–103.

an anonymous wit gave the reading "Peter, Father of Fathers, Publish the Parturition of the Popesse," and the story went into circulation.[25]

The statue of mother and child might well have been a Madonna except that it is more likely that we are dealing with an elegantly clad pagan goddess nursing an infant. There is a fine example in the Vatican Museum.[26] Where this statue actually was located is completely unknown, although a number of writers said that it was on the street corner opposite San Clemente. Even Luther claimed that he saw it when he visited Rome in 1510. Once again, someone in Rome reinterpreted an old statue and connected it with the popesse, and his gentle mockery turned into a hard historical fact that circulated for centuries.

Finally, then, the detour in the papal procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran. Döllinger realized, and d'Onofrio showed in careful detail, that the Via San Giovanni in Lateranno basically dead-ended at San Clemente until early-modern times when it was extended to the Coliseum. In other words, the papal processions, indeed any traffic, had to turn either right or left at San Clemente. Typically the route took a left turn into the Via dei Querceti, later called the Vicus Papisse, before making a right turn into the Via dei Santi Quattro Coronati. From the twelfth century processions took a right turn at San Clemente, almost certainly because of the extremely narrow street to the left. Once again, some wag connected the dots and spun a story that the popes always took a detour at San Clemente "because of detestation of that place."[27]

Whether these four slender threads can be wound together in such a way as to drag the story of the popesse from the early Middle Ages to the twenty-first century is open to legitimate question. But they are all we have to go on. Certainly other aspects of the story first put into words by Jean de Mailly, Etienne de Bourbon, and Martinus Polonus must have been circulating. The basic story is Roman through and through, but it is worth recalling that when it was written down it

[25]This is Döllinger's interpretation, which has prevailed.

[26]A century ago Giuseppe Tomassetti proposed that the statue in the Chiaramonte Gallery of the Vatican Museum might be the very statue long asserted to represent Joan; see "La statua della papessa Giovanna," *Bolletino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 35 (1907), 82–95. Be that as it may, it was *probably* such a statue that gave rise to the legend.

[27]D'Onofrio, *La papessa Giovanna*, pp. 234–37.

was northern Europeans who put quill to parchment. Plenty of people went to Rome for lots of reasons. Some of them brought Joan back with them.

A discussion of some of the many ways in which the Joan story has been read, used, and misused can benefit from a few more details concerning the story itself. First of all, her name, Joan. Between 1300 and 1600 she was usually called Johanna, hence Joan, but sometimes called Agnes, Anna, and Gilberta.[28] This suggests that as the story circulated it changed shape even in basic details. Second, why Mainz? Broadly speaking, for Italians all trouble came from the north, and most of that trouble came from Germany. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation had no capital city. But writers such as Otto of Freising and the Ligurinus poet said that Mainz was the finest and most important city in Germany. In the vernacular Charlemagne cycles that were immensely popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the arch-betrayer Ganelon was count of Mainz, and his chief supporters were burghers of Mainz. That is not much to go on, but it is all we have.[29] Third, why Athens? The point is that Athens was an intellectual backwater right through the Middle Ages. I suggest, following on a hint by Döllinger, that Athens became the place where Joan acquired her learning before coming to Rome as a result of the idea of the *translatio studiorum*.[30] In a letter Alcuin spoke of the transfer of learning from Athens to Rome to Aachen.[31] By the high Middle Ages, Paris had displaced Aachen in this discourse, but the underlying idea that learning had passed from the Greeks to the Latins, from the pagans to the Christians, and from the Mediterranean to the North was deeply embedded. In an ironic way, it seems that Joan was one of the vessels in which that learning was carried.

One final preliminary point about the story is appropriate. From its first appearance in the late-thirteenth century until the late-sixteenth century the story was taken to be literally true by virtually everyone. The one exception is Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, who discovered that the Hussites referred to Joan and said the matter was

[28]Boureau discusses Joan's various names across the later Middle Ages see *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 174–209.

[29]To this day, the wisest words on Mainz are Döllinger's; see *Papstfabeln*, pp. 47–50.

[30]Döllinger, *Papstfabeln* , pp. 52–53.

[31]Alcuin, Ep. 170, *Epistolae Karolini aevi,* ed. Ernst Dümmler, [MGH, Epistolae 4, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi 2], (Berlin, 1895), p. 279.

doubtful.[32] But he did not pursue it; neither did anyone else. It is astonishing that refutations did not arise and proliferate, but they did not. It was only in 1562 that the Augustinian friar Onofrio Panvinio, in preparing a new edition of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, explicitly rejected the historicity of Pope Joan.[33] Applying the best kinds of humanist historical, codicological, and philological scholarship, he demonstrated that a Pope Joan never existed. His arguments are essentially the same as those used today by a competent historian. The generations after Panvinio's saw further Catholic rejections of Joan's existence and Protestant arguments to the contrary.[34] Ironically, the historicity of Joan was finally rejected in 1647 by the Amsterdam Calvinist David Blondel who represented the rationalist side of reformed Christianity and believed that myth and legend had no place in any arguments about the Christian past. It is true, however, that some of Blondel's co-religionists believed that he had betrayed the cause.[35] With only a few eccentric exceptions, no one has believed in the historical reality of Pope Joan for about 350 years.

I already called attention to some slight differences of detail in the earliest accounts of Joan. Embellishments to the story continued throughout its life, particularly in the three centuries or so after its first appearance among the Dominicans. I will mention just a few of the many transformations that appeared. Joan's parents were rendered as English missionaries to the Continent. This detail doubtless answered the question of why she was born in Mainz but was English by nation. In most versions of the story Joan has agency; she acts on her own volition. But in some versions she succumbs to Satan's temptations. Usually Joan took on male dress so as to procure the kind of learning that was denied to women, but in one version her parents recognized her intelligence and so dressed and raised her as a boy and sent her to the monastery of Fulda. We saw that Jean de Mailly credited Joan with instituting the Four Fasts—that is, the Ember Days. She

[32]Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 221–23, 228; Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 61–65, especially good on Hus. See also Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, p. 111.

[33]Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 120–21; Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 245–49; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 123–25.

[34]Gössmann ably chronicles these different Catholic-Protestant treatments of Joan in *Mulier Papa*, pp. 110–48. See also Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 124–30.

[35]Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 189–95; Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 253–54; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 129–30.

did no such thing, but in many places the Ember Days were, contrary to expectations, times of carnival frolicking. That is probably, again, how they became connected to Joan. But her liturgical efforts do not stop there. She was credited with mass prefaces. A book on necromancy was attributed to her. She was believed to have consecrated bishops and ordained priests. Pier Paolo Vergerio thought she was a witch. One could go on and on, but the point has been made that Joan had almost as many lives as people who remembered her.[36]

Joan's story was told again and again because she—or, at any rate, the story about her—was useful; it was a good launching point for other discussions. Most often the story was polemical in intent. Sometimes it was carnavalesque, a position that stands somewhere between fun and furor. Given the huge number of times when Joan was mentioned by someone,[37] I can do no more here than offer a brief sampling of the kinds of issues in which Joan became embroiled.

Joan's story emerged among Dominican and Franciscan authors in the last decades of the thirteenth century. I previously discussed the primary Dominican authors, but for reasons of space I have omitted the Franciscans. This was a period when controversy wracked the orders, when papal decisions for or against positions dear to one order or the other were causes of joy or consternation and when the abdication of Celestine V and the election of Boniface VIII called the legitimacy of the papal office itself into question. This is precisely the context in which Brian Tierney placed the emergence of the discussion of papal infallibility.[38] Joan's story was a kind of prophetic warning about how a wicked pope could destroy either a religious order or the Church as a whole. Joan was useful in thinking about the election of 1294: What happens if an ineligible person is duly elected

[36]Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, is excellent on the embellishments as a component of the reception history. The Dominicans had already cited satanic influence, but the Franciscans were especially focused on this issue; see Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 24, 67, 112–14. Joan's liturgical and sacramental achievements are discussed by Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, p. 238, and by Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 119–23. On Vergerio's calling Joan a witch see Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, p. 240.

[37]A handy list of all the times that Joan is mentioned appears in Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 315–22; even so, he omits many figures who appear in Gössmann's extraordinary compilation of "receptions."

[38]Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* [Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 6.], Second Impression with Postscript (Leiden, 1988).

pope? Or what happens if an eligible person is elected but proves inadequate to the task?[39]

The removal of the papacy to Avignon and then the Great Schism intensified these questions.[40] For some writers, Joan signified the possibility that electors might make a terrible mistake. But if such a mistake were made and recognized, how might it be remedied? Canonists expressed strict and rather abstract views on these topics, but theologians viewed them a little differently. William of Ockham brought the Joan story into the realm of faith and fact. For him, the situation of a particular pope was never a blemish on the Church, because the Church was never without its true head, Jesus Christ. Obviously Ockham's argument did not warm the hearts of papalists. Nor did the views of John Wycliff who treated the story of Pope Joan—he called her Anna—as evidence for the inevitable corruption of the visible Church.

Humanism brought Joan to the fore in a number of guises. Giovanni Boccaccio included her among his illustrious women.[41] His Joan was a wicked and audacious woman who, dressed as a man, fled her father's house with her lover. After her lover died, she pursued her studies, eventually becoming pope. Overcome by lust, she became pregnant, gave birth to a child, and was thrown into a dungeon by the cardinals. Apart from his embellishments, Boccaccio basically reprises the late-thirteenth-century views of Jacobus da Voragine who made of Joan an *exemplum* of audacious presumption.[42] Other humanists took a different view. In somewhat different ways, writers such as Martin Le Franc, Bartolommeo Goggio, and Mario Equicola picked up on Joan's erudition and made her one of the learned women of the Renaissance.[43] Her pontificate, they said, was divinely willed. Still

[39]Helpful discussions appear in Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 109–11, 145–56, and Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 78–84. Perhaps the Pardoes have it right in saying that the story was told among the friars as a "scurrilous joke"; see *The Female Pope*, p. 59.

[40]Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 56–65; Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 151–56; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 78–81, 92–109.

[41]Vittorio Zaccaria, ed., *De mulieribus claris*, [Tutte le Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, 10], 2nd ed. (Milan, 1970), pp. 414–19. There is an English translation by Guido A. Guarino, *Concerning Famous Women* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1963), pp. 231–33.

[42]Da Voragine's view is discussed with references by Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 119–22. See also Gössmann, *Mulier Papa,* pp. 42–43.

[43]Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 87–88; Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 78–85.

other humanists responded to the papacy's shifting views on humanism and humanists—say, when some popes forbade the teaching of classical poets or when Paul II abolished the college of abbreviators and, in the process, cut off some good jobs in the curia—with scathing, satirical attacks based in different ways on Joan's story.[44]

For early Protestant writers the temptation to equate Joan with the whore of Babylon, with whom they already equated the papacy, was irresistible. But the Joan story, which Protestant writers affected to believe until well into the seventeenth century, served other purposes as well. It called into question the integrity of the Petrine succession and the validity of holy orders—it will be recalled that Joan was alleged to have consecrated bishops and ordained priests.[45] Dietrich Schernberg's play *Frau Jutta* reveals other Protestant uses of Joan.[46] The play was probably written in the later fifteenth century but survives only in the 1565 edition of Hieronymus Tilesius. In the first place, the play shows the tendency for unrestrained embroidering of the tale. Sathanas and Spiegelglas plot with Lucifer to capture Joan. They succeed, and she becomes pope. Passing over some details, one arrives at a heavenly scene in which Jesus and Mary are discussing what to do about Joan. Jesus aims to have done with her, but Mary intercedes and is granted the opportunity to seek Joan's redemption. She sends the Archangel Gabriel to plead with Joan to change her ways. Joan agrees to accept present death instead of eternal damnation. In the second place, there is no priest and no sacramental confession in this version of the story. Joan was useful in an attack on the sacramental system of the Catholic Church.

Writers in the Enlightenment and later during the French Revolution were generally not too interested in whether or not Joan actually existed.[47] They tended to treat her and her story as an exam-

[44]Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 29–32.

[45]D'Onofrio, *La Papessa Giovanna*, pp. 106–21; Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 110–38; Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 229–44; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 115–23. The English scene has been particularly well treated; see, for example, Craig M. Rustici, *The Afterlife of Pope Joan: Deploying the Popess Legend in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor, 2006).

[46]Dietrich Schernberg, *Ein Schoen Spiel von Frau Jutten*, ed. Manfred Lemmer, [Texte des späten Mittelalters und frühen Neuzeit, 14], (Berlin, 1971).

[47]Boureau lists seventy-three works that mention Joan written between 1650 and 1815; see *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 325–29. See also Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 215–90.

ple of the grotesque religious fanaticism of the Middle Ages. The *Encyclopédie* dismissed Joan as an old wives' tale. Voltaire, in his inimitable fashion, mocked her in his *Essai sur les mœurs*. The French Revolution was anticlerical from its inception, but it became specifically antipapal when Pius VI condemned the Civil Constitution of the clergy. In early 1793 three plays appeared in Paris based on the story of *La papesse*. As literature, dramatic art, and political polemic, the plays are as forgettable as their authors: Pierre Léger, August Jean Baptiste Defauconpret, and Flins des Oliviers.[48]

As one turns the corner into the nineteenth century, some themes that had emerged in the telling of the Joan story on the edges of the Enlightenment began to assert themselves. Joan's story became increasingly bawdy and secular. In 1777 Charles Bordès published his *La papesse Jeanne*. The story is anticlerical, to be sure, and also thumbs its nose at certain Enlightenment pretensions—he festooned his book with notes as if it were a work of scholarship, but for the most part it is a risqué burlesque. Rome is in tatters when Leo IV dies from syphilis, "the too bitter fruit of an agreeable error." A heavenly assembly debates what to do and sends the Archangel Raphael to Rome to open a conclave. One group of celestial debaters, holy women with Monica at their head, persuades St. Peter to urge Raphael to select Joan.[49] In 1801 Théodore Desorgues made sport of the Joan tradition with his *Le pape et le mufti*.[50] The Turks under Mufti Ali are besieging Rome where the pope is Azémis, a young Turkish woman disguised as a man so she can be near her lover, Azolan, who has become a cardinal. On the whole, the story is a contrived, superficial, but entertaining farce. It is interesting for its attacks on Christianity as such in place of revolutionary attacks on the Church and the papacy.

Romanticism appropriated Joan in many ways. The Prussian writer Achim von Arnim (d. 1831) started with Schernberg's *Frau Jutta* and then twisted the basic elements of the Joan story almost out of recognizable shape. In the end, he turned her into a heroine of the

[48]The plays are discussed fully in Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 250–78, and in Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*, pp. 215–90. I have not read them.

[49]Charles Bordès, *La papesse Jeanne* (n.p., 1778). See Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 261–64.

[50]Théodore Desorgues, *Le pape et le mufti ou la reconciliation des cultes*, in *Théodore Desorgues ou la désorganisation,* ed. Michel Vovelle (Paris, 1985), pp. 235–73.

German nation.[51] More interesting by far is Emmanuel Rhoides whose *Papissa Johanna* appeared in Greek in 1866. The work was quickly translated into many languages[52] but existed in English only in a bowdlerized version until Lawrence Durrell retranslated it in 1954.[53] Rhoides believed fervently in the truth of Joan. The book was banned in Greece, and its author was excommunicated by the Orthodox Church. Although embellished in many respects, Rhoides's tale is recognizably that of Martinus Polonus. Joan displays brilliance in many areas of knowledge and also has a robust sexual appetite. As in most tellings, she has a lover but she also conquers an abbot, two bishops, and a secular official. The book has an anticlerical side, to be sure, but that is not its central theme. Rhoides's tale, which sometimes borders on the salacious, presents a woman who delights in both the quest for knowledge and the sins of the flesh—two things typically denied to respectable women.

Joan continued to attract attention in the twentieth century. Three trends may be observed: scholarly, feminist, and popular approaches.

As previously noted, scholarly approaches to Joan, primarily from the early-modern period, tended to focus on her historicity. Indeed, such studies effectively refuted any such possibility. It is true that in the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, scholars re-entered the field, but they took a somewhat different approach from that of their predecessors.

Döllinger's *Papstfabeln* makes clear that although he did not believe that the story was true in any empirical sense, he did not think the story was artless or pointless. He appreciated that fables, or legends, can have histories as well. In some ways, as we shall see shortly, Döllinger was ahead of his time. The first modern scholarly treatment was the 1925 dissertation of Werner Kraft, which examined the literary motifs in the Joan story. His work has had limited influence.[54] In 1979 d'Onofrio published a valuable scholarly study, which was partly

[51]Arnim did not compose a single work on Joan. Instead, he developed her story gradually through several of his lengthy and little-known works. Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, pp. 281–87; Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 140–41.

[52]Perhaps the best known was the French version of Alfred Jarry, *La Papesse Jeanne* (1907; repr. Paris, 1981).

[53]Emmanuel Rhoides, *Pope Joan: A Romantic Biography* (London, 1954).

[54]Werner Kraft, *Die Päpstin Johanna: Eine motivegeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Frankfurt, 1925).

an historical exploration and partly a literary investigation.[55] In 1985 Joan Morris published an extraordinary book[56] that presents itself as a serious scholarly study, equipped with seemingly learned references, that proves the existence of Pope Joan. Morris's thesis is that wicked churchmen expurgated the record, and gullible historians believed them. In 1988 Rosemary and Darroll Pardoe published a modest book of no great pretension that has the virtue of laying out in very basic terms the cases for and against Joan's historicity.[57] They come down squarely against it. In the same year Alain Boureau published, in French, *La papesse Jeanne*, which appeared in 2001 in English translation. Boureau's book is as brilliantly conceived as it is perversely organized. It is, by turns, a traditional history, an "experimental" history, an exercise in historical *mentalités*, and a literary history. The book jumps around thematically and chronologically but eventually shows how the history of a history reveals much about all the periods and places in which that history was recounted. The year 1988 was something of an *annus mirabilis* in the study of Pope Joan, because in that year there also appeared a "Critical Research Report" by Klaus Herbers.[58] In 1994 Elisabeth Gössmann published a substantial study of the reception history of the Joan story.[59] She is particularly interested in the theological implications of the story in all its various tellings.

More recently critical theory and postmodernism have made contributions to the Joan story. In 2010 Herbers teamed with his eminent German historian colleague, Max Kerner, to produce the "Biography of a Legend."[60] In most respects Kerner and Herbers add little to the work of Boureau and Gössmann, but they do take films and recent novels into account. In one area, however, Kerner and Herbers offer a fresh perspective by updating an old one. They point out that ever since Durckheim and Weber, it has been recognized that reality can be socially constructed. The line between fact and fiction can be blurred. The figure of Joan represents a female ascent in a male-dominated ecclesiastical hierarchy; a nonfunctioning papacy or college of cardinals; a woman who assumed inappropriate roles with

[55]D'Onofrio, *La papessa* Giovanna.

[56]Joan Morris, *Pope John VIII, an English Woman: Alias Pope Joan* (London, 1985).

[57]R. Pardoe and D. Pardoe, *The Female Pope*.

[58]Klaus Herbers, "Die Päpstin Joyhanna: Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 108 (1988), 174–94.

[59]Gössmann, *Mulier Papa*.

[60]Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna*.

cunning and malice; the dangers of learning and cleverness; and a cautionary tale in discussions of apostolic succession and the legitimacy of the papacy. The myth, legend, or fable arose and reappeared in times of crisis. Talking about Joan was a way to talk about completely different things. Michael Imhof offered some new perspectives on the legend in 2011 via a brief, beautifully illustrated, and on the whole conventional, book.[61] He thinks that the reason why so many late-medieval people believed in Joan without question is that there were so many popular female saints, not least from the religious orders. There were women who were famous, did good deeds, and were highly educated; at their graves miracles occurred. For those people, why not a female pope? It is also interesting, Imhof notes, that virtually all serious treatments of Joan until Gössmann—he ignores Morris—have been by men.

This brings up a second theme: feminism. None of the pioneer "find the women" historians turned their attention to Joan, as far as I know. Feminist scholars and intellectuals have not been much more enthusiastic. It is easy to mock *Un pape nommé Jeanne,* a bizarre "study"—I use the scare quotes because the book is spectacularly bad in every scholarly sense—by Henri Perrodo le Moyne.[62] To say that he reads the evidence selectively would be a major understatement, but one discerns his real intentions in the book's last section: "Femmes, Levez-vous." In 1982 Caryl Churchill's *Top Girls* debuted in London. To celebrate her appointment as manager of the Top Girls employment agency, Marlene hosts a dinner party at which several real and imaginary historical figures hold court and, in talking with each other, give some account of themselves. Joan appears, not very effectively, in act 1. Morris's book, mentioned above, is a pendant to her *The Lady Was a Bishop: The Hidden History of Women with Clerical Ordination and the Jurisdiction of Bishops*.[63] The title pretty much gives away the book. If there had been powerful, ordained women in the earlier Middle Ages, why not a pope? The subject is a serious one, and it can be treated seriously, as was done by Gary Macy.[64] But Morris's work is bad history and weak feminism. More serious as feminist scholarship

[61]Michael Imhof, *Die Päpstin Johanna: Wahrheit und Mythos* (Petersberg, 2011).

[62]Henri Perrodo le Moyne, *Un pape nommé Jeanne* (Angers, 1972).

[63]Joan Morris, *The Lady Was a Bishop: The Hidden History of Women with Clerical Ordination and the Jurisdiction of Bishops* (New York, 1973).

[64]Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York, 2007).

is the work of Gössmann.[65] She is interested in how the Joan story has wended its way through centuries of theological discourse about women, typically about the inferiority of women. For example, the scholastic embrace of Aristotle brought along the master's insistence on *defectus naturae*. In the end, such thinking, and kindred trains of thought, have damaged any conceivable case for women's ordination and have continuously put women in a disadvantaged position both in the Church and in the wider society. In serious feminist scholarship, then, Joan herself has not been particularly useful, but the ways in which she has been discussed are reflective of larger issues and problems. Gössmann's massive reception history has a distinctively feminist character, whereas the reception histories of Boureau and of Kerner and Herbers do not. Imhof's book makes some points that conventional women's history might make but does not frame its issues in feminist terms.

Finally, there is the broad realm of public entertainment. In 1925 Bertolt Brecht produced a dramatic sketch that told part of the Joan story, but there is no evidence that it saw stage or audience.[66] In 1931 Clement Wood published a novel that was little more than dreary anti-Catholicism.[67] The book is worthy of the nastiest sixteenth-century Protestant polemics. In 1996 Donna Woolfolk Cross published a novel that actually gained a very wide readership in English and then a bit later in French.[68] Cross took more liberties with the basic historical details than one might expect even from an historical novelist. The book has a consistent undertone of anti-Catholicism and treats the subject matter as if it were authentic history. In "Author's Notes" to a subsequent reprinting, Cross adverted to the old canard that the Church suppressed the "real" evidence. In 1998 the English journalist Peter Stanford issued a book that is novelistic while purporting to be historical.[69] In almost breathless "whodunit" fashion, Stanford reviews the "evidence" and concludes that, on balance, it supports Joan's existence.

[65]I have referred to Gössmann's *Mulier Papa* repeatedly. She later offered a helpful summary of her major views; see "Was hat die heutige Frau in der Kirche mit der 'Päpstin Johanna' zu tun?," in *Formen weiblicher Autortität: Erträge historisch-theologischer Frauenforschung*, ed. Anne Jensen and Michaela Sohn-Kronthaler, [Theologische Frauenforschung in Europa, 17], (Vienna, 2005), pp. 53–84.

[66]See Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, p. 291.

[67]Clement Wood, *The Woman Who Was Pope* (New York, 1931).

[68]Donna Woolfolk Cross, *Pope Joan: A Novel* (New York, 1996).

[69]Peter Stanford, *The Legend of Pope Joan: In Search of the Truth* (London, 1998).

The silver screen also has offered its representations of Pope Joan. In 1972 Michael Anderson brought out his film *Pope Joan* (issued in the United States as *The Devil's Impostor*).[70] Despite Liv Ullmann's creditable performance, the film is leaden and heavy-handed. It leaves the viewer with the impression that it recounts a true story. In 2009 the German producer Bernd Eichinger issued his film *Pope Joan*, directed by Soenke Wortmann and based loosely on Cross's novel.[71] Apart from telling a good story with high production values, the film has a clear agenda of anti-Catholicism. At the Stella Adler Theater in Los Angeles, Michael Butler premiered his musical adaptation of the Joan story.[72] Then in 2011 the German composer Dennis Martin opened his musical adaptation of Cross's novel in Fulda.[73] It is still being performed in various places in Germany. Joan's capacity to attract and entertain audiences seems to know no bounds.

In the end, then, Joan refuses to die because she continues to be what she has always been: useful. In the later Middle Ages Joan provided various polemicists with a blunt weapon. Protestant writers fastened upon Joan to bash the Catholic Church, its clergy, and its sacramental system. For Enlightenment writers Joan typified the backwardness and superstition of the Middle Ages. Romantics saw in Joan a joyous character that refused to be confined within traditional roles. Scholars have found Joan useful, in the first instance, for careful textual, philological, and topographical studies and subsequently for reception history and the history of mentalities. For novelists, playwrights, and filmmakers, Joan has been useful in both implicit and explicit ventures in anti-Catholicism. So far, feminist writers have approached but not yet embraced Joan. I confidently predict that in the years ahead, writers will continually find uses for Johannes Anglicus.

[70]For an excellent discussion see Rustici, *The Afterlife of Pope Joan*, pp. 153–57. For film notes see "Index to Film Periodicals Full Text." Retrieved on December 18, 2012, from http://fiaf.chadwyck.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/fulltext/pageimage.do?id=005/p337-1972.

[71]See notes in *Variety* Nov. 16, 2009, 27–34. The film received scholarly assessment in Kerner and Herbers, *Die Päpstin Johanna,* pp. 13–17, and in Imhof, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, pp. 78–80. The *Wikipedia* article "Pope Joan (2009) Film" has a summary and a useful comparison of Cross's novel and the film's presentation.

[72]For details on the Butler production see https://www.plays411.net/newsite/show/play_info.asp?show_id=1819.

[73]There is a satisfactory *Wikipedia* article, "Die Päpstin: Das Musikal." I have not attended either musical.

AUT NUMQUID POST ANNOS MILLE QUINGENTOS DOCENDA EST ECCLESIA CATHOLICA QUOMODO SACRAE IMAGINES PINGANTUR? POST-TRIDENTINE IMAGE REFORM AND THE MYTH OF GABRIELE PALEOTTI

BY

RUTH S. NOYES*

The author attempts, by considering publication data and Gabriele Paleotti's failed Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*, to contribute to the further nuancing and remapping of the Catholic Reformation, via analysis of image reform. Evidence suggests that the Council of Trent, Rome, or the Curia were not perceived as initiating image reform; in fact, by 1600 some Catholic leaders regarded all three as reformatory failures. Publication data and the travesty of the* Discorso *bespeak the initial acentric, reactionary nature of post-Tridentine image reform, evoking an image of Rome and the Curia in which dissent held sway, even amongst purported figureheads of reform.*

Keywords: Catholic Reformation; Christian art; Council of Trent; Paleotti, Cardinal Gabriele

An analysis of publication data and the circumstances of the never-finished but now-famous *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (*Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*) by Gabriele Paleotti,

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then archbishop of Bologna,[1] can shed further light on the Catholic Reformation, following in the footsteps of Paolo Prodi and Simon Ditchfield.[2] The story of the *Discorso* and its broader circumstances paints a vividly diverse picture of post-Tridentine image reform within the Church and across Italy as inherently multilateral and fractured, with Rome and the Curia divided into factions that placed even purported figureheads of reform at odds.[3] The evidence considered herein suggests that the papal city and the Curia itself were subject to Catholic communal "localities"—religious orders and congregations such as the Oratorians and Jesuits—and intercurial factions embroiled in their own "process of feedback and arbitration," hermeneutically on par with geographically peripheral localities such as Piacenza and Bologna.[4] Indeed, Trent's immediate, first-generation implementation occurred at the local level, with the pontiff and the Curia as ultimate exegetists and enforcers.[5] However, some frustrated reformers like

[1]See, most recently, Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images,* trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles, 2012).

[2]See Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry,* 35 (2009), 552–84; Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *Cambridge History of Christianity,* Vol. VI: *Reform and Expansion, 1500–1600*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (New York, 2007), pp. 201–24; and Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597)*, 2 vols., [Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Uomini e dottrine, 7, 12], (Rome, 1959–67); Paolo Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella riforma cattolica," *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, IV (1965), 121–212; reprinted as *Ricerca sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma Cattolica* (Bologna, 1984); Holger Steinemann, *Eine Bildtheorie zwischen Repräsentation und Wirkung: Kardinal Gabriele Paleottis "Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane" (1582)* (New York, 2006); Ilaria Bianchi, *La politica delle immagini nell'età della Controriforma: Gabriele Paleotti teorico e committente* (Bologna, 2008).

[3]For a similar synopsis, see Simon Ditchfield, "'Coping with the beati moderni': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite Infiammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Rome, 2010), pp. 413–39, here p. 414.

[4]Dermot Fenlon, "Rewiring the Circuit: Campi's Reformation," [Review of *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* by Simon Ditchfield], *The Catholic Historical Review*, 83 (1997), 275–80, here 275. On tension within the Curia, see Ditchfield, "Thinking with the Saints," pp. 577–78.

[5]Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils,* 2 vols. (London, 1990), 2:774–76 (decree on images), 798 (what to do if implementation problems occur); for the bull *Benedictus Deus* of January 26, 1564, see *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, Jean-Baptiste Martin, and Louis Petit (Paris, 1902), Tomus 33, cols. 215D–219A, 217AB (ordered local ordinaries to implement the decrees), 217D (forbad any commentaries on the decrees and mandated

Paleotti were discouraged by what they perceived as not only a lack of comprehensive reform but also a lack of corresponding curial reform effort in Rome. By 1600, increasingly assertive members of the Curia began exercising an acentric, reactionary prerogative, sometimes appropriating and repromulgating isolated, local reforms (such as seizing upon certain of Paleotti's demands for increased iconographic regulation); sometimes denouncing implicit or explicit criticisms of curial policy or practice; and sometimes censuring isolated reform activities outright, even when generated by members of the Curia. By 1600, the Master of the Sacred Palace mandated that he must approve every printed image before publication.[6] Concurrent to the Clementine Curia's increased regulation of all kinds of printed images through the occasionally conflicting powers of the Congregation of the Index and the Master of the Sacred Palace, the pope and various congregations also devoted greater scrutiny and censorial activity to broader regulation of all sacred images, printed or otherwise.[7] The argument and evidence presented here may refute the interpretation that post-Tridentine ecclesiastics, including those in the Curia, shared the view that "Rome had begun that reform, only Rome could 'save' it"[8]; or the implicit model of post-Tridentine reform, whereby a "center-periphery" paradigm is eschewed, yet still posits Rome as source.[9] In the case of image reform, discord, not consensus, seems to

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that any questions regarding their interpretation or implementation should be brought directly to the pope for a resolution). Hereafter, this collection is cited as Mansi et al., *Sacrorum conciliorum*.

[6]On the history of the Master of the Sacred Palace, see Raymond Creytens, "Le 'Studium Romanae Curiae' et le Maître du Sacré Palais," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum,* 12 (1942), 5–83; Ruth Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64 (2011), 800–46.

[7]On exchanges *c*. 1600 between producers of images and the Curia—necessitated by the increasing control, albeit irregular and bureaucratic, exerted by the latter upon the former—see Eckhard Leuschner, "The Papal Printing Privilege," *Print Quarterly,* 15 (1998), 359–70; Eckhard Leuschner, "Censorship and the Market: Antonio Tempesta's 'New' Subjects in the Context of Roman Printmaking ca. 1600," in *The Art Market in Italy (15th–17th Centuries)*, ed. Marcello Fantoni and Louisa Chevalier Matthew (Modena, 2003), pp. 65–74; Eckhard Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta: ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung* (Petersberg, 2005), pp. 204–18; Christopher Witcombe, "Christopher Plantin's Papal Privileges: Documents in the Vatican Archives," *De Gulden Passer,* 69 (1991), 133–45.

[8]Fenlon, "Rewiring the Circuit," p. 276.

[9]Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (New York, 1995), pp. 8–11.

FIGURE 1. Location of treatise publication.

have been the order of the day.[10] This may beg the following questions: If the ostensible center of post-Tridentine reform, constituted by the spatial and theo-political territory of the Roman Curia, is in fact composed of multiple fractured factions, can a center be said to exist? In addition, if the conventional centralized paradigm of post-Tridentine reform is imploded, what sort of interpretive model should scholars employ? Can Rome and the Curia be regarded as having precedence, without centrality? These are larger disciplinary questions that only can be partially addressed here.

Attesting to the anxiety and consequence that religious and artistic constituencies attached to image-related issues left unresolved by Trent is a veritable explosion of treatises on art theory and reform published during the years that followed the council (see appendix A and figure 1).[11]

[10]Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," pp. 204, 211.

[11]Not all works listed dealt exclusively with sacred image reforms, but nearly all treated the topic in some way. On images and the visual arts in Roberto Bellarmino's *Disputationes* and Cesare Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici*, respectively, see Gustavo Galeotta, "Genesi, sviluppo e fortuna delle *Controversiae* di Roberto Bellarmino," in *Bellarmino e la Controriforma. Atti del simposio internazionale di studi. Sora 15–18 Ottobre 1986*, ed. Romeo de Maio, Agostino Borromeo, Luigi Gulia, Georg Lutz, and Aldo Mazzacane (Sora, 1990), pp. 3–48; Valeria de Laurentiis, "Immagini ed arte in Bellarmino," in de Maio et al., eds., *Bellarmino e la Controriforma,* pp. 579–608; Daniela Campanelli, "Le arti negli 'Annales,'" in *Baronio e l'arte*, *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Sora 10–13 Ottobre 1984*, ed. Romeo de Maio, Agostino Borromeo,

FIGURE 2. Publication of treatises per year.

An apparent lacuna in the printing of these texts appears from 1601 through the first decade of the *Seicento* (shown in figure 2) and may evidence an interruption in (official) production. This may suggest an application of the papal-curial prerogative in matters of image theory and policy through the discouragement, if not outright suppression, of these publications that thrived during the last quarter of the *Cinquecento*. This interpretation has some merit, as Pope Clement VIII began to exert more control over the cult of saints and canonization in 1601/02, increasing oversight over the theological discourse, church policy, and daily praxis of individuals ranging from Roman cardinals to Spanish Jesuits.[12] Therefore, a similar trend occurring in the intrinsically related cult of images would be consistent; but although the Curia may have restricted or censured the official circulation of contrary views on image and related reforms, these voices were not entirely

Luigi Gulia, Georg Lutz, and Aldo Mazzacane (Sora, 1985), pp. 385–408; Stefano Sosti, "Le fonti per l'arte negli *Annales Ecclesiastici* di Baronie," in Romeo de Maio et al., eds, *Baronio e l'arte,* pp. 247–60.

[12]Giovanni Papa, *Le Cause di Canonizzazione nel Primo Periodo della Congregazione dei Riti: 1588–1634* (Rome, 2001), pp. 16–146; Miguel Gotor, *I Beati del Papa: Santità, Inquisizione e Obbedienza in Età Moderna* (Florence, 2002), pp. 127–202; Ruth Noyes, "'A me toccano masticcare pillole amare': Rubens, the Oratorians and the Crisis over the Beati moderni circa 1600: Towards a Revised Geography of the Catholic Reformation," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009), I:72–158.

silenced.[13] The disparity between the small number of texts published in Rome and those printed elsewhere in Italy and northern Europe merits reflection. Although the group most discussed today includes works by Giovanni Andrea Gilio, Jan Molanus, St. Carlo Borromeo, and Paleotti (three of whom published in Italy), more than half of all these texts were printed outside Italy, as appendix A and figure 1 demonstrate. The fact that surprisingly few of these texts were printed in Rome, in comparison to the amount published outside the papal city and Italy, may indicate the difficulties in publishing too close to the Curia—such publications would have an implied critique that reform remained to be seen (a failure of the Curia) and that reform was not exclusive to papal jurisdiction (an undermining of the curial prerogative). It is possible that, under the oversight of the papacy, the Vatican would not grant permission necessary for the printing in Rome of treatises voicing contrary opinions on image reform.

To confirm the hypothesis that published image reform treatises constituted implicit criticism of the Curia, a study of Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* may be instructive.[14] Largely modeled on Jan Molanus's *De historia SS. imaginibus*, the *Discorso* was first partially published in 1582 in the vernacular.[15] Paleotti planned a total of five books; he finished only two. In his introductory address to the reader, Paleotti claimed that he composed the *Discorso* as a pastoral project that would be distributed and implemented only in his Archdiocese of Bologna.[16] Borromeo's *Instructionum fabricae et suppelletilis ecclesiasticis* was born of similar circumstances and concerns;[17] like Paleotti, Borromeo offered the disclaimer in his preface that his intended audience was his Archdiocese of Milan.[18]

[13]Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung," *Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift*, 116 (1935), 143–88, 404–29.

[14]Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane diuiso in cinque libri*, (Bologna, 1582); Gabriele Paleotti, *De imaginibus sacris, et profanis* (Ingolstadt, 1594); and Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane (1582)*, ed. Stefano Della Torre and Gian Franco Freguglia (Milan, 2002).

[15]Jan Molanus, *De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum* (Louvain, 1594); Jan Molanus, *Traité des saintes images,* trans. François Boespflug, Olivier Christin, and Benoit Tassel (Paris, 1996).

[16]Paleotti, *Discourso itorno* (1582), p. 2; Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 147.

[17]Giovanni Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*, [Toronto Studies in Religion, 14], (New York, 1992), p. 124.

[18]Carlo Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiastica (1577)*, trans. Massimo Marinelli (Milan, 2000), p. 4.

Bologna's particular status as part of the Papal States merits consideration in this context. Paleotti actively maintained his prerogative against that of the papal legate by instituting parallel reforms, and Paleotti's isolated Bolognese measures entered into a dialogue with curial reforms that were neither one-directional nor unilateral.[19] His reforms, including the publication and circulation of the *Discorso*, acknowledged, criticized, and undercut the precedence and effectiveness of "Rome" in post-Tridentine matters within his archdiocese.[20] His struggles with Rome regarding jurisdiction and the enforcement of Trent would drive Paleotti to write "that matters here [in Bologna] of our church, both material and spiritual, are just as in the beginning, as if the Council had never taken place."[21] Paleotti's ultimate relocation to Rome, where he would write *De tollendis imaginum abusibus novissima consideratio* (discussed below), may have been part of his "defensive approach" to attempt to force Rome to implement stricter reforms, by bringing the fight, so to speak, to the Curia.[22]

By virtue of its composer's ostensible diocesan proviso, the *Discorso* subliminally inverted curial primacy and implied the lack of unilateralism or clear central authority within not only the Catholic Church but also the Papal States and the Curia, while destabilizing the model of non-antagonistic dialogic reform. Paleotti thus possibly aimed to undermine subtly, or imply the inadequacy of, Pope Pius IV's bull *Benedictus Deus* of January 26, 1564 (but issued June 30) that confirmed and ordered implementation of all Tridentine decrees as well as prohibited their interpretation or alterations without involvement of the pontiff.[23] Paleotti likewise meant to recall his previous membership in the Congregation of the Council, instituted in 1564 by Pius IV to oversee the Tridentine implementation (although difficult cases had to be referred to the pope), as well as to cast that body as

[19]After Pius V's bull of June 5, 1568, decreed that university students must pass an exam and swear an oath to the Church, that same year Paleotti required that priests pass an exam in his presence and under Jesuit supervision. Anton Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1974), 1:104,111.

[20]Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls* (New York, 1987), pp. 123–56.

[21]Prodi, *The Papal Prince*, p. 132.

[22]Prodi, *The Papal Prince*, p. 133.

[23]Pius IV,"Bull *Benedictus Deus* of January 26, 1564," *Bullarium Romanum* (Vatican City, 1564), IV:168–69 and Mansi et al., *Sacrorum conciliorum* 33:215D–219A.

powerless.[24] In turn, the papacy may have regarded the *Discorso* as a provocative foray into the interpretation of Trent, although one mitigated by its author's early membership in the Congregation of the Council, as was the case for Borromeo (first appointed leader of the same Congregation) and his analogous *Instructionum*.

A year before printing the vernacular edition, Paleotti stipulated that the *Discorso* was not even to be sold.[25] Underscoring the professed self-restricted scope of his treatise, he added the rider—one that expressed a veritable manifesto of post-Tridentine regionalism that defined, for the bishops and cardinals charged with executing the decrees of 1563, the project of Catholic reform: "whence he may not prescribe law to other places, as he does not intend to tax the customs of others, or to be the censor of their differing practices."[26] When, as early as 1582, his editor objected to a treatise only "for the utility of his own diocese," Paleotti articulated his intention to limit distribution so as not to appear overly critical of practices common in Rome and thus avoid criticism or censure from Roman factions "for the sake of modesty and to avoid contesting various Roman customs."[27]

The publication of Paleotti's still-unfinished 1594 Latin edition in the German city of Ingolstadt rather than an Italian city may be revealing. In a letter dated August 26, 1595, scholar Marco Velsero wrote to Paleotti's secretary of the reception of *de imaginibus* "in these lands" and urged that a different individual complete the last three books.[28] Several days later, a letter to Paleotti from the papal nuncio in Cologne stated that shops had sold out of the cardinal's treatise, expressed

[24]Fiorenzo Romita, "Le origini della Sacra Congregazione del Concilio," in *La Sacra Congregazione del Concilio. Quarto Centenario dalla Fondazione (1564–1964). Studi e ricerche* (Vatican City, 1964), pp. 13–50. In the early days of the Congregation, Paleotti functioned as an adviser on canonical matters, not as a cardinal member. See Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597),* 2 vols. [Uomini e dottrine, 7, 12], (Rome, 1959–67), I:208; II:444.

[25]"Onde si come egli non può prescrivere legge a gli altri luoghi, così non intende manco di tassare i costumi loro, o fare il censore delle usanze, che essi servano differenti da queste": Letter dated June 1581 in Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 146.

[26]Paleotti, *Discourso itorno* (1582), 1v; Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 147n1. According to Prodi, pages 1–4 are the only pages not carried over to the Latin translation of 1594.

[27]"Si era detto per più modestia et per fugir le contese di varie usanze che si servano in Roma": Letter dated June 17, 1580, in Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 146; also Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, 2:535n32.

[28]Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 179.

booksellers' intentions to purchase additional copies at the Frankfurt fair, and indicated the treatise's usefulness in a debate between (presumably) a Catholic and a Protestant.[29] Paleotti's preface to the reader opened with two of the central Tridentine pronouncements on sacred images; nearly two decades after the conclusion of Trent, Paleotti still considered the decrees not only fundamental for any discussion of images but also unaddressed by those charged with their implementation. Was his implicit audience actually Rome and the Curia? Despite his proviso that the treatise applied only to the audience of a single diocese, he took steps to circulate the text among a wider readership—he submitted draft versions to members of the Curia as early as 1578, sent a copy to Borromeo as soon as the first two books were printed in 1581, and engaged a printer of the Latin edition who was outside of Italy.[30] Paleotti's regional disclaimer reflected the intricacies and inherent delicacy of post–Tridentine image reforms. His proviso was part of necessary church diplomacy, as Bologna occupied a particular place vis-à-vis the papacy. Paleotti's publication of the *Discorso* and statement about its ostensible restricted scope reaffirmed Trent's reformatory charge to bishops and asserted his authority in the face of the Bolognese papal legate. Further, Paleotti's recognition of the sensitivity of the *Discorso* for the Curia is perhaps indicated by the archbishop's decision to publish both editions of the treatise outside Rome; in contrast, Luigi Zanetti published both editions of Paleotti's 1597 treatise *de Bono Senectutis* in Rome.[31]

Paleotti's *Discorso* was published in one vernacular edition (Bologna, 1582) and one Latin edition (Ingolstadt, 1594).[32] It was not republished until the mid-twentieth century.[33] In contrast, six editions of Molanus's *De picturis* (from which Paleotti largely borrowed) were published from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (Louvain, 1570, 1594, 1771; Antwerp and Douai, 1617; Lyon, 1619). Although it

[29]Nunzio in Cologne (probably Ottavio Mirto Frangipani) to Paleotti, August 31, 1595; Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 179n2.

[30]For recent discussion on the *Discorso*'s impact, see Steinemann, *Eine Bildtheorie*, pp. 45–49.

[31]Gabriele Paleotti, *De bono senectvtis* (Rome, 1595); *De bono senectvtis*, 2nd ed. (Antwerp, 1598); *Libro del Bene della Vecchiezza*, 3rd vernacular ed. (Rome, 1597).

[32]Borromeo and Paleotti borrowed each other's copies of *De picturis* as other copies were not available for purchase; on April 22, 1579, Paleotti wrote Borromeo that he had found another copy and no longer needed to borrow Borromeo's. Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, 2:531n15.

[33]Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento*, 3 vols. (Bari, 1961), 2:116–517.

seems clear that Paleotti addressed his treatise to an audience beyond his diocese, "there were only a few people," as Boschloo noted, "... who had an opportunity to become acquainted personally with the text of the *Discorso.*"[34] Although some contemporaries read and responded to Paleotti's treatise, written "by churchmen for churchmen," they did not consider the *Discorso* as the principal text on image reform nor concurred with its opinions and criticisms. In addition, the text's restricted readership did not broadly represent contemporary culture.[35] Prodi, Paleotti's definitive biographer, claims that the success of this incomplete text does not indicate the actual effect during its own time, but rather reflects interest by art historians of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, who tend to cite it frequently and superficially.[36] The present-day fame of the *Discorso* as a product of recent historiography may be attributed to its availability in the vernacular and in English translation or to its brevity in comparison to the work of Molanus, and that which Paleotti intended to complete but did not.[37]

Thus, the practical, or actual, impact of the *Discorso* and similar treatises remains to be seen, as does Paleotti's practical relationship to the theoretical framework of artistic reform, as enunciated in his writings. In other words, it is important to examine how (or if) the theoretical reform and writings of Paleotti and his contemporaries related to their artistic milieu and their own artistic practice. In 1579, when a draft of the *Discorso* was circulating in Bologna, the Bolognese artist Agostino Carracci dedicated to Paleotti a sacred image of a typology that Paleotti's text would condemn. At the same time, Carracci produced a series of lascivious engravings censured by Clement VIII and his cousin, Ludovico Carracci, created the *Madonna dei Bargellini* altarpiece that portrayed venerable saints with the faces of contemporary donors.[38] Echoing Borromeo's *Instructionum*,[39] Paleotti's *Discorso* condemned this latter practice—dubbed "allegorical portraiture" by Edgar Wind.[40] The practice was rampant in post-Tridentine art that

[34]Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna*, 1:144, 152.

[35]Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto, 2003), p. 15.

[36]Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, 2:527.

[37]Paleotti, *Discorso intorno* (2002), p. xxvi.

[38]Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna*, 2:238n26.

[39]Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae*, p. 70.

[40]Paleotti, *Discorso intorno* (2002), p. 163; Edgar Wind, "Studies in Allegorical Portraiture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtuald Institutes*, 1:138–53; Noyes, *"A me toccano masticcare pillole amare*," 1:149–58, 247–336.

had high-ranking clerical patrons such as Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici,[41] Pope Gregory XIII,[42] and the Jesuit community at the Gesù (the latter censured by Clement VIII during his apostolic visit).[43] These examples suggest that Paleotti's *Discorso* and similar treatises reflected an awareness of contemporary concerns and trends regarding the production, consumption, and cult of images and that such texts may not have greatly affected the production of sacred images per se. These circumstances belie the *Discorso*'s ultimate didactic and regulatory effectiveness, yet show its author's acuity regarding post–Tridentine image production.[44]

But in Rome, there were mixed reactions to Paleotti's ideas, perhaps confirming his concern that his image reform efforts would be perceived as a criticism of "various Roman customs." Paleotti's efforts in 1595–96 to prepare a complete Latin edition produced a new preface and letter of presentation to Clement VIII, evidence—in Paleotti's view—of the Curia's lack of success in defining and implementing image reforms in the thirty-odd years following Trent and to the relative ineffectiveness of the *Discorso*. Yet he sent neither preface nor letter to the pope.[45] Paleotti composed his final work, the unpublished treatise *De tollendis imaginum abusibus novissima consideratio*, in summer 1596, a year before his death.[46] Circulated amongst

[41]Ferdinando Boyer, "Lavori di Jacopo Zucchi in Roma," in *Roma. Rivista di studi e di vita romana*, 9 (Rome, 1931), pp. 7–10; Anna Calcagno, *Jacopo Zucchi e la sua opera in Roma* (Rome, 1932), pp. 133–37; Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici,* 3 vols. (Florence, 1983), 2:735–36; Antonio Vannugli, "Giacomo Boncompagni duca di Sora e il suo ritratto da Scipione Pulzone," *Prospettiva*, 61 (1991), 54–66; Noyes, "*A me toccano masticcare*," 1:305–06.

[42]Marcantonio Ciappi, *Compendio delle heroiche, et gloriose attieni, et santa vita di papa Greg. XIII* (Rome, 1596), pp. 3–4; Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti* (Rome, 1642), pp. 32–33.

[43]An altarpiece depicting the archangels with the faces of Jesuit founders; in Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Fondo Gesuitico 545, fol. 8v; Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. VII 3, fol. 69v; Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori*, p. 54; Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, pp. 357–58n235. On the Clementine apostolic visits, see Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. lat.* 5551, fols. 55–56; Diego Beggiao, *La visita pastorale di Clemente VIII (1592–1600): aspetti di riforma post-Tridentina a Roma* (Rome, 1978).

[44]Compare, for example, Paleotti's treatment of *armi delle famiglie* in Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte*, 3:620, 658.

[45]Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," pp. 180–81. No documentary evidence survives of a second vernacular edition.

[46]Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 181. For the complete text of *De tollendis imaginum abusibus novissima consideratio*, see Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," pp. 194–208, and Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 94–110.

certain cardinals, prelates, and members of the papal court,[47] *De tollendis* called for the redress of "the abuse of images" and solicited comments from its elite readership.[48] As a final gesture, *De tollendis* explicated the sublimated message, implicit audience, and unspoken dialogic function of the earlier *Discorso*.

Paleotti suspected that his call for a renewal of Tridentine image reform would fall on deaf ears in Rome.[49] *De tollendis*'s nine questions demanded reform of widely diffused abuses pervading sacred imagery, charged bishops to carry out this reform, and claimed that most ecclesiastic authorities had only repeated the Tridentine decree and issued generic proclamations of professed image reform without effect.[50] Positive respondents to Paleotti's pronouncements included Serafino Olivier Razali, dean of the *Rota* (the increasingly conservative juridical body that assisted the *Congregazione dei Beati* charged with considering and passing judgment on the *causa* of individual candidates for canonization); Francisco Peña, *uditore* of the *Rota* (also a member of the Inquisition); and Jesuit cardinal Roberto Bellarmino.[51] Tellingly, Peña and Bellarmino, who concurred regarding *De tollendis*, subsequently would disagree over cultic manifestations around the figures of the *Beati moderni*, including devotional imagery.[52] The two post-

[47]It remains to be ascertained whether Clement VIII saw *De tollendis*.

[48]Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 194.

[49]Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 181.

[50]Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), p. 80.

[51]Prodi, "Ricercha sulla teorica [1965]," pp. 181, 183. Other positive respondants included Dominican Pedro Juan Zaragoca de Heredia (then *Socius* of the Master of the Sacred Palace), Claudio Aquaviva, Ottaviano Paravicino, Ascanio Colonna, Domenico Pinello, Simone Tagliavia d'Aragona, Marcantonio Maffa, and Ascanio Persio. Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 80–82.

[52]On Peña's adversarial relations with Bellarmino concerning the cults of the *Beati moderni*, see their exchange in Roberto Bellarmino, *De controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos* (Venice, 1599), t. II, lib. I, cap. X, coll. 739–40; *Brevis responsio* [likely Francisco Peña], s.d. [December 1602], Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana (hereafter referred to as BV), MS H14, fols. 370r–72v; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica (hereafter referred to as BA), MS 909, fols. 80r–81r; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense (hereafter referred to as BC), MS 2107, fols. 425r–27v; Roberto Bellarmino, *Responsio Cardinalis Bellarmini*, BA, MS 909, fols. 132r–35r. Secondary literature on Peña's opposition includes Vittorio Frajese, "Regno ecclesiastico e stato moderno. La controversie tra Francisco Pena e Roberto Bellarmino sull'esenzione dei chierici," *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo Germanico di Trento*, 14 (1988), 273–339; Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 90–99; Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei riti: 1588–1634* (Rome, 2001), pp. 59–60; Miguel Gotor, "La fabbrica dei santi: la riforma urbaniana e il modello tridentino," in *Storia d'Italia.*

Tridentine reformers staged an antagonistic dialogue through a series of manuscript treatises debating the appropriate curial oversight and suppression of proto-cults.[53] Their agreement in 1596 and discord three years later over correlated, counter-reformational issues demonstrate the volatile mutability of first-generation reforms and intercurial conflict of the post-Tridentine era.

Not all readers responded favorably to Paleotti's assertion of continued abuse; tacit condemnation of what he viewed as Roman mispractices; or attribution of abuses to the broader Church.[54] Silvio Antoniano (1540–1603), who would be elevated to cardinal by Clement VIII in 1598, penned the harshest rebuttal.[55] This rebuke is particularly noteworthy given the previous cordial relationship between Antoniano and Paleotti.

Antoniano and Paleotti corresponded in the 1580s on orthodox Assumption iconography for an altarpiece commission overseen by Antoniano and again in 1595 regarding imagery for the frontispiece of Paleotti's *De bono senectutis*, printed in Rome that year.[56] They first exchanged letters in 1583. Paleotti deferred to Bolognese scholar Carlo Sigonio, then stated that precisely because the Assumption was "doubted by some" and lacked any "canonical scriptural source" (especially inclusion of the Apostles), the "time-honored tradition of the Holy Church" should be followed.[57] Their concession to Catholic convention in the service of Marian cultic continuity reflects the post-

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Annali 16. Roma. La città del papa. Vita civile e religiosa dal Giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al Giubileo di Papa Wojtyla, ed. Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Prosperi (Turin, 2000), pp. 677–727, here pp. 699–701; Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: santità, inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Rome, 2002), pp. 138–48.

[53]BV, MS H14, fols. 370r–77v and 386r–89r ; BA, MS 909, fols.80r–81r and 132r–35r; BC, MS 2107, fols. 420r–22r and 425r–27r; Papa, *Le cause*, pp. 59–60. See also Noyes, "*A me toccano masticcare*," 1:33, 47–49.

[54]On the success, or the lack thereof, of Paleotti's final treatise, see Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), p. 85.

[55]On Antoniano, see *DBI*, 3:511–16; Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 184n1; and Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 71–87; Elisabetta Patrizi, *Silvio Antoniano. Un umanista ed educatore nell'età del rinnovamento cattolico (1540–1603)*, 3 vols. (Macerata, 2010).

[56]On their correspondence, see Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," pp. 191–93; Prodi., *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 91–93; and Patrizi, *Silvio Antoniano*, 2:78–786.

[57]Paleotti, letter to Antoniano dated April 27, 1583; in Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 91–93. For recent theoretical discussion of this exchange, see Steinemann, *Eine Bildtheorie*, pp. 158–72.

Tridentine tension between "historical reliability" and "continuity with tradition,"[58] and echoes contemporaneous reforms of the Roman Breviary according to the ultimate criterion, "continuity of cult."[59] Antoniano, concurring with Paleotti's recommendation, remarked that at any rate, the agreed-upon iconography could be seen "in paintings throughout Rome."[60] His revealing comment problematizes and counterbalances Paleotti's assertion regarding his *Discorso* that he wished "to avoid contesting various Roman customs" and perhaps indicates the already diverging views of the two men, even at this early point in their exchange, of the reformatory status of "Roman customs" in the broader discussion surrounding post-Tridentine image reforms.[61]

Antoniano and Paleotti subsequently corresponded in 1595 on the topic of appropriate, scripturally-derived iconographies for the title-page illustration of Paleotti's *De bono senectutis*, published in Rome later that year.[62] Following discussion of suitable thematic imagery, Paleotti had several designs sketched out.[63] However, just before the text went to press in late August-September 1595, Paleotti—apparently without consulting Antoniano—changed the frontispiece to a full-page, bust-length, engraved portrait of the Oratorian founder Filippo Neri (Paleotti's confessor),[64] who had died in May and whose canonization proceeding had formally opened on August 2.[65] Paleotti suggested in his prologue that he conceived of this early Philippine

[58]Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna*, 1:145. Steinemann describes this as "*verisimilitudo* versus *decorum*"; see *Eine Bildtheorie*, p. 172.

[59]Fenlon, "Rewiring the Circuit," p. 277.

[60]Antoniano to Paleotti, April 13, 1583; in Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 91–93.

[61]Letter dated June 17, 1580, in Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 146; see also Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, 2:535n32.

[62]On their correspondence, see Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 91–93; Alessandro Zuccari, "Le immagini per il De bono senectutis di Gabriele Paleotti e un'ipotesi su Philips e Theodoor Galle," in *Studi di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Denis Mahon*, ed. Maria Grazia Bernardini, Silvia Danesi Squarzina, and Claudio Strinati (Milan, 2000), pp. 57–68, here pp. 62–65.

[63]Drawn from biblical texts ranging from Exodus and Psalms to Deuteronomy, Judges, John, and Revelation, motifs included the palm tree and the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse. Scriptural sources included Exodus 3:2–5, Psalm 33:9, Canticles 1:5–6 and 7:9, Deuteronomy 31:8, Judges 14:14, John 1:46, and Revelation 4:3–4. In Zuccari, "Le immagini per il De bono senectutis," pp. 57–68.

[64]Prodi, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti,* p. 570n14.

[65]Inscribed: "R. PATER PHILIPPVS NERIVS FLORENTINVS AETATIS SVAE ANN. LXXX. OBIIT ROMAE. MDLXCV." See Zuccari, "Le immagini per il De bono senectutis," pp. 57–68.

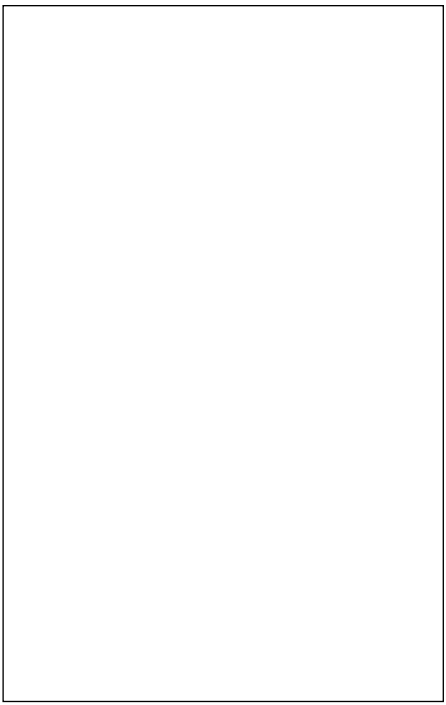

FIGURE 3. Oratorian founder Filippo Neri.

likeness as similar to a saint's portrait and intended it to promulgate the Oratorian's *fama di santità*.[66] The sanctifying and propagandizing functions of the *De bono* Philippine portrait were ostensibly confirmed by its concurrent circulation in certain copies of *De bono* with the epithet "R. PATER" substituted by "BEATUS," although Pope Paul V did not beatify Neri until May 25, 1615 (see figure 3). Regarding saints' portraits, Paleotti had resorted to prevarication in the *Discorso*, contrary to his theorizing contemporaries Molanus,[67] Domenico Anfossi,[68] and Borromeo[69]:

[66]The 1600 vernacular edition, in Zuccari, "Le immagini per il De bono senectutis," p. 60.

[67]Molanus, *Traité des saintes images*, p. 82r.

[68]Domenico Anfossi, *De sacrarum Reliquiarum Cultu, Veneratione, Translatione, atque Identitatae Brevis, sed utilis Tractatio, studio, et opera M. R. V. D. D. Dominici Anfossii Patritii Tabiensis, et Canonici Papiensis* (Brescia, 1610), pp. 192–93.

[69]Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae*, pp. 70, 72.

> great attention needs be paid to the choice of those persons who are portrayed as saints, that they be true saints approved by the universal consensus of the Holy Church, and not at the suggestion or indication of others; be careful that they at least number among the Blesseds, and accepted and held to be so by all publicly, and accompany their images with a note regarding the beatification that is the reason for the devotion owed to them.[70]

Despite the earlier cordiality between the two men, it is clear that Antoniano saw the state of image reform quite differently in 1596, and he checked neither his objections to Paleotti's views nor his defense of the Church. His is actually an irate rejoinder to *De tollendis*:

> What is this, in the name of heaven! No mystery, no sacred history, no image of any saint is painted without abuses! Or perhaps after 1500 years the Catholic Church has to teach the proper way for sacred images to be painted? While I do not deny that some improper uses have been introduced, but not so many, nor in so many places: the Church's general practice is good.[71]

The opposing views of Paleotti and Antoniano illustrate not only the tension between the post-Tridentine preservation and reform of Catholic traditions and conventions but also "Paleotti's difficult position between tradition and renewal."[72] These circumstances further complicate—or nuance—our understanding of Paleotti's personal and practical artistic choices.

The Antoniano-Paleotti split also may have signaled wider divisions within the Church over image reform. A significant event is the

[70] "Innanzitutto ci sembra importante il dover fare molta attenzione nello scegliere le persone che vengono ritratte come santi, che siano cioè santi veri e approvati dal consenso universale della Santa Chiesa, e non per propria suggestione o per indicazione di altri; si faccia attenzione a che siano almeno persone annoverate fra i Beati, e accettate e ritenute tali da tutti pubblicamente, e si accompagni la loro immagine con note circa la beatitudine che è motivo della devozione loro dovuta, come diremo altrove." Paleotti, *Discorso intorno* (2002), pp. 161–63. It is interesting to speculate if Paleotti's lack of consultation with Antoniano could have soured the latter's attitude toward the archbishop and thus colored his view of Paleotti's *De tollendis*.

[71] "Quid hoc est obsecro! Nullum mysterium, nulla sacra historia, nullius Sancti imago sine abusu depicta est! Aut numquid post annos mille quingentos docenda est Ecclesia Catholica quomodo sacrae imagines pingantur? Non nego irrepsisse abusus aliquos, sed non ita multi, neque adeo multis in locis: consuetudo universalis Ecclesiae recta est." Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," p. 184. For the entire text, see Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica [1965]," pp. 209–12; and Prodi, *Ricerca sulla teorica* (1984), pp. 111–14.

[72] Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna*, 1:145.

Oratorian Congregation's reproduction of Paleotti's image of Neri in single-sheet format in 1600. With the image the congregation included the word *Beatus* and a saint's nimbus (see figure 3); this image was cited at Neri's canonization twenty-five years later.[73]

Neri's followers—observing tradition in aggressively promoting their cultic champion—were in fact historically exceptional in delineating and breaching new, universal Catholic boundaries. At the second meeting in 1602 of the future *Congregazione dei Beati*, convened to exert papal oversight of the precocious *Beati moderni* cults, Clement VIII circulated a document condemning unsanctioned use of the appellation *Beato* and citing the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent.[74] Contemporaneously, an Oratorian contingent defended the tradition of images of noncanonized individuals that bore the word *Beato* ("tit.o Beati"),[75] citing Trent and naming examples of such imagery in Rome, because "the custom of the Church" that "has the force of law" could be best "understood from the practice of Rome, which is the head and teacher of the other [churches]."[76] Thus promoters of the precocious Philippine cult and propagators of other *Beati moderni* cults found that they had gone virtually overnight from pioneers of a seemingly glorious frontier to outsiders of the liminal territory they had unwittingly helped circumscribe. In early *Seicento* Rome—the apparent center of the supposed Catholic counter-reform—the figures of the *Beati moderni* constituted a hermeneutical periphery, demarcated and defended against the curial prerogative by ostensible counter-reformers. For Roman beholders after 1602, *Beati moderni* imagery, rather than presenting

[73]"Gabriel Paleottus in libro, quem scripsit de bono senectutis, Philippum, adhuc viventem, tanquam verum eximiae sanctitatis, atque virtutem omnium exemplar proposverit...." *Bulla Canonizationis...Romae, Ex Typographia Ruerendae Camerae Apostolicase./M.DC.XXVI*, 16; the example examined is bound in BV, MS O.23, fol. 76v. See also Prodi, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti,* 570n14.

[74]"An in hac materia locum habeant, quae decernuntur Sacra Tridentina Synodo Sessione 25. de Veneratione Sanctorum, & Sacris Reliquiis, praesertim in eo genere, ne insolita Imago ponatur in Ecclesiis, nisi approbata ab Episcopo," in *Benedetto XIV. De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione.* 2 vols. (Prato, 1839), 2:71.

[75]BV, MS H.14, fols. 364r–365v; BAV, *Barb. lat.*, fol. 2810; BA, MS 909, fols. 102r–v; *Benedetto XIV*, 2:58–59. See also Papa, *Le Cause di Canonizzazione*, pp. 55, 58–59; Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahem einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 32–33.

[76]BV, MS H.14, fol. 364r.

"exemplary figures for the guidance of the faithful,"[77] would have conveyed a subversive connotation.

The array of texts presented here, including those representing Paleotti's reformist efforts, embodies an acentric, reactionary model of reform. Under this model, the Council of Trent first defined a vague theory of image reform, which then developed through clusters of efforts. These efforts—discrete, although not necessarily mutually exclusive or isolated[78]—mostly occurred outside of Rome. The pope and the Curia thereafter reacted to image reform theories and practices with suppression, appropriation, adaptation, and reissue in the form of universal church regulatory policy.[79] Inconsistency and discord, both individual and institutional, characterized these processes of reform.

[77]Klaus Krüger, "Authenticity and Fiction: On the Pictorial Construction of Inner Presence in Early Modern Italy," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Reindert L. Falkenburg, Walter S. Melion, and Todd M. Richardson [*Proteus: Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation*, 1], (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 37–69, here p. 50.

[78]For a similar estimation on a global scale, see Simon Ditchfield, "Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History*, 101 (2010), 186–208, here 191.

[79]Eckhard Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta: ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung* (Petersberg, 2005), p. 214; Giuseppe Alberigo, "Carlo Borromeo between Two Models of Bishop," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Washington, DC, 1988), pp. 250–63, here p. 258.

APPENDIX A. Published treatises on art theory and reform (in chronological order)

Author	Title	Place, Publisher	Date
Giovanni Andrea Gilio	*Trattato de la emulazione che il demonio ha fatto a Dio,ne l'adorazione, ne sacrifici, & ne le altre cose appartenenti alla divinità*	Venice, Appresso Francesco de' Franceschi	1563
Giovanni Andrea Gilio	*Due dialoghi*	Camerino, Antonio Gioioso	1564
René Benoist	*Traicté catholique des images, et du vray visage d'icelles ... Auec deux petits traictez d'icelles, l'vn fait ... par... Theodore, Abbe des Studites, et l'autre prins des oeuvres de sainct Damascene. Le tout fait, & mis en François par René Benoist ...*	Paris, Chez Nicolas Chesneau	1564
René Benoist	*Response a ceux qui appellent idolâres les chrestiens et vray adorateurs …*	Paris	1564
Nicholas Harpsfeld and Alanus Copus	*Dialogi sex contro svmmi Pontificatvs, Monasticae vitae, sanctorvm, sacrarvm imaginvm oppvgnatores et Psevdo-martyres*	Antwerp, ex officina Christophori Plantini ...	1566
Nicholas Sanders	*A Treatise of the Images of Christ and His Saints: and that it is unlaufull to breake them and lauful to honour them …*	Louvain	1567
Onofrio Panvinio	*Onvphrii Panvinii Veronensis ... XXVII. Pontificvm maximorvm elogia et imagines accuratissime ad uiuum aeneis typeis delineatae*	Rome, Ant. Lafrerij Formeis	1568
René Benoist	*Discours de l'histoire du miracle des ardents ... avec un petit traicté des processions des Chrestiens*	Paris, Thomas Belot	1568

APPENDIX A. (continued)

Author	Title	Place, Publisher	Date
Giulio Castellani	*De imaginibus et miraculis sanctorum libri tres*	Bologna, Typis Alexandri Benacii	1569
Nicholas Sanders	*De Typica et honoraria sacrarum imaginum Adoratione libri duo*	Louvain, Apud I. Foulerum	1569
Jan Molanus	*De pictvris et imaginibvs sacris liber vnvs: tractans de vitandis circa eas abusibus, & de earundem significationibus. Eiusdem responsio quodlibetia, ad tres quaestiones, quae versa pagina indicantur*	Louvain, Apud Hieronymum Wellaeum	1570, 1581
Carlo Borromeo	*Instructionum fabricae et suppelletilis ecclesiasticis libri duo*	Milan, apud Pacificum Pontium, typographum ... Cardinalis S. Praxedis Archiepiscopi	1577
Wilhelm Lindanus	*De fugiendis nostri seculi idolis (Apologia Ecclesiae Christi Iesu Catholicae, quod idola non colit, neque meretrix est illa Babylonica*	Cologne, apud Maternum Cholinum …	1580
Gabriele Paleotti	*Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane: diviso in cinque libri*	Bologna, Benacci	1582
Raffaello Borghini	*Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini, in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella, de' più illustri pittori e scultori e delle più famose opere loro si fa menzione; e le cose principii appartenenti a dette arti si insegnano*	Florence, appresso Giorgio Marescotti	1584
Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo	*Trattato dell'arte della pittura*	Milan, Appresso Paolo Gottardo Pontio	1584
Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo	*Trattato dell'arte della pittvra, scoltvra, et architettvra*	Milan, P. G. Pontio	1585

APPENDIX A. (continued)

Author	Title	Place, Publisher	Date
Romano Alberti	*Trattato della nobilta della pittura: composto ad instantia della venerabil'compagnia di S. Luca et nobil' Academia delli pittori di Roma*	Rome, Francesco Zannetti	1585
Simone Maioli	*Pro defensione sacrarum imaginum adversus Iconomachos libri seu Centuriae sexdecim*	Rome, in aedibus populi romani	1585
Giovanni Battista Armenini	*De' veri precetti della pittvra di M. Gio. Battista Armenini da Faenza libri tre. : Ne' quali con bell'ordine d'vtili, & buoni auertimenti, per chi desidera in essa farsi con prestezza eccellente, si dimostrano i modi principali del disegnare, & del dipignere, & di fare le pitture, che si conuengono alle conditioni de' luoghi, & delle persone*	Ravenna, Apresso Francesco Tebaldini, ad instantia di Tomaso Pasini Libraro in Bologna	1587
René Benoist	*Advertissement du moyen par lequel tous troubles et diférens de ce temps, seront assopis et ostez. Par M. M. R. Benoist ...*	Paris, Par Iehan Boudin	1587
Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo	*Idea del tempio della pittura*	Milan, per Paolo Gottardo Pontio	1590
Gregorio Comanini	*Il Figino, overo del fine della Pittura. Dialogo ... ove quistionandosi se'l fine della pittura sia l'utile overo il diletto, si tratta dell' uso di quella nel Christianesimo. Et si mostra, qual sia imitator più perfetto & che più diletti, il Píttore, overo il Poeta*	Mantua, Per Francesco Osanna …	1591
Francesco Bocchi	*Opera di M. Francesco Bocchi sopra l'imagine miracolosa della santissima Nunziata di Fiorenza ...*	Florence, Michelangelo Sermartelli	1592

APPENDIX A. (continued)

Author	Title	Place, Publisher	Date
Gabriele Paleotti	*De imaginibus sacris, et profanis: illustriss. et reverendiss*	Ingolstadii, Ex Officina Typographica Davidis Sartorii	1594
Antonio Possevino	*Antonij Posseuini Societatis Iesu Tractatio de poësi & pictura ethnica, humana, & fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta, & sacra: adiectus est in hac editione nouus index, qui omnia notatu digna complectitur*	Lyon, Apud Ioannem Pillehotte …	1594
Jan Molanus	*De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum: pro vero earum vsu contra abusus. Libri IV*	Louvain, Apud Ioannem Bogardum	1594
Costantino Ghini	*Dell'Immagini Sacre: dialoghi del R.P.D. Constantino Ghini da Siena …*	Siena, Nella stamperia di Luca Bonetti	1595
René Benoist	*Advertissement au peuple catholique de la France: du moyen par lequel tous troubles seront assoupis*	Lyon	1596
Louis Richeôme	*Trois discours pour la religion catholique, des miracles, des saincts, & des images*	Bordeaux, S. Millanges	1597
Ludwig Erhard and Sebastian Heiss, eds.	*Disputatio theologica de cultu et invocatione sanctorum, ac veneratione sacrarum reliquiarum, atque Imaginum …*	Munich, Henricus München	1601
Louis Richeôme	*Tableaux sacrez des figures mystiques du très-auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie, De Diez, à la tres chrestienne royne de France et de Navarre Marie de Medicis*	Paris, Laurens Sonnius	1601

APPENDIX A. (continued)

Author	Title	Place, Publisher	Date
Domenico Anfossi	*De sacrarum reliquarum Cultu, Veneratione, Translatione, atque Identitate Brevis, sed utilis Tractatio, studio, et opera M.R.V.D.D. Dominici Anfossii Patrii Tabiensis, et Canonici Papiensis …*	Brescia, Ex Typographia Sabbij	1610
Louis Richeôme	*La peinture spirituelle, ou, l'art d'admirer, aimer et louer Dieu en toutes ses oeuvres, et tirer de toutes profit saluterre …*	Lyon, Pierre Rigaud	1611
Jan Molanus	*De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum pro vero earum usu contra abusus. Libri IIII*	Douai, Gerardus Pinchon, ex typogr. Petri Auroi.	1617
Jan Molanus	*D. Ioannis Molani ... De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum pro vero earum usu contra abusus. Libri IIII*	Antwerp, Apud G. Bellerum	1617
Jan Molanus	*D. Ioannis Molani ... De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum : pro vero earum usu contra abusus, liber III*	Lyon, Sumptibus Laurentii Durand	1619
Federico Borromeo	*De pictura sacra: libri due*	Milan	1624
Jan Molanus	*De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum, pro vero earum usu contra abusus, libri quatuor: Ejusdem Oratio de agnis dei, et alia quaedam …*	Louvain, Typis Academicis	1771

PHILOSEMITISM UNDER A DARKENING SKY: JUDAISM IN THE FRENCH CATHOLIC REVIVAL (1900–45)

BY

BRENNA MOORE*

The work of Charles Péguy (1873–1914), Léon Bloy (1846–1917), and especially Raïssa Maritain (1883–1960) provides insight regarding the relationship between French Jews and Catholics in the early-twentieth century. The author argues that these writers sought an alternative to both the secular laïcité *respect for Jews that depended on suppressing Jewish particularity as a prelude to citizenship and the classic Christian contempt of Judaism. They created a highly aesthetic and imaginative philosemitic alternative that advocated the unity between Jews and Christians, and occasionally supported resistance to antisemitism. Yet these thinkers also employed essentialized images, emphasizing Jewish suffering and advocated, in some cases, conversions to Christianity.*

Keywords: Bloy, Léon; French Catholic Revival; Jewish-Catholic relations; Maritain, Raïssa; Péguy, Charles

In May 1925, the German Jewish writer Joseph Roth wrote a rapturous letter from Paris to his editor and friend, Benno Reifenberg, in Germany. "Here," he wrote, "Catholicism is at its worldliest." He explained in an essay, "Catholicism is a cosmopolitan religion that embraces all peoples." In particular, Roth assured Reifenberg, Parisian Catholicism was nothing less than a "European expression of universal Jewishness."[1] Roth

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[1] "Worldliest," "European expression": Quoted in Michael Hofmann, Introduction, *Report from a Parisian Paradise: Essays from France, 1925–1939*, trans. Hofmann (New York, 2004), pp. 11–24, here p. 18. "Cosmopolitan religion": Joseph Roth, "Avignon," in *Report from a Parisian Paradise*, pp. 97–109, here p. 99.

did not convert, but spent much of his life pursuing the realization of Jewish-Catholic cosmopolitan religiosity. As his biographer put it, he held a deeply desired equation—"Catholicism ≈ Judaism." For Roth, this strange and vague formula did not erase the traditions' differences entirely, as evidenced by the arrangement of not one, but two, funerals for himself—one Catholic, one Jewish.[2]

Roth was one among many Jewish émigrés who had become deeply attracted to Catholic Christianity while living in France in the interwar period. Even before the interbellum years, the Catholic Church had experienced an unprecedented revival in Paris, where Roth had been on assignment.[3] If Jews saw something universal, or even Jewish, in Catholicism, French Catholics themselves began thinking anew about Judaism in these years. Charles Péguy contended that Jews force Catholics to look "inside themselves" and discover what they are missing, and mused on the tenuous bond between members of the two faiths: "So similar, so different; such enemies, such friends; such strangers, so much penetrated by one another, so intertwined; so allied and so loyal; so opposite and so conjoined."[4] Jews and Catholics alike articulated a cautiously optimistic, if ambivalent, desire to make sense of one another in new ways.

This essay examines how these early-twentieth-century experiments in Paris prepared the way for transformations within the Catholic theological imagination. The Shoah is often seen as the terrible, shameful catalyst for Christian revisions of the theology of contempt for Judaism, which partially bore fruit with the promulgation of the Second Vatican Council's *Nostra Aetate* (1965). But the French intellectuals associated with the Catholic revival pursued a new understanding of Jews and Judaism not after the Holocaust, but at a much earlier point in the twentieth century. This community's passionate and occasionally astonishing writings reflected not only on

[2]Hofmann, Introduction, p. 18.

[3]On the revival, see Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernity in Postwar Paris, 1919–1933* (Toronto, 2005); Philippe Chenaux, *Entre Maurras et Maritain: Une Génération intellectuelle catholique 1920–1930* (Paris, 1999); Étienne Fouilloux, *Une Église en quête de liberté: la pensée catholique française entre modernisme et Vatican II 1914–1962* (Paris, 1998); and Frédéric Gugelot, *La Conversion des intellectuels au catholicisme en France, (1885–1935)* (Paris, 1998).

[4]Charles Péguy, "Note conjointe sur M. Descartes et la philosophie cartésienne," in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1992), 2:1446–51. Quoted in Annette Aronowicz, *Jews and Christians on Time and Eternity: Charles Péguy's Portrait of Bernard-Lazare* (Palo Alto, CA, 1998), p. 3.

the symbolic representation of the people of Israel in theology but also on the historical situation of persecuted Jews in the twentieth century, particularly during the Alfred Dreyfus affair (1894–1901), during the antisemitism of the 1930s, and during the Shoah. Furthermore, *Nostra Aetate* did not, and perhaps could not, capture the experimental and far-reaching character of these explorations in the French context, asserting not just tolerance but a kind of unity between the two traditions. It is this radicalism—and, of course, the ambivalence—of such assertions that is explored in this essay.

In doing so, John Connelly's recent, extraordinary analysis is extended; as Connelly notes, without the pivotal figures from Germany and Austria, "The Catholic Church would never have 'thought its way' out of the challenges of racist anti-Judaism."[5] By focusing on the key French figures, new details about the story of prewar Catholic philosemitism emerge: the uniquely French assertion of the idealization of the trope of "Jewish suffering," as a grounds for Christian-Jewish unity, along with the emphasis on Christianity's debt to Judaism. These themes may be unpacked through a focus on three main protagonists: Léon Bloy (1846–1917), Charles Péguy (1873–1914), and Raïssa Maritain (1883–1960, see figure 1). Maritain was a leader of an internationalist community that endeavored to construct a theory of the relationship between Jews and Christians. Her texts *Histoire d'Abraham* (1935) and the two-volume *Les grandes amitiés* (1941, 1944) aim to establish what she called the living bond between the two traditions. To understand Maritain's predecessors and influences, the discussion begins with a brief exploration of the assumptions and strategies for thinking about Jews and Judaism that appear in the works of her mentors Bloy and Péguy. Both Péguy and Bloy broke new ground at the turn of the century—albeit charting territory that was deeply ambivalent and sometimes problematic—steering the course for subsequent developments in philosemitism for Catholics.

The works of Bloy, Péguy, and Maritain are worth exploration because their rationales are illustrative not simply of the "good" philosemitism against "bad" anti-Judaism, but their ideas, as historian Richard Crane recently explained, illustrate the conflicts, tensions, and constraints at the heart of French Christian thinking on this

[5]John Connelly, *From Enemy to Brother: The Revolution in Catholic Teaching on the Jews, 1933–1965* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), p. 287.

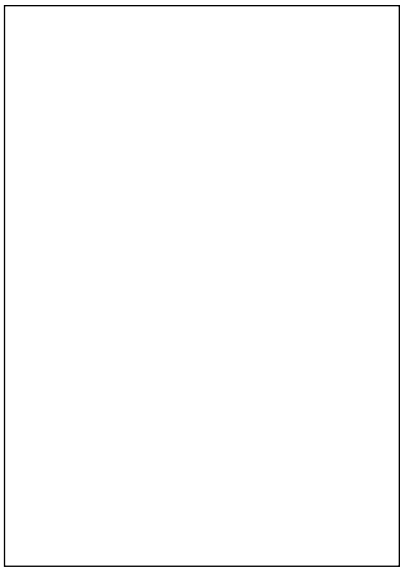

FIGURE 1. Raïssa Maritain, *c.* 1934. Photograph courtesy of the Jacques Maritain Papers, Jacques Maritain Center, University of Notre Dame.

issue.[6] Individuals such as Bloy, Péguy, and Maritain resist simple appraisal; they fit uneasily into contemporary notions of religious tolerance. Bloy scorned politics as a means to reduce the suffering of Jews, and his theology is deeply entangled with essentialized images of Jews of the worst sort. In addition to Bloy, Péguy's courageous philosemitism also harbors troubling essentialist notions of Judaism; and Maritain, a Jewish convert to Catholicism, forthrightly advocated Jewish conversion to Christianity like her godfather Bloy. Certainly, to reawaken these revivalists is not to discover finally a uniformly safe or liberative Catholic position on Judaism. The analysis that follows aims to untangle the ambivalence of these philosemitic endeavors and track how these revivalists' thinking underwent significant revisions in the years before the Shoah.

Yet, despite the imperfections of these ideas and practices, this community tried to wrest the conventional, long-standing anti-Jewish discourse from the Christian imagination and create a more tolerant

[6]Richard Francis Crane, *The Passion of Israel: Jacques Maritain, Catholic Conscience, and the Holocaust* (Scranton, PA, 2010).

alternative. Theirs were early experiments to validate Judaism and Jews for their religion, rather than adopt the negative construction of Judaism that predominated in Christian thinking.[7] Despite their problematic aspects, they nonetheless exerted a force that at least cracked the massive edifice of Catholic antisemitism in France (indeed, an edifice so massive that Julie Kalman's recent work suggests that Catholicism and contempt for Judaism were largely synonymous for most of modern French history[8]). On this issue, these thinkers were consistently daring aesthetically and attacked a difficult theological and political issue head on. Yet the prescience of the French Catholic revivalists in this respect is balanced, if not tragically overwhelmed, by the extent to which their labors were so vulnerable. Indeed, the eventual failure of Catholicism in 1940–45 to pursue these early prewar attempts at universalism and philosemitism would evoke outrage in the twilight years of late-modern Catholicism's golden age. This topic therefore presents us with an ideal moment to consider the opportunities and limits, as well as the risks and rewards, for "thinking with" the French Catholic revivalists.

Finally, this community's ideas on Judaism are worth retrieving because their concern with unity amid difference remains with us. Now, as then, relating Judaism to unity is fraught with risk; those who are unified often are required to submit to a particular normative order. In the case of Jews, unification with gentile society often meant full assimilation or conversion as well as the stark eradication of Jewish difference. In French political and social thought, there is a long-standing tradition identifying secular humanism as the only viable source of human unity and progress. As Ruth Harris and others have shown, the secular underpinnings of French *laicité* animate republican universalism as well as a sometimes fanatical intolerance of organized religion.[9] Yet modern France also has harbored a robust

[7]For a good historical precedent see Thomas A. Kselman, "The Bautain Circle and Catholic-Jewish Relations in Modern France," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 92 (2006), 177–96.

[8]Julie Kalman, *Rethinking Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 2010). See also Connelly, *From Enemy to Brother*, pp. 11–35.

[9]Ruth Harris, "How the Dreyfus Affair Explains Sarkozy's Burqua Ban," *Foreign Policy,* May 12, 2010. Retrieved from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/12/how_the_dreyfus_affair_explains_sarkozy_s_burqa_ban; Harris, *Dreyfus: Politics, Emotion, and the Scandal of the Century* (New York, 2010); Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), pp. 106–10.

counter-tradition critiquing the assumptions operative in these claims. The French Catholic revival sits squarely within this field of critique. This community's thinking on Jews was an explicit attempt to develop a notion of common humanity outside the confines of secular republicanism. If we can cautiously revisit the leading figures of this counter-tradition, we may gain broader resources for articulating and limning what binds us together as humans outside purely secular discourse.[10]

"Dripping with the Word of God": Charles Péguy's *Juifs*

Bloy and Péguy wrote at the turn of the century, when antisemitism was a broadly accepted moral and political outlook in France.[11] Even those who defended Jews such as Dreyfus could do so by claiming that one could respect Jews as citizens and need not like anything about Jewish particularity.[12] In complex and divergent ways, both Péguy and Bloy sought to challenge the classical Christian view of Jews as recalcitrant sinners, but they refused to see them in terms of republican, secular universalism. An elusive figure who defies easy categorization, Péguy was a poet, socialist, journalist, and atheist who returned to the Catholicism of his youth as an adult. Péguy was an ardent Dreyfusard, yet he was critical of French republicans who, on account of Dreyfus and Catholic antisemitism, sought to make French politics avowedly secular. Throughout his life, Péguy maintained a dual interest in the plight of Jews and the revival of a place for religion in the modern world. This twofold outlook consolidated a similar set of interests among the men and women who gathered at his famous Left Bank bookshop in the early 1900s, a site of both robust philosemitism and the critique of Parisian anticlericalism.[13]

Péguy's writings on Jews and Judaism are scattered throughout his vast corpus, but his ideas are most fully developed in his famous

[10]Talal Asad, "Trying to Understand French Secularism," in *Political Theologies*, ed. Hent de Vries (New York, 2006), pp. 494–526.

[11]Pierre Birnbaum shows how the Dreyfus Affair exposed long-standing, widely held antisemitic sentiments that circulated in cities, small towns, and rural communities throughout France; see *The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (New York, 2003). See also William I. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (New York, 2003).

[12]James Carroll, *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews* (New York, 2001), pp. 459–60; Aronowicz, *Jews and Christians*, pp. 30–34.

[13]Phyllis Stock, "Students Versus the University in Pre–World War Paris," *French Historical Studies,* 7 (1971), 93–101.

essay "Notre jeunesse," published in 1910. This work is Péguy's nostalgic reminiscence of the early Dreyfus movement, when its followers embodied *mystique*—charity and passionate commitment no matter the cost—before the struggle denigrated into mere *politique*. Much of the essay provides a lengthy posthumous portrait of the Jewish writer Bernard Lazare, Péguy's friend and, in his view, the early movement's prophet. Péguy uses his reflections on Dreyfus and Lazare to include larger reflections on Jewish-Christian relations, introducing two of the most enduring themes of the philosemitic French Catholic imagination: the unity of Christians and Jews, and the Jew as the ideal sufferer. These would be the central philosemitic conceptual tools used and transformed by thinkers such as Raïssa Maritain one generation later.

"Antisemites," Péguy writes in the essay, "speak of Jews. I warn you that I am about to say something shocking: **Antisemites do not know the Jews** [boldface type in original]. They speak about them, but they don't know them."[14] To find out who the Jews "really are," Péguy counters negative generalizations with florid, even romantic, generalizations of his own, grounded both in the uniqueness of Jews and their commonality with Christians. Through his portrait of Lazare and other Jews he had known for "twenty years," Péguy challenged longstanding Christian and secular anxieties about them. Against the stereotype of the wealthy merchant who usurps France's financial assets, Péguy depicts Lazare as a Jewish writer raised in an impoverished ghetto, whose deep sense of solidarity and duty compelled him to dedicate his life to the well-being of the multitude of Jews living in the ghettos of Romania, Poland, Russia, and France. Péguy's text moves to make a general claim about the solidarity between Jews like Dreyfus and Lazare, and Christians who are struggling in the modern world: "What I see," Péguy wrote, "is that Jews and Christians together, poor Jews and poor Christians, we make a living as best as we can, generally poorly, in this bitch of a

[14] "Les antisémites parlent des juifs. Je préviens que je vais dire une énormité: **Les anti-sémites ne connaissent point les juifs**. Ils en parlent, mais ils ne les connaissent point." Charles Péguy, "Notre jeunesse," in *Oeuvres en prose*, 1909–1914 (Paris, 1957), pp. 513–688, here pp. 628–29, emphasis in original. In addition to Harris's *Dreyfus,* two excellent readings of Péguy on Jews and Judaism can be found in Annette Aronowicz, *Jews and Christians on Time and Eternity: Charles Péguy's Portrait of Bernard-Lazare* (Palo Alto, CA, 1998); and Sarah Hammerschlag, *The Figural Jew: Politics and Identity in French Postwar Thought* (Chicago, 2010), pp. 25–66.

life, in this bitch, this poor wretch of a modern society."[15] This dark view of modernity propelled Péguy toward the language of unity. The shared suffering of Jewish and Catholic men and women underwrites a kind of class solidarity, forged at the level of common humanity and suffering under modern capitalism.

As Péguy had explained in 1905, modern people are "afraid of blows," but anyone who willingly endures suffering, "whoever he may be, the beggar along the roads, the miserable blind man, and the man crushed" is the one who, despite appearances, "holds the upper hand, orders the course of the conversation, commands the situation."[16] Occasionally Péguy saw Jews and Christians united in their capacity to suffer, and although some Jews cower before danger like everyone else, there was no community who endured suffering as did Péguy's Jews. On the Jewish body there is no place "upon which there is not an ancient pain, an old bruise, an old contusion, a dull pain, the memory of dull pain, a scar, a wound."[17] Péguy draws here on longstanding Christian, secular, literary, aesthetic, and mystical discourses circulating in France that came together in a shared idealization of images of suffering and affliction.[18] For Péguy and other philosemitic revivalists, the Jew was the embodied articulation of this (abject) ideal.[19]

Péguy's valorization of suffering allowed him to assert the holiness even of secular, assimilated Jews like Lazare. He imagined him on his deathbed:

[15]"[N]ous gagnons notre vie comme nous pouvons, généralement mal, dans cette chienne de vie, dans cette chienne, dans cette gueuse de société moderne": Péguy, "Notre jeunesse," p. 630.

[16]"… quel qu'il soit, qui que ce soit, que ce soit le mendiant errant au long des routes, que ce soit l'aveugle misérable, que ce soit le proscrit…. toujours c'est le suppliant qui en réalité tient le dessus, qui tient le haut du dialogue, le haut de la situation": Charles Péguy, "Les suppliants parallèles" [1905], in *Oeuvres en prose complètes* (Paris, 1988), 2:869–935.

[17]"Il n'a pas sur la peau un point qui ne soit pas douloureux, où il n'y ait un ancien bleu, une ancienne contusion, une douleur sourde, la mémoire d'une douleur sourde": Péguy, "Notre jeunesse," p. 590.

[18]For more on suffering in the French Catholic Revival, see Brenna Moore, *Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, the Allure of Suffering, and the French Catholic Revival* (Notre Dame, 2012); D. E. Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood: Women, Catholicism, and the Culture of Suffering in France, 1840–1970* (Ithaca, NY, 2004).

[19]For a fascinating discussion of the trope of Jewish abjection and marginalization in later twentieth-century French thought, see Hammerschlag, *The Figural Jew*.

> That atheist, that professional atheist, that official atheist, in whom resounded, with unbelievable power, with unbelievable gentleness, the eternal word. I still see him in his bed, that atheist dripping with the word of God. Even in death, the whole weight of his people bore down on his shoulders.[20]

In Péguy's hands, Lazare's suffering overcame his atheism to sanctify the man to God. Jews like Lazare make good on the most highly prized values of French Catholicism: *souffrance*. Through this, Péguy, along with Bloy, planted the seeds for one of the most persistent, and obviously ambivalent, aspects of the revivalists on Jews and Judaism.

In some places, Péguy's vivid notion of a wounded Jewry remained stubbornly ahistorical, an essential aspect of Jewish identity rather than something that can be traced historically and politically. Yet, for Péguy, this symbol functioned paradoxically. Despite the allure of the symbol of Jewish suffering, Péguy worked tirelessly to improve their condition around the world. He was an ardent Dreyfusard, and it was not only their abjection: Péguy wrote at length about the superiority of Jewish literacy tradition in comparison with that of Catholicism, and as his reflections of Lazare make clear, he did not want to erase difference, neither through assimilation nor conversion. Many Jews were attracted to Péguy for his interest in Jewish particularity; as many have noted, Péguy was unique in countering turn-of-the-century antisemitism with the affirmation of Jews *as Jews*, even as Péguy trafficked in the realm of essentialism and ahistoricism. It is no surprise, therefore, that many of the Jewish intellectuals circulating through Péguy's bookshop, like the writer Julien Benda and the young intellectual Raïssa Maritain who met him in 1901, saw Péguy's philosemitism as an attractive alternative to the secular assimilationist ideology of most leftist political thought. Raised in an atmosphere of pressure for assimilation into French republicanism, many European Jews had become alienated from religion or were raised with a very tenuous, sometimes only nominal, understanding of it.[21] Péguy and other revivalists push back against secular assimilation by seeing

[20]"Cet athée, ce professionnellement athée, cet officiellement athée en qui retentissait, avec une force, avec une douceur incroyable, la parole éternelle. . . . cet athée ruisselant de la parole de Dieu. Dans la mort même tout le poids de son peuple lui pesait aux épaules": Péguy, "Notre jeunesse," p. 632.

[21]Michael Weingrad, "Juifs Imaginaires," *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History,* 21 (2001), 255–76, here 260.

Jewish particularity in terms of heroism and suffering, characteristics that can unite them with Christians, without conversion, into the realm of *mystique* and revolution. Péguy, for his Jewish friends, "rediscovered in them the Judaism they seemed to no longer remember," as one of his French biographers noted.[22]

"Their Very Abjection Is a Divine Sign": Léon Bloy's Symbolic Jews

Working within a shared cultural circuit, Bloy amplified and radicalized the suffering-centered philosemitism of Péguy and created a more deeply ambivalent and highly aesthetic reading of Judaism. His vivid, transgressive writing on a host of topics has endeared him to some Jewish and Catholic readers across the ideological spectrum, but his deep entanglements with Jewish stereotypes have earned him the scorn of many more. For France's leading scholar of antisemitism, Bloy's writings on Judaism have understandably earned the reputation as "ravings" that "fed the fantasies" of even the most proactive and vociferous antisemites.[23] The violence of Bloy's rhetoric has to be faced openly. Yet Bloy also—perhaps oddly—fits within a broader genealogy of French philosemitism for his emphasis on Christian Jewish unity and his reiterations of the trope of Jewish suffering, a trope that would later be taken up by influential philosemites like Raïssa Maritain, as a counterforce to the stereotype of the wealthy Jewish capitalist. Bloy is worth examining because his work crystallizes the daring, symbolism characteristic of the Catholic revival as well as its darker, more pernicious dimensions.

Bloy, whose work appeared between 1885 and 1917, was a controversial anti-bourgeois novelist who attracted the attention of many intellectuals in Paris. Bloy's ideas on Jews and Judaism matured throughout his life in crucial ways, but his longest writings on this

[22]Lazare Prajs, *Péguy et Israel* (Paris, 1970), p. 36. Quoted in Aronowicz, *Jews and Christians,* p. 150.

[23]Pierre Birnbaum, "Grégoire, Dreyfus, Drancy, and the rue Copernic: Jews at the Heart of French History," in *Realms of Memory,* ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1996) 1: 379–425, here 412. For two competing interpretations of Bloy on antisemitism see Philippe Chenaux, "Léon Bloy et sa postérité," in *Juifs et Chrétiens: Entre Ignorance, Hostilité et Rapprochement (1898–1998)*, ed. Annette Becker, Danielle Delmaire, and Frédéric Gugelot (Lille, 2002), pp. 47–58; Michel Fourcade, "Maritain face au réveil de l'antisémitisme (1933–1939)," *Cahiers Jacques Maritain*, 41 (2001), 3–51.

theme can found an early book, *Le salut par les juifs* (*Salvation by the Jews*), published in 1892. *Le Salut par les juifs* is a chaotic book; Bloy's frenzied prose contributes to the lack of scholarly consensus as to whether he was an antisemite or—like Péguy—an early, if imperfect, philo-Semite who aimed to dismantle the classic Christian contempt of Judaism.

Le Salut begins with a polemic against the handbook of French antisemitism, Eduard Drumont's *La France Juive*.[24] Bloy claims to "déclare la guerre" on Drumont's nightmarish ramblings, but in his effort to subvert prevailing antisemitic racism in terms of Christian eschatology, he mimics Drumont's manic prose and re-energizes a set of powerful antisemitic tropes. Bloy's Jews "wander the earth, without a vocation" "crawling" like vermin "along the Danube, Poland, Russia, Germany, Holland, in France itself." They are the "Orphan People," "condemned." The Jews have "murdered the Word."[25] These myths of the Jews as a God-killing people and their fate of eternal wandering are old, anti-Jewish clichés. But the image of the wandering Jew in particular gained a new traction in the nineteenth century precisely because of nationalism and the notion that all real individuals belonged to a people and their land. Jews did not have a land; as wanderers, they hence were never actually citizens.[26] For Bloy, the Jew in *Le salut* was the rejected embodiment of misery and homelessness, the lost stranger.

For Bloy, Jewish wandering and particularity was not proof of their recalcitrance. It was a sign of their holiness and their assimilation into a Christianity also marked by suffering and united with Judaism. "The very abjectness of that Race," he writes, "is a divine Sign, the very manifest sign of the constant lingering of the Holy Spirit over these men so scorned."[27] Elsewhere he names "a sort of identity" between Israel and the Holy Spirit to illustrate the alliance between the people of Israel—rootless and cast aside—and God.[28] Even further, he endows

[24]Léon Bloy, *Le salut par les juifs* (Paris, 1906), p. 2.

[25]Bloy, *Le salut par les juifs*: "errer sans vocation sur la terre," p. 34; "grouiller le long du Danube, en Pologne, en Russie, en Allemagne, en Hollande, en France même," p. 19; "Peuple Orphelin condamné," p. 32; "les Juifs ayant égorgé le Verbe fait chair," p. 35.

[26]Hammerschlag, *The Figural Jew,* p. 31–35.

[27]"La abjection même de cette Race est une Signe divin, le signe très manifest de la permanence de l'Esprit-Saint sur ces hommes si méprisés[.]" Léon Bloy, *Le vieux de la montagne* (Paris, 1919), p. 305.

[28]Bloy *Le salut par les juifs*, p. 116.

the Holy Spirit with the classic markers of Jewish particularity: the Paraclete not only identifies with the wandering Jews but also wanders.[29] It is Jews and the Jewish Christ, the orphan and "leper king," from whom we learn that the markers of rootlessness and suffering are not to be scorned but are the marks of holiness itself.

This way of sanctifying Jewish particularity follows from Bloy's doctrine of a God who is at home with "the dead, the dying, and the wounded" on earth, and at one with the protagonists of Bloy's books—impoverished individuals, those who are insane, widows, prostitutes, Jews, and children.[30] Bloy's emphasis on the alliance between the marginal Jew and Holy Spirit suits his doctrine of God, who is found only in "the outcast, the starving, the beggar, the lunatic, the desperate"—those who suffer on the margins.[31] Bloy exhibits what historian Samuel Moyn has called the "cultural code" of philosemitism that relies upon antisemitic discourse and symbols in the putative service of Jews so as to dismiss, reject, or reverse the evaluation of stereotypes against them, "flirting with the taboo" of antisemitism in unstable ways.[32]

To understand why Bloy would rely so heavily upon this troubling strategy requires an acknowledgment of Bloy's debts to the decadent literary movement in fin-de-siècle France. Authors like Bloy affiliated with decadence rebelled against the seeming optimism of bourgeois modernity, highlighting and idealizing those cultural symbols most denigrated by the liberalism of the *laïcité*. For decadents, middle-class mentalities were tepid and mediocre, but also could be relentlessly cruel for those they left on the margins of society. Decadents glorified and elicited in grisly detail the figures shunned or ignored by others.[33] The indecorous lifestyles of the prostitute, the Jew, the degenerate, the sick, and the female *hystérique* were vividly depicted in decadent novels as a means of subverting modern liberal ideals and making vis-

[29]"ce Paraclet errant": Bloy, *Le salut par les juifs,* p. 114.

[30]"Des morts, des agonisants, des blessés": Léon Bloy, *Le désespéré* (Paris, 1886), p. 310.

[31]Quoted in Giovanni Dotoli, *Autobiographie de la douleur: Léon Bloy, écrivain et critique* (Paris, 1998), p. 110.

[32]Samuel Moyn, "Antisemitism, Philosemitism, and the Rise of Holocaust Memory," *Patterns of Prejudice,* 43 (2009), 1–16.

[33]Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism* (Cambridge, MA, 1997); Stephen Schloesser, "From 'Spiritual Naturalism' to 'Psychical Naturalism': Catholic Decadence, Lutheran Munch, and *Madone Mystérique*," in *Edvard Munch: Psyche, Symbol, and Expression,* ed. Jeffrey Howe (Boston, 2001), pp. 75–110.

ible those typically cast aside. In the late-nineteenth-century, a group of Catholic writers that included Bloy and his one-time friend, J. K. Huysmans, drew upon the decadent reversals of bourgeois values and brought them into explicit conversation with Catholic symbols of the supernatural. Like his friend and mentor Barbey d'Aurevilly (1808–89), Bloy sought to shock the literary and Catholic middle class through the embrace of the shadow side of modernity.

In a strategy somewhat akin to that of Péguy, Bloy's deeply ambivalent philosemitism relied upon Jewish particularity—their suffering and abjection—that could be accommodated by a marginal, antibourgeois Christianity, but in his case, it was a model of Christian absorption of Judaism. Bloy framed Christianity as fundamentally Jewish, because such a formulation reclaimed the religion's marginal roots. Bloy relished in Nietzsche's accusations of Christianity as the religion of the Jewish underclass:

> People forget, or rather do not want to know, that our God made man is a Jew, the Jew of Jews by nature, the Lion of Judah; that His Mother is a Jewess, the flower of the Jewish Race; that all His Ancestors were Jews; that the Apostles were Jews, as well as the Prophets; finally that our holy Liturgy is entirely drawn from the Jewish books.

Bloy believed this recognition could subvert modern antisemitism:"So then how is one to express the enormity of the outrage and of the blasphemy that consists in vilifying the Jewish Race?"[34] In a way, this subverted the prevailing antisemitic narrative of Catholics (in which Jews were too cosmopolitan, modern, and untraditional) as well as that of the laïcité (in which Jewish particularism was something that had to be overcome and absorbed into universal citizenship).

Although Péguy and Bloy both aimed to articulate the bonds between Jews and Christians through the idiom of suffering, Péguy crucially did not require Jewish conversion or assimilation. True Christianity, as Bloy described it, would renew contact with its abject Jewish roots, but true Judaism was ultimately destined for the Church. The combination of these contradictory claims—the recasting of anti-

[34]"On oublie ou plutôt on ne veut pas savoir que notre Dieu fait homme est un juif, le juif par excellence de nature, le Lion de Juda; que sa Mère est une juive, la fleur de la Race juive: que tous ses Ancêtres ont été des juifs; que les Apôtres ont été des juifs, aussi bien que tous les Prophètes; enfin que notre Liturgie sacrée tout entière est puisée dans les livres juifs. Dès lors comment exprimer l'énormité de l'outrage et du blasphème qui consiste à vilipender la Race juive?": Bloy, *Le vieux de la montagne,* p. 303.

semitic tropes as holy and the positing of the Jews' conversion as an eschatological requirement—animated the potential antisemitism and violence of Bloy's rhetoric.

For all of his outrage against modern antisemitism, Bloy did not have Péguy's faith in politics to ameliorate the situation for Jews or anyone else. Although Bloy's writings were meant to evoke reader outrage, moral indignation, and sympathy, the origin of Jewish suffering, in his view, was not political or historical, but rather was fundamental to Jewish identity and salvation history. According to Bloy, humanitarians only think, like most Dreyfusards, "in terms of human means. All we hear about are leagues, congresses, elections, etc. . . . to my mind this is vain and profoundly stupid."[35] He believed in acts of charity and kindness, but wanted to depict the reality of Jewish suffering in vivid, symbolic detail that could be hurled at the bourgeoisie as an aesthetic invective. Jews appear in his text as vessels to communicate perversion and inversion, not as real people. Unlike Péguy, he knew few actual Jewish men and women. The fascinating exception is his goddaughter, Raïssa (Oumançoff) Maritain, whom he met in 1905. He hoped to convert her to Christianity only a month after their meeting.[36]

"Unity, Continuity, and Perfect Harmony": Raïssa Maritain's Two Faiths

Maritain's upbringing was typical of the Jews in this setting. Born in Russia in 1883, she had fled with her family from the Jewish pogroms, arriving in France when she was ten years old.[37] Her family settled into a large and fairly well-established community of Russian Jews in Paris. According to an early 1909 essay, Maritain did not receive formal religious education as a child, although she knew of the struggles of Jewish people around the world.[38] Attuned to the

[35]". . . pensent presque tous à des moyens humains. On n'entend parler que de ligues, de congrès, d'élections, etc. A mes yeux tout cela est vain et profondément stupide": Bloy, *Le vieux de la montagne,* p. 302. For more on Bloy and Dreyfus, see Richard Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse: The Polemics of the Dreyfus Affair and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1991), pp. 142–53.

[36]Léon Bloy, *Mon Journal* (Paris, 1956), p. 267.

[37]For two extensive treatments of Raïssa Maritain in English, see Moore, *Sacred Dread*; Judith Suther, *Raïssa Maritain: Pilgrim, Poet, Exile* (New York, 1990).

[38]"Enfant j'entendis beaucoup parler du peuple juif, mais je ne reçus pour ainsi dire pas d'instruction religieuse": Raïssa Maritain, "Récit de ma conversion," in Jacques Maritain and Raïssa Maritain, *Oeuvres complétes* (Paris, 1982–2000), XV:827–37, here p. 827.

norms of the Russian intelligentsia, Russian Jews often emigrated to France for the education of their children, placed less emphasis on religious observance than other immigrants, and aligned with radical Russian politics.[39]

After Bloy met Maritain, the nominalism of her Judaism did not prevent Bloy from making this factor, along with her gender, her defining characteristic.[40] Bloy isolated and celebrated the aspect of Maritain's identity that he had already decided was abject, strangely powerful, and crucially united with Christianity. "The delightful little Jew," Bloy mused in summer 1905, "in whom we already see a Christian."[41] Bloy's view of the ultimate unity of Judaism and Christianity was one that was not a partnership of equals, but rather was a supercession of Judaism by the Church, a Church that was still in some respects—at least ideally—abject, antibourgeois, and Jewish. Conversion, accordingly, was essential. Maritain thanked Bloy for making possible her arrival at Christianity. She wrote in 1909 that, thanks to Bloy, "where I would have been afraid of finding struggles and opposition, yet I experienced with true joy only unity, continuity and perfect harmony" between Judaism and the Catholic Church.[42] In fact, Maritain did not see her Jewishness dissolved by her Christianity, but she saw herself as a Jew in the Catholic Church who still was very much a part of the people of Israel. She and her new husband, Jacques Maritain, were baptized in Paris on June 11, 1906, with Bloy serving as their godfather.

For Maritain, as with other assimilated Jews in Péguy's community, Bloy's philosophy may have been a rare representation of Judaism as a religious system. The construction of Maritain's conception of Judaism makes sense given her background—anti-Jewish violence led to her family's flight to France, where citizenship meant assimilation. At age twenty-two, she knew almost nothing about Judaism and little about Catholicism.[43] Bloy's contempt for all things bourgeois appealed to Maritain's leftist background.

[39]Paula E. Hyman, *Jews in Modern France* (Berkeley, CA, 1998), pp. 122–23.

[40]Bloy, *Mon Journal,* p. 267.

[41]"la délicieuse petite juive en qui nous voyons déjà une chrétienne": Bloy, *Lettres à ses filleuls* (Paris, 1922), p. 166.

[42]"Là où j'aurais craint de trouver lutte et opposition, je ne vis à ma grande joie qu'unité, continuité, harmonie parfaite": R. Maritain, "Récit de ma conversion," p. 834.

[43]For more on this widespread nominal understanding of Judaism, see Weingrad, "Juifs Imaginaires," p. 260.

Like Péguy, other assimilated Jewish intellectuals of the left would find something oddly appealing about Bloy, particularly for his vivid, evocative rage against modernity. In 1924, after reading the "splendid exegesis" of Bloy's satirical *Exégèses des lieux communs,* Walter Benjamin claimed, "a more embittered critique, or rather satire, of the bourgeois could hardly have been written."[44] Later, Emmanuel Levinas cited Bloy's "admirably bold" vision of femininity in *Lettres à sa Fiancée*.[45] Franz Kafka also admired Bloy, reporting that he "possesses a fire that brings to mind the ardor of the prophets—an even greater ardor, I should say."[46] As with Maritain, Lazare, and Julien Benda, many nonobservant Jewish men and women were attracted to revivalists like Bloy and Péguy and were thereby drawn into a particular kind of antibourgeois Catholic philosemitism in early-twentieth-century France. Some would journey to conversion, like Maritain, whereas others would remain at the borderlands of the two traditions, like Roth. Many of these assimilated Jews would not receive these Catholic philosemitic imaginings passively, but would enter into the discourse, use the tools at hand, and intervene in this "Catholic" conversation reimagining of the boundaries between Christianity and Judaism. This would be precisely the work of Maritain.

"The Ardor of Both Faiths": Maritain and the Early Years of the Russian-Jewish-Catholic Salon at Meudon

After her mentors Péguy and Bloy had died, Maritain gradually emerged as a leader in an experimental community of religious seekers who frequented the salon established by herself and her husband.[47] The Maritains' salon at Meudon, located just outside Paris, thrived from 1923 until 1939 and hosted an unpredictable cast of artists and philosophers. Exiled Russians, homosexuals, wavering Catholics, clergy, Protestants, and Jews took the train to Meudon in interwar France. "The Maritains," one such pilgrim remembered, "had a tremendous power of attraction, and magnets draw everything."[48]

[44]*The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin (1910–1940),* trans. and ed. Manfred R. Jacobson (Chicago, 1994), p. 250.

[45]Emmanuel Levinas, "From Existence to Ethics," in *The Levinas Reader,* ed. Seán Hand (Cambridge, MA, 1989), pp. 9–125, here p. 49.

[46]Kafka's letter to a friend, quoted in Alberto Manguel, *Black Water: The Book of Fantastic Literature* (New York, 1984), p. 90.

[47]Nora Possenti, "Au foyer de Meudon," *Cahiers Jacques Maritain,* 51 (Dec. 2005), 11–31; Jean-Luc Barré, *Jacques and Raïssa Maritain: Beggars for Heaven,* trans. Bernard Doering (Notre Dame, 1999).

[48]Maurice Sachs, *Witches Sabbath*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1964), p. 109.

Jewish men and women such as Marc and Bella Chagall held a particularly prominent presence in this salon. Many more in the Maritains' circle were Jewish near-converts or converts to Catholicism.[49] The Maritains' 1906 conversion laid a foundation for many of the interwar baptisms in Paris, and some people in France had even speculated that the Maritains were conspiring with the diocese to bring the faithless into the fold.[50] Well-known names among this group included Russian composers Arthur Lourié and Nicholas Nabakov, Polish sculptor Marek Szwarc,[51] Egyptian-born historian of religion Jean de Menasce,[52] Egyptian writer Georges Cattaui, German journalist Roland Hill, Polish theater critic Jan Kott, French writer Max Jacob, priest-poet Jean-Pierre Altermann, and essayist René Schwob.

On the one hand, the prominent presence of Jewish intellectuals and Jewish converts at the Maritains' salon merely reflected what was happening in interwar Paris. By 1920, Paris had become one of the largest Jewish centers in the world, and the Jewish population in the city doubled between the turn of the century and 1930.[53] In addition, Meudon had become a magnet for Russian Jews, which was attractive to Maritain. The Maritains' home drew countless numbers of Russian émigré Jews, largely because the "Russian-Jewish" atmosphere was a welcome familiarity.[54]

For Meudon guests interested in issues of Judaism and Christianity, Maritain was, as one friend remembered, the "luminous center of this circle."[55] Although less outgoing and robust than her husband, her lay-

[49]Frédéric Gugelot, "Le Temps des Convertis: Signe et Trace de la Modernité Religieuse Au Début du XX^{e} Siècle," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions,* 47, no. 119 (2002), 45–64, here 54. Esther Benbassa has shown that from 1917 through 1939 in Paris, 769 Jews converted to Catholicism; see Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A History of Antiquity to the Present*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Princeton, 1999), p. 157.

[50]Gugelot, *La Conversion des Intellectuels*; Sachs, *Witches Sabbath*, p. 111.

[51]For details on Szwarc, see Jean-Louis Andral and Sophie Krebs*, L'école de Paris 1904–1929, la part de l'Autre* (Paris, 2000), p. 363.

[52]Philippe Gignoux and Ahmad Tafazzoli, eds., *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain, 1974).

[53]Benbassa, *The Jews of France,* p. 148–49.

[54]Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Immigration 1919–1939* (New York, 1999), pp. 140–41; Dennis Dunn, *The Catholic Church in Russia: Popes, Patriarchs, Tsars and Commissars* (Burlington, VT, 2004), p. 80.

[55]"le centre lumineux de ce cercle": Pierre van der Meer de Walcheren, *Rencontres: Léon Bloy, Raïssa Maritain, Christine et Pieterke* (Paris, 1961), pp. 110–13.

ered identity proved irresistible. One émigré convert described Maritain as a woman "of Jewish descent and born in Russia," who had "retained her native tongue and culture. She was therefore most helpful to me." But Maritain provided more than comfort. The same convert recalled that she was both "firmly rooted in her race" and a "pioneer of Judeo-Christian relations. No one had a deeper insight than she into the mystery of Israel."[56] Another convert from Poland wrote with a similar emphasis: "If ever in my lifetime I have met a saint, it was Raïssa. Born into a Hassidic family . . . she had converted to Catholicism as a young girl, but she had retained the ardor of both faiths."[57] Maurice Sachs, who would be ushered by Maritain into the Church, saw her through the prism of Bloy: "Raïssa Maritain was a Jewess and it is to her that the admirable work of Léon Bloy is dedicated: *Le Salut par les Juifs.*" Sachs mused:

> To me, she seemed what the holy Jewish women of the early Christian age must have been: beautiful, the burning brightness of her race, but reserved, loving, all spirit. . . . She was truly one of those Jewesses consumed by the mystic flame, whose soul was a vertical line from earth to heaven.[58]

Sachs's quixotic, even Orientalist, rendering of the *juive femme* resurrects Bloy's initial impressions.[59]

Maritain's supposed doubleness repeated itself in the faith of the Meudon converts who often viewed themselves not as true converts but as creative combiners of Judaism and Christianity. For example, the case of Szwarc, who had emigrated with his wife from Poland to Paris, is illustrative. The two were (secretly) baptized Catholic in 1919 after meeting the Maritains. They raised their daughter, the writer Tereska Torres, as what they called a "*Juive-chrétienne*." As an adult, Torres wrote at length about this unusual upbringing, nourished in the salons of the Maritains and Stanislas Fumet, who also was married to a Jewish convert.[60] Torres recalled:

[56]Helene Iswolski, *Light before Dusk: A Russian Catholic in France* (New York, 1942), p. 179.

[57]Jan Kott, *Still Alive: An Autobiographical Essay*, trans. Jadwiga Kosicka (New Haven, 1994), p. 20.

[58]Sachs, *Witches Sabbath*, p. 33.

[59]For more on the theme of gender and philosemitism, see Nadia Valman, "Bad Jew/Good Jewess," in *Philosemitism in History*, ed. Jonathan Karp (New York, 2011), pp. 149–69.

[60]Tereska Torres, *Le Choix* (Paris, 2002); Torres, *The Converts* (New York, 1970).

> I was Jewish. This was something I knew very deeply. I could be as French and Catholic as any other girl in my school, but it didn't change the fact that I was also Jewish. . . . I was a Sephardic, Jewish, Polish, Catholic, French girl! I felt much richer than those other children who were only one thing, "Jewish," or at most, two things, "French and Catholic."[61]

Torres recalls that they saw themselves as "a new tribe of Jews of the Catholic religion."[62] Another vivid definition is evident in Joseph Roth's self-understanding in 1928. "I am a Frenchman from the East," he wrote, "a humanist, a rationalist with religion, a Catholic with a Jewish brain, a real revolutionary."[63] Similarly, Maritain would come to describe herself as a "Jew who became a Christian," who still considered herself part of the Jewish community.[64] Likewise, many interwar Jewish converts or near converts did not see themselves severing ties with their tradition completely. Maritain often evoked "a new Christendom" with "ecumenical dimensions," thus signaling her generation's hope for a new kind of internationalism and openness.[65]

In the early Meudon years, Maritain had not yet offered as much engaged theological reflection on what exactly this optimistic, experimental Christian-Jewish unity actually entailed as she would in the 1930s. In some places, Jewish identity seemed biological (blood and racial inheritance) and therefore easily accommodated by Christianity, the religion. Elsewhere, the simple messianic destiny of Judaism to Christianity undergirded their hopes for Jewish-Christian unity. Further still, there was also the perceived hope for the unity of all people—Orthodox, Jewish, Catholic, Muslim—around ideals seen as were radical and antibourgeois, accommodated by Parisian

[61]Torres, *The Converts*, p. 126.

[62]Torres, *The Converts,* p. 78.

[63]Joseph Roth, quoted in *The German-Jewish Dialogue: An Anthology of Literary Texts 1794–1993,* ed. Richie Robertson (New York, 1999), p. 265.

[64]Considering herself among the "juifs qui deviennent chrétiens," Maritain describes becoming increasingly knowledgeable about Judaism through Christianity, in which "il comprend sa grandeur" of the Jewish people and becomes proud to belong to them. Raïssa Maritain, "À propos du Christianisme de Henri Bergson," in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XIV:1145–55, here 1146–47.

[65]"de dimension oecuménique, et une nouvelle chrétienté": R. Maritain, "Léon Bloy et le Révélateur du Globe," in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres completes*, XIV:1097–110, here 1109. Dunn argues that among the 150 Russian émigrés who converted to Catholicism in Paris in the 1920s and 1930s (from Judaism but also from the Orthodox Church or atheism), it was a common hope that a new era of internationalism was bound to Catholicism. See Dunn, *The Catholic Church in Russia,* p. 80.

Catholicism. Maritain, by this point, had not yet published her theological works, and her correspondence with the Jewish converts at Meudon in the 1920s is dominated by the concern that all seekers—Jews and non-Jews alike—must develop an interior life nourished by contemplation, to push against the secular assimiliationist pull of French culture. To her godson, the Jewish convert Sachs, she urged him to find space in his life for silence and prayer, and he was baptized on August 25, 1925.[66] Conversions to Catholicism among those who considered themselves *déjudaisés* (such as Sachs or even Maritain herself) signal less from one stable tradition to another; rather, it is more a yearning for an aesthetic, exotic tradition that would counter the offerings of secularisms.[67]

The Maritains' salon was a place where religious texts and traditions could ground a new epistemological and religious community, forged as an alternative to laicized universal citizenship. This oddly gave Jews like Maritain and other nonobservant Jewish converts a way to actually *discover* religion and, ultimately, even a particular kind of Christian Judaism. Maritain herself symbolized the changes that were possible. But by the 1930s, these efforts at unity with often only a nominal understanding of Judaism would seem gravely insufficient. More would be needed. By the 1930s, Maritain stepped out from the shadows to publish her first intellectual analysis of the *lien vivant.* The new decade required much more serious reflection.

Philosemitism in the Context of the Gathering Storm of the Thirties: Maritain's *Histoire d'Abraham*

If the 1920s marked unbounded optimism about the capacities of Parisian Catholicism to accommodate Judaism, the 1930s, for the Jews and philosemitic Christians, were ominous and ill-at-ease.[68] Jacques's

[66]Letter dated August 11, 1925, in Maurice Sachs, Jacques Maritain, and Raïssa Maritain, *Correspondance Maurice Sachs et Jacques et Raïssa Maritain 1925–1939* (Paris, 2004), p. 60.

[67]For more on this theme—particularly the critiques of it from the Jewish community in Paris—see the excellent article by Joël Sebban, "Être juif et chrétien: La question juive et les intellectuels catholiques français issus du judaïsme (1898–1940)," *Archives Juives,* 44 (2011), 102–22.

[68]Vicky Caron, *The Path to Vichy: Antisemitism in France in the 1930s*, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, [Occasional Papers Series], (Washington, DC, 2005). Ralph Schor, *L'Antisémitisme en France pendant les années trente* (Brussels, 1992).

international travels along with the religious and ethnic diversity of the Meudon community gave the Maritains a unique perspective on European political developments. They understood earlier than most the increasing severity of European antisemitism as it gained ascendency. Their friendship with several members of the German clergy alerted them to the existence by 1933 of the Dachau concentration camp, which housed some of these priests in addition to German Jews.[69] By 1934, the news of antisemitism's escalation was beginning to be felt inside France. That year *Mein Kampf* was translated into French and the notion that Jews were "inassimilable" began to resurface in Paris.[70] In 1935, the Nazi Party passed the Nuremberg Laws that deprived German Jews of citizenship, creating thousands of refugees at France's borders. Many voices in France urged that the Jewish refugees be denied entrance.[71] Scholars such as Vicky Caron have argued that these escalations of French antisemitism in the 1930s were not merely an importation from Germany, but were also native to France, drawing energy from larger anxieties about foreigners due to increasing economic woes.[72] The Maritains were unequivocal in resisting such calls.

Consequently, philosemitic Catholics began to mine more robust theological resources to understand Judaism, explicate the connections between the two traditions, and move beyond a mere assertion of unity. Bloy and Péguy had laid the foundation for articulating unity in the face of antisemitism, and Maritain took it further. In 1931, Georges Bernanos published the antisemitic *Le grand peur des bienpensants* celebrating Eduard Drumont. Maritain responded to Bernanos with a letter arguing that, despite Bernanos's claims to the contrary, neither Mary nor Jesus are "outside their race." She insisted on the Jewishness of both the Old and New Testaments, which had "furnished the Church with its prophets, and its evangelists."[73] This was one of Maritain's first responses to the antisemitism within her Catholic milieu—a fairly mild rejoinder that would intensify in the coming years. (Roth condemned Bernanos's book with more forthcoming rage: "He wanted to exterminate the Jews. . . . So much Catholic faith for the devil, and so much principle for nothing! So

[69]Jean-Luc Barré, *Jacques and Raïssa Maritain*, p. 145.

[70]Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, p. 179.

[71]Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, p. 88.

[72]Caron, *The Path to Vichy*, pp. 5–15.

[73]Cited in Bernard Doering, "The Jewish Question," in *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals* (Notre Dame, 1983), p. 146.

much heroism for cowardice! So much insight for blindness: what a sorry waste of a life!"[74])

In 1935, Maritain began her book *Histoire d'Abraham.* This book moves from the Book of Genesis to the Pauline letters to highlight the living bond between the Old and New Testaments. In Maritain's hands, the notion of unity is multivalent, bringing to the surface both the opportunities and the constraints faced by Catholics as they tried to forge new understandings of Judaism.[75] In this work, Maritain places the figure of Abraham at the center, claiming that the patriarch unites the Old and New Testaments.[76] In subtle ways, Maritain's treatment of Abraham breaks down the theological underpinnings of two typical Christian anti-Jewish invectives: its putative legalism and moral degeneracy/infancy in comparison with Christianity.

She begins by addressing the puzzling presence of immorality in Genesis—the lies and infidelity, the incest and violence. Maritain wants to avoid using these unsavory scenes as proof of the superiority of Christian morality, but does not wish to sweep them under the rug. Of the lie Jacob told in Genesis, she writes, "St. Augustine said: 'It is not a lie; it is a mystery.' Let us have the courage to say: It is without doubt a mystery, but it is also a lie."[77] Genesis, she argues, makes clear that faith is different from the "regime of morality"; the protagonists in the Hebrew scriptures are not models of ethics but theological faith.[78] To this end, Maritain limns the story of Abraham and Isaac with particular care and passion, presenting Abraham as the archetypal model of faithfulness. According to Maritain, Abraham's faith during the "*nuit obscure*" of God's terrible demand was a faith most radical and pure. It was "naked, arid," stripped of consolations, and purged of everyday models of norms. Of Genesis 22, she writes:

> All this happened at night, for next it is said that "early in the morning" Abraham arose. It was the night of his agony. The night in which the mere man in him died. The night of a transfiguration! . . . The Abraham who

[74]Roth, *Report from a Parisian Paradise*, p. 207.

[75]Raïssa Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham ou La Sainteté dans l'état de nature*, in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XIV:568–617.

[76]"Il unit l'un à l'autre les deux Testaments": R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 591.

[77]"Saint Augustin a dit, parlant du mensonge de Rébecca: 'Ce n'est pas un . . .' Osons dire: c'est sans doute un mystère, mais c'est aussi un mensonge": R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 569.

[78]"le régime de la morale": R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 569.

> went to bed in the evening was not the same Abraham who arose "early in the morning.". . . He believed, and in his faith he began to die. He died to his happy life, to his abundant life according to the flesh. He died to the light of his simple thoughts, to his too natural thoughts, to his still too simple knowledge of good and evil. In that great darkness, his faith grew greater yet, and its roots struck ever deeper into his soul. And with his son Isaac, Abraham gave to God the very soul of his life and of his joy; he consented to the destruction of all his hope.[79]

In *Histoire d'Abraham*, Abraham's apophatic faith is a dark faith torn of comforts—of human concepts of good and bad, even happiness—and is reminiscent of the aesthetics and spirituality of Bloy. Certainly, immorality is present in these stories, but the figures are operating in a different, almost mystical, realm. Maritain links Abraham with other figures, both Jewish and Christian. As with Abraham, Maritain wrote, "so, too, with Mary in the Annunciation; with Joseph in his dream; to the apostles, called one by one to believe in the mission of Christ; to Joan of Arc, charged with the temporal salvation of a people. In each instance," Maritain insisted, "the act of faith is stripped of all visible assistance and is carried out in anguish of conscience."[80] The unity here is a community of faithful Jews and Christians who have gone through the dark night—mystical suffering unites these figures. In this panoply of heroes, the Jews Abraham and Joseph do not merely prefigure more traditional Christian heroes such as Mary and St. Joan of Arc. She listed her saints side by side, out of temporal order. This cluster of Christian and Jewish figures together subverted the expected linear progression from Judaism to Christianity. Here Jewish figures do not submissively bow down to the demands of Christianity. They actualize Christianity's most radical goals.

[79]R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 597. "Ceci se passait la nuit, puisqu'il est dit ensuite: 'Abraham se leva de bon matin,' Ce fut la nuit d'agonie d'Abraham. La nuit d'une mort d'homme. La nuit d'une transfiguration. . . Ce n'est pas le même Abraham qui s'était couché la veille et qui 'se leva de bon matin'. . . Il a cru, et dans sa foi il a commence de mourir. Il meurt à sa vie heureuse, à sa vie comblée selon la chair. Il meurt à la lumière de ses pensées simples, à ses pensées trop naturelles, à la trop simple connaissance qu'il a encore du bien et du mal. Et dans ces plus grandes ténèbres sa foi a pris ses plus grands accroissements. Elle s'est enracinée plus profondément dans son âme. . . . Avec son fils Isaac, Abraham donne à Dieu l'âme de sa vie et de sa joie, il consent à la destruction de toute son espérance."

[80]"ainsi à Marie, dans l'Annonciation; à saint Joseph, dans le songe; ainsi aux Apôtres, appelés, un à un, à croire à la mission du Christ; à Jeanne d'Arc, charge du salut temporel d'un people. . . En tous ces cas l'acte de foi est dépourvu de tout secours visible, et s'accomplit dans l'angoisse de la conscience": R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 596.

With careful attention to Abraham's inner life, Maritain subverted traditional Christian readings of Judaism as legalistic. Martian explicitly took on this ancient charge in *Histoire d'Abraham,* arguing that legalism is "not a temptation of Jews qua Jews." "Any community," she insisted, "which holds in honor the law of God risks falling victim to it."[81] "[F]reedom and love," she says, are at the foundation of Law, and this is not Christianity's gift to Judaism, but is at the heart of Jewish scriptures themselves. As she notes:

> [F]or St. Thomas, no less for St. Paul, the Old Law too is spiritual. Expounding on St. Paul's "We know that the law is Spiritual" (Romans 7:14), St. Thomas writes in his commentary to Romans (VII, 3): "We know," we who are wise in divine things, "that the Law, that is the Old Law, is spiritual." It is spiritual for it is concordant with the spirit of man, for the Psalmist says: "The Law of the Lord is perfect, refreshing the soul."[82]

Maritain's analysis must be understood as a robust political and theological defense of Judaism as a faith that generates, rather than constrains, ethical and spiritual interiority.

In *Histoire d'Abraham* Maritain's prose is that of a controlled theologian or exegete, a sparse style that could hardly clash more with her godfather's epithets, blazing though his books, or Péguy's yearning for the radical, passionate *mystique* of Dreyfusards. But their stamp is unmistakable. Bloy's commitment to the sheer Jewishness of Christianity, and their fundamental unity—something "most do not want to know"—resurfaced in Maritain as an ethically and politically valuable concept in the face of antisemitism. Without Péguy and Bloy's rejection of antisemitism as a blasphemy, Maritain could scarcely have articulated this cry against the emerging horrors in Europe. Unlike Maritain, however, Péguy and Bloy did not have to worry about their rhetoric fanning the flames of antisemitic violence, nor be concerned about becoming a physical target, as neither man was of Jewish origin.

At the time she wrote, Maritain was a part of an emerging community of European scholars learning Hebrew, becoming acquainted with the richness of Jewish scripture and tradition, and articulating the bonds between the two traditions. Just as Maritain's Jesuit

[81] "tout communauté qui—avec raison—tient en honneur la loi de Dieu risqué d'en être victime": R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 583n8.

[82] English translation of this footnote provided by Raïssa Maritain, printed alongside the original French. R. Maritain, *Histoire d'Abraham,* p. 615n10.

acquaintance Henri de Lubac would argue in his 1938 classic *Catholicisme,* Christianity could be revitalized through contact with its roots in the Hebrew Bible.[83] For de Lubac's *Catholicisme*, this meant the return to the predominantly *social* notion of salvation history, which, for de Lubac, was a thoroughly Jewish concept. The "ressourcement" impulse was a return then not only to patristic sources but also to the Hebrew Bible, a move incomprehensible outside the political climate of the late 1930s.[84]

It is interesting to ponder the potential effects had this theology enjoyed a more prominent presence in the 1930s. Spiritual unification with Jewish souls—in the inner forms of faith—could have been a powerful rejoinder and claim to universalism. For example, one of the most reiterated Nazi tactics was the insistence on Jewish irreducible difference, which included a difference of soul and spirit. The notorious 1939 Nazi propaganda film *Der Ewige Jude*, for example, overlaid footage of Jews in the Lódź Ghetto with images of rodents to show that Jews "*differ* from us in body, but especially in soul."[85] Bloy and Péguy, in their own puzzling and ambivalent ways, had rejected such fears through proclaiming the unity of Christians and Jews. Maritain carried this forward, building a philosemitic version of Christianity that leaned positively toward the genuine embrace of Jewish political dignity and spiritual value. The emphasis on shared suffering between Jews and Catholics (based on mystical experience, as for Maritain; or class, as for Péguy; or the suffering Jewish Christ, as for Bloy) is a counter-narrative to the most widely held antisemitic trope in France in the 1930s: the Jew as the wealthy, capitalistic foreigner usurping French financial assets.[86]

"The Face of the World Shrivels Up"

As Raïssa published *Histoire d'Abraham* in 1935, Jacques's work also turned to public pronouncements against antisemitism, and not

[83]Henri de Lubac, *Catholicisme: les aspects sociaux du dogme* (Paris, 1938), trans. as *Catholicism: Christ and the Common Destiny of Man*. trans. Lancelot C. Sheppard and Elizabeth Englund (San Francisco, 1988).

[84]For an excellent overview of *la nouvelle théologie*, see Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie*: *New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II* (London, 2010).

[85]Richard S. Levy, ed., *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution,* 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA, 2005), 1:229, emphasis in original.

[86]Caron, *The Path to Vichy*.

all French Catholics agreed with their philosemitic project.[87] On September 24, 1937, Jacques confided in his notebook that Father Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange, the couple's old friend, was

> very worked-up against me … It seems that Raïssa and Véra [Raïssa's sister] are being implicated as dragging me along by their influence. (Russian Jewesses, are they not?) This puts me in a black rage, which I do not hide.[88]

More pernicious and racist accusations were hurled at Jacques; his wife was devastated. Not only were some of her co-religionists attacking her as a spiritual and a racial pollutant, but perhaps even worse, very few Catholics publicly rallied to her defense. She painfully described this betrayal in racial and theological terms. On April 9, 1938, she wrote to her friends Pierre and Christine Van der Meer de Walcheren expressing shock that her Jewish background was the target of insults to Jacques and that their world—once full of friends at Meudon—had now shriveled down to just a handful of loyal defenders.[89]

Although Maritain had spent much of the 1930s retrieving the religious resources of Judaism, this letter makes clear that, amid the crises and despair of the late 1930s, Judaism, for Maritain, also is about biological inheritance. Yet biology and religion may have come together for Maritain, who wrote in her journal in 1939:

> Finished Shalom Asch's beautiful, astounding book: *Le Juif aux Psaumes,* on the morals and spirituality of Hassidism, in Poland in the middle of the nineteenth century. My maternal grandfather was a Hassid too. And my father's father was a great ascetic. I have all of that behind me.[90]

It seems as if the blood/religion distinction was never fully disentangled for Maritain, who worked with both conceptual tools at hand.

[87]For more on Jacques Maritain and the Jewish question see Crane, *The Passion of Israel*; Robert Royal, ed., *Jacques Maritain and the Jews* (Mishawaka, IN, 1994); Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Jacques Maritain et les Juifs: Réflections sur un parcours," in Maritain, *L'impossible antisémitisme* (Paris, 2003), pp. 7–67, here p. 63.

[88]Jacques Maritain, *Notebooks* (Notre Dame, 1984), p. 169.

[89]Letter dated April 9, 1938, from Raïssa Maritain to Pierre and Christine van der Meer de Walcheren, in *Le repentir: Déclaration de l'Église de France* (Paris, 1997), pp. 38–41.

[90]"Terminé la lecture du livres très beau, bouleversant, de Schalom Ash: *Le Juif aux Psaumes*, sur les mœurs et la spiritualité des Hassidim, en Pologne, au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle. Mon grand-père maternel était aussi in Hassid. Et le père de mon père était un grand ascète. Il y a tout cela derrière moi": Raïssa Maritain, *Journal de Raïssa*, in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XV:407.

Two weeks after her pained letter to the Van der Meer de Walcherens, she admitted feelings of utter isolation and despair to the Swiss theologian Charles Journet.[91] But her pain extended past personal hurt to include broader existential reflections. Thinking of those who tried to evade the reality of the late interwar period's escalating darkness, Maritain offered a critique in 1938: "The time of childish things is over, the time of playing games, of make-believe, of eloquence, of acting 'as if.'"[92] Did the Jewish-Christian experiments of the 1920s seem naïve? A few months later, she repudiated the duplicity around her, arguing that reality had trumped illusions. "Every word of consolation," she wrote, "seems a lie."[93]

Seeking Unity as a Political Act: *Les Grandes Amitiés* (1940–45)

By December 1939, the situation had so deteriorated that the Maritains took advantage of Jacques's lecture tour in North America and sought refuge there.[94] In spring 1942, along with forty other European Catholic exiles, Jacques and Raïssa signed and published the manifesto *Devant la Crise Mondiale: Manifeste de Catholiques Européens Séjournant en Amérique* denouncing totalitarianism and antisemitism as incompatible with the gospel.[95] Raïssa did not share in her husband's many North American friendships, and she spoke little English. She spent much of the exile secluded in her apartment, devastated. In a letter to Journet shortly after they arrived, she confessed, "Here we're breathing depleted air, insufficient for us to really live. I see myself," she wrote, "as if in a dream."[96] The dream was certainly a night-

[91]Letter dated April 23, 1938, in Jacques Maritain and Charles Journet, *Correspondance Journet–Maritain*, ed. René Mougel (Paris, 2006), 1:702.

[92]"Fini le temps des enfantillages, des jeux, des comédies, de l'eloquence, des comme si": R. Maritain, *Journal de Raïssa*, in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XV:397.

[93]"Tout parole de consolation paraît mensonge": R. Maritain, *Journal de Raïssa*, in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XV:398.

[94]Michael Fourcade, "Jacques Maritain et l'Europe en exil, 1940–1945," *Cahiers Jacques Maritain,* 28 (June 1994), 5–32; René Mougel, "Les années de New York, 1940–1945," *Cahiers Jacques Maritain,* 16–17 (April 1988), 7–28, here 9–10.

[95]*Devant la Crise Mondiale: Manifest de Catholiques Européens séjournant en Amérique* (New York, 1942).

[96]"[N]ous respirons nous respirons ici un air raréfié, insuffisant à nous faire vivre réellement. Moi-même je me vois vivre comme dans un songe." Letter dated January 24, 1940, from Raïssa Maritain to Charles Journet, in J. Maritain and Journet, *Correspondance Journet–Maritain*, pp. 42–44.

mare. Soon she would learn that several friends had been handed over to the Gestapo. Among them were Raïssa's goddaughter, Babet Jacob; Babet's eighty-year-old mother; and her younger brother. Babet and her mother later died in the gas chamber in Buchenwald; her brother was shot. The elder brother of her close friends, Jean and Suzanne Marx, also was deported and killed. She confessed to Journet that she could not stop thinking about those suffering in the concentration camps: "Do you think, Charles, that this could be the wrath of God? Is your heart not completely submerged in sorrow? Forgive me."[97]

From this point until her death in 1960, Maritain traversed a darker interior field. She continued to pursue reflections on Judaism, but in a more mournful, elegiac register. During the war years, Maritain published a handful of chilling lamentation poems, which provide a stark glimpse into her spiritual life during the Shoah. She wrote in 1943:

> Let me speak from the madness
> that seizes my soul
> Our days are evil, infested with hell…
> Four million Jews—and more—have suffered death
> without consolation.
> Those who are left are promised to the slaughter.[98]

The pathos of Maritain's poetry during the war communicates an overpowering grief as she watched her Meudon circle's evanescent efforts to articulate the bond between Jews and Catholics disintegrate in the face of unfurling violence:

> Israel was led to the butchery
> They were tracked down like fowl
> In the streets of towns and villages
> The Gardens of France
> Women with their children they would not give up
> Hurled themselves from the windows.[99]

[97]"Faut-il croire que c'est vraiment le temps de la colère de Dieu?. . . Votre cœur n'est-il pas déjà submergé de douleur?": R. Maritain, in J. Maritain and Journet, *Correspondance Journet–Maritain*, p. 44.

[98]Raïssa Maritain, "Deus Excelsus Terribilis," *Commonweal,* September 29, 1944, 563–66. English translation by Raïssa Maritain. Reprinted in a revised, slightly condensed version in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XV:625.

[99]R. Maritain, "Deus Excelsus," pp. 625–31.

In addition to her poetry, Maritain began to write her memoirs in 1940 during her exile, just two weeks after the German occupation of France.[100] The first volume appeared in French in 1941 with the Éditions de la Maison Française publishing house, and her American friend Julie Kernan helped Maritain translate the volume into English, which appeared in 1942 as *We Have Been Friends Together*.[101] Maritain's enthusiastic reception by readers in France and the United States encouraged her to persist, and the second volume appeared simultaneously in English and French in 1944, under the new title *Les aventures de la grâce* (*Adventures in Grace*). Both volumes eventually were translated into Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese. New editions were issued throughout the 1950s, then posthumously in the 1960s and 1974.[102]

When Maritain started *Les grandes amitiés*, the despair at leaving her home at Meudon, the isolation of exile, and the shattering news of Vichy and the antisemitic violence plunged Maritain into the vast field of memory. "Life for me," she wrote in the preface, "draws to a close. In the present, I do not feel that I am present. I turn my thoughts toward the past and toward the future. Toward the future hidden in God."[103] Much more than a narrative description of her own history, *Les grandes amitiés* seizes upon memories of her past that "flash up" in a "moment of danger" (to use Benjamin's description of history, penned just months before Maritain embarked on her memory-works).[104] If the hegemonic narrative of Jews in 1940–44 was one of Jewish inassimilability and pollution, she countered this through a carefully crafted depiction of Russian-Jewish culture that she had known as a child. Curiously, although Maritain had claimed in a 1909 essay that she learned very little about Judaism as a child, long-buried memories

[100]For the reception history of *Les grandes amitiés,* see Élodie Chapelle, "La réception des *Grandes Amitiés* de Raïssa Maritain" (PhD diss., Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, 2003). Part of this dissertation is published in "La réception des *Grandes Amitiés*," *Cahiers Jacques Maritain*, 48 (June 2004), 38–67.

[101]Éditions de la Maison Française was a New York publisher specializing in the publication of works by the numerous French war exiles in the United States.

[102]For publication information on the various translations of *Les grandes amitiés*, see "Bibliographie Générale," in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XV:876–77, 884–86.

[103]"Au présent qui me rest je ne me sense pas présente. Je tourne ma pensée vers le passé et vers l'avenir. Vers l'avenir caché en Dieu." R. Maritain, *Les grandes amitiés,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XIV:625–26.

[104]Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1968), pp. 253–64, here p. 255.

of the piety of her Jewish household in Russia, are suddenly awakened in *Les grandes amitiés*. Her memories come in richly detailed flashes, radiating with religious and sensory detail. She writes of childhood memories of Passover:

> But the most impressive feast was that of the Passover. . . . Night was falling, and the bitter herbs were eaten; then prayer began. Filled with the mystery of this Passover, I was charged with asking, in Hebrew, questions to which my grandfather replied by the recitation of the biblical narrative and the explanation of the rites of the Pascal night. . . . Then came the climax of the sacred night: the passage of the Angel. All the cups were filled with red wine, strong and sweet, the almost liturgical savor of which I have never rediscovered in any wine, even in the wines of France. The Angel of the Lord was to drink from the largest cup, filled with this noble wine—the Angel of the Lord who on that night visited the homes of the Jews. All the lights were extinguished, and in a silence heavy with adoration and fear, the Angel was given time for his passage. Then the candles were all lighted again, the supper was quickly finished, and everyone went to rest—conscious of having taken part in a great action.[105]

In another context, these offerings of everyday, personal images of childhood awe and family life might have been banal. But in 1940–44 they played a powerful role in humanizing Jewish culture and making it seem both beautiful and strangely recognizable to her largely Roman Catholic readership. The warm glow she casts over this period in her life heightens the scandal of contemporary antisemitic violence.

In another example, Maritain's description of the Jewish practices of her grandfathers could be easily comprehended, even admired, by her Roman Catholic readership. Her paternal Jewish grandfather became a great ascetic whose discipline echoed that of the saints: "He

[105] "Mais la fête la plus impressionnante était celle de Pâques. . . . La nuit tombait, on goûtait aux herbes amères, les prières commençaient. Toute pénétrée du mystère de cette Pâque j'étais chargée de poser en hébreu les questions auxquelles mon grand-père répondait par le déroulement du récit biblique et l'explication des rites de la nuit pascale. . . . Alors arrivait le point culminant de cette nuit sacrée: le passage de l'Angel. On remplissait toutes les coupes d'un vin rouge, doux et fort, dont je n'ai jamais retrouvé la saveur comme liturgique en aucun autre vin, même de France. A la coupe la plus grande, remplie de ce beau vin, devait goûter l'Ange de Dieu qui cette nuit-là visitait les maisons des Juifs. On éteignait toutes les lumières et dans le silence lourd d'adoration et de crainte on laissait à l'Ange le temps de passer. Puis, les flambeaux rallumés, on terminait rapidement le souper, et chacun allait à son repos—conscient d'avoir participé à une grande action." R. Maritain, *Les grandes amitiés,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XIV:637–38.

astonished us all by his mortifications; he ate only dry bread rubbed with a little onion and he drank only water. He slept in the courtyard, and indeed on the ground, until winter came."[106] Her maternal grandfather's Hassidic mysticism came to life. Catholic readers, Maritain surely hoped, could relate easily to these stories of ascetic sainthood and a rich liturgical sensorium. Her memoirs consisted of memories "seized" from the dominant narrative of anti-Jewish propaganda and unified in religious rhythms familiar to her Catholic readers.They revitalized her earlier efforts at Catholic philosemitism and its spiritual solidarity with Christianity. Like Péguy's portrait of Lazare, she reframed it the context of the personal.

If humanizing Judaism as a counter to Nazi propaganda was one of Maritain's goals in *Les grandes amitiés*, she also resurrected the image of the "suffering Jew" she had learned from Péguy and Bloy. In volume 2 of *Les grandes amitiés* (1944) she described Bloy on his deathbed and chose to resurrect Bloy's final words and writings on the image of the suffering Jew, Christologically interpreted. Maritain revitalized Bloy's inversions: "[Jews] bled with Jesus. They were stabbed with His wounds, they were parched with His thirst. . . ."[107] The text continues for several pages on this theme, with Maritain using her memories of her godfather's words to connect the Holy Spirit, the suffering Jesus, and Jews into an "unspeakable community of suffering."[108] She cites Bloy's reading of the Jewish poet Maurice Rosenfeld on the question of Jewish sorrow and wounds: "A Jewish tear, a tear of blood. A tear of gall, of brain, and of blood. It tasted of persecution, misfortune, pogroms." If the contemporary significance of 1944 was lost on readers, Maritain added a footnote, the only direct allusion to the Holocaust in the memoir. She cited the *New York Post* on August 3, 1944, claiming that the Nazis have exterminated 6 million Jews.[109] Their suffering could be related to the suffering-centered

[106]"Il nous étonnait tous par ses mortifications: il ne mangeait que du pain sec frotté d'oignon, ne buvait que de l'eau. Il dormait dans la cour à même le sol jusqu'à l'hiver": R. Maritain, *Les grandes amitiés,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XIV:630.

[107]"On saignait avec Jésus, on était criblé de ses plaies, on agonisait de sa soif": R. Maritain, *Les grandes amitiés,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XIV:736.

[108]"indicible communauté de souffrances": R. Maritain, *Les grandes amitiés,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XIV:745.

[109]"une larme juive, une larme de sang . . . Une larme de fiel, de cerveau et de sang": R. Maritain, *Les grandes amitiés,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes,* XIV:1057–59.

Catholicism of the French Catholic revival, Jews and Christians finding unity in the suffering, Jewish Christ. Through this theological narrative, Maritain articulated what was happening during the Shoah as it occurred in 1944, something that few people could not or would not do until many years later.[110]

Soon after the publication of the first volume of *Les grandes amitiés*, Maritain began to receive letters from European and North American Catholics. In 1941, Canadian priest Maurice Pierquin wrote to her:

> I have just read and enjoyed your great work, *Les Grandes Amitiés*, What an impression! Today I am 61 years old and *voilà* your book, delivers salvation . . . And above all you knew how to speak to my heart *and* open my intelligence. . . . I was not an anti-Semite, but there was in me a certain repulsion. I have overcome it, thanks to you, and for that I thank you. I can even confess to you that the blindfolds have been removed, I can see more clearly the ardent light leads me to a haven, and eliminates all the garbage deposited in me since my childhood.[111]

Similarly, another Catholic priest made confessions to this Jewish convert, writing in 1947 to report that Maritain's book "exorcised the antisemitism" out of him once and for all.[112] Another Frenchman, Robert Leclerq, wrote that reading Bloy earlier in his life had helped him see the error of antisemitism, but Maritain's exegesis of Bloy's position on the Jews had helped him understand Bloy more deeply. "Before knowing your godfather," he wrote to her, "I was in the sad

[110]Tony Judt, "From the House of the Dead: An Essay on European Memory," in *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York, 2005), pp. 803–34.

[111]"Je viens de lire et de savourer votre ouvrage 'Les Grandes Amitiés,' Quelle impression! Que de bien va-t-il faire? Je voudrais que cet ouvrage puisse pénétrer dans tous les presbytères et à la lecture, arrête les prêtres dans leur campagne anti-sémite. Aujourd'hui j'ai 61 ans et voilà votre livre, delivre sauveur. . . . Et surtout vous avez su parler à mon coeur *et* overt mon intelligence. Que de discussions avec un de mes amis admirateur de votre mari, au sujet des Juifs. Je n'étais pas anti-sémite, mail il y avait en moi une certaine répulsion. Je suis vaincu grâce à vous et je vous en remercie. Même je peux vous l'avouer, les bandeaux étant ôtés, je vois plus clair, une lumière ardente me conduisant au port et éliminant toutes les scories déposées en moi depuis mon enfance. Telle est la Vérité, je tenais à vous la communiquer et veuillez m'en excuser." Maritain archives, Kolbsheim, France (hereafter referred to as MAK), unpublished letter dated December 13, 1941, to Raïssa Maritain from Reverend Maurice Pierquin, n.p., Canada, emphasis in original.

[112]"exorciser cet antisémistisme": Unpublished letter dated May 4, 1947, to Raïssa Maritain from Père Pressoir, MAK.

phase of Drumont. By his *Salut,* Bloy had shown me my mistake, a mistake, which I understood it by reading him, was wretched."[113]

Other Catholic writers picked up Maritain's gestures toward a vision of cosmopolitan Catholicism. In a 1944 review, Graham Greene commented on the theme of Jewish and Catholic unity in Maritain's depictions of Jewish liturgy: "In her narrative, we can feel all the time the texture of events and observe how Marioupol [in Russia] and Montmartre are cut from the same cloth." Greene continued, "We remember a papal reminder that Christians are 'spiritual Semites.' The smell of the Crimean apples and the taste of the paschal wine merge into Montmartre incense."[114]

Yet of course, part of Maritain's memoirs was about her conversion as a Jew, the conversions of her parents, and the conversions of other Jewish men and women. The Judaism, beloved and sacred, is pulled irresistibly, inevitably, into this cosmopolitan Parisian Catholicism of the revival. This, too, trespassed into real life. One American reader wrote to her in 1944:

> Well, I shall pray that a way may be shown to you how to help the great cause of the conversion of the Jews in the United States. The most beautiful description of your parents' conversion to the Church remains imprinted on my mind and may it become a symbol of our hope.[115]

Similarly a Frenchwoman wrote to Maritain:

> Like you, Madam, I always thought that Catholicism is the completion of the Jewish religion. But tell me, do you see an end to the persecutions? In these long years of suffering, I have stopped searching for a solution to this atrocious problem.[116]

The wide-ranging nature of the responses illuminates the opportunities and limits, the creativity and the constraints, of the French Catholic revivalists on Jews and Judaism.

[113] "j'en étais au triste stade de Drumont . . . c'est par vous que j'ai découvert la folie de mes aberrations passées." Unpublished letter dated February 10, 1956, to Raïssa Maritain from Robert Leclercq, n.p., MAK.

[114] Graham Greene, "The Maritains," *The New Statesman and Nation,* September 9, 1944, 173, MAK.

[115] Unpublished letter dated November 17, 1941, to Raïssa Maritain from J. Wilberforce, New York, MAK.

[116] Undated letter to Raïssa Maritain from Matisia Maroni, n.p., MAK.

Legacy

At least three decades prior to Pope Pius XI's 1938 "spiritually we are all Semites" claim and *Humani Generis Unitas,* the 1939 lost encyclical on racism and antisemitism, nonordained Catholics were theorizing the epistemological and theological entailments of a closer relationship among Catholics and Jews.[117] *Humani Generis Unitas* was never published, but its contents suggest the pope's intention to promulgate a robust Catholic rejoinder to Nazism. Reading this text today, however, highlights the poor condition of Church teaching on Judaism in the 1930s, as the Church remained alert to the "spiritual dangers to which contact with Jews can expose souls."[118]

The French Catholic revivalists explored in this essay rejected this theology out of hand, and some had been laboring for an alternative for nearly thirty years. On Jews and Judaism, Raïssa Maritain both drew and departed from her early mentors. Péguy's deeply philosemitic, romantic portrait of his Jewish friends as a tactic to counter antisemitism and as a way to unify Jews to Christians stood behind Maritain's own personal portraits in *Les grandes amitiés.* Bloy's insistence on the Jewishness of Christianity as a counter to antisemitism prompted Maritain's theologically vibrant reading of Judaism in *Histoire d'Abraham*. All depended upon the idiom of suffering to unite Jews and Christians, although Maritain's exegetical writings also aimed to dismantle anti-Jewish slander about legalism and immorality. For these thinkers, the unity animated an ideal community of the most radical and committed Jews and Catholics who embodied Péguy's *mystique,* Bloy's marginal abjection, and Maritain's mystical transfiguration. Yet for all of the prescience of the French Catholic revivalists, Judaism too often moves irresistibly toward a cosmopolitan, apophatic Catholicism. One must ask if this project can be fully disentangled from the Christian refusal over 2000 years to see Jews as *qua* Jews in terms other than potential converts or obstinate sinners.[119]

[117]For the importance of the papacy in shaping people's beliefs, see Frank Coppa, *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust* (Washington, DC, 2006).

[118]James Bernauer, "The Holocaust and the Church's Search for Forgiveness," A Presentation at the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life, Boston College, October 30, 2002. Retrieved from http://www.bc.edu/research/cjl/meta-elements/texts/cjrelations/resources/articles/bernauer.htm

[119]See Sylvie Courtine-Denamy, "Rejet identitaire et quête de 'spiritualité': Raïssa Maritain, Edith Stein, Simone Weil," in *L'Europe et les juifs*, ed. Esther Benbassa and

As for the converts and near-converts such as Maritain, Roth, Sachs, and so many others, although some scholars see the pull that Parisian Catholicism exerted on Jews primarily in terms of self-loathing and an expulsion of Judaism from their identities, the sources discussed reveal a more complicated story.[120] At the height of this movement, Catholicism for some represented a chance to integrate Judaism into a universalized Christianity, a vision of a *nouveau christianisme* that offered a chance for assimilation into a unified community based on ethical and—more important—*religious* ideals that were distinct from the assimilationist goals of the laicized French state.[121]

One of the more complicated and ambivalent legacies of the French Catholic revival shared by Péguy, Bloy, and Maritain is the symbol of the suffering Jew. Jewish suffering could be accommodated by the suffering-centered theological imagination of the French Catholic revival. It was a rejoinder to the stereotype of the wealthy merchant, and it was effective in provoking a reimagining of the boundaries between Christianity and Judaism. The deep sympathy for those who suffer is expressed in prose that is emotionally rich and politically daring. At the time when Bloy and Péguy wrote, Jewish abjection was symbolic but also, in the wake of Dreyfus, reflected history. Bloy always insisted that among the ills of modernity, most moderns wore a "frightful mask" to avert their eyes from darker truths and, in this case, the reality of Jewish suffering. Maritain's use of the suffering Jew in her memoirs also may have worked to similar ends—the use of ambivalent symbols make visible a historical reality in 1940–44. The Maritains found this refusal to see, name, and struggle against the violence of 1940–44 as it occurred among the most shocking of the atrocities. Of the 6 million eventually massacred, Raïssa wrote in 1945, "so little is said."[122]

Pierre Gisel (Geneva, 2002), pp. 141–65; Jacques Berlinerblau, "On Philo-Semitism," *Occasional Papers on Jewish Civilization, Jewish Thought, Philosophy* (Washington, DC, 2007).

[120]See Judith Morganroth Schneider, "Max Jacob Juif," *The French Review*, 63 (1989), 78–87.

[121]For a helpful discussion of conversion, see Guari Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (Princeton, 1998).

[122]"…pour parler des six millions de massacres dont on parle si peu": R. Maritain, *Journal de Raïssa,* in J. Maritain and R. Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes*, XV:436.

Yet the very symbol of the suffering Jew can provoke an essentialized image of Jews and Judaism.[123] Loss and suffering do not define Jewish identity, although they describe so many experiences. Catholics valorized Jewish affliction, lifted it up, and presented it vividly to readers, rather than historically analyzed it with any precision. We need to acknowledge the ways in which this community has suffered and also the ways they have thrived, which would entail greater historical attentiveness to the differences and complexities of Jewish history and cultures. But historicizing Jewish experiences—along with their equally complex counterpart, Christians—would dissolve the highly aesthetic, theological symbols used to ground unity, risking the draining of their imaginative power. In this risky, imaginative endeavor, these revivalists aimed to do something new and did so, even if their labors were vulnerable and unbelievably fragile.

[123]Michael Weingrad, "Jews (in Theory): Representations of Judaism, Anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust in Postmodern French Thought," *Judaism,* 45 (1996), 79–98.

"KIND OF A SECULAR SACRAMENT": FATHER GENO BARONI, MONSIGNOR JOHN J. EGAN, AND THE CATHOLIC WAR ON POVERTY

BY

ROBERT BAUMAN*

The author argues that social activist Catholic priests such as John J. Egan and Geno Baroni created a Catholic War on Poverty through Catholic civil rights organizations that included the National Catholic Conference of Interracial Justice and the development of community antipoverty organizations. Informed by the theology and social teachings of the Second Vatican Council, Egan, Baroni, and others saw the national War on Poverty as an extension of the civil rights movement. Their efforts led to the eventual formation of the Campaign for Human Development, the Catholic Church's official antipoverty organization that continues to fight poverty in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: Baroni, Geno; Black Manifesto; Campaign for Human Development; Egan, Msgr. John J.; War on Poverty

Historical scholarship of the War on Poverty has flowered in recent years after decades of historians' collective neglect. Studies by several scholars have challenged the way that historians have thought and written about the War on Poverty, particularly in terms of race and gender. In addition, some of that scholarship has sought to expand scholars' thinking about the time frame of the War on Poverty. Most scholars who have written about the War on Poverty discuss its beginnings in the early 1960s and its end in the mid to late 1970s. Some scholars, however, have argued that the War on Poverty has endured to the present day. Borrowing from the term *the long civil*

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rights movement coined by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, a few of these scholars have used the term *the long war on poverty* to describe antipoverty efforts that continued beyond the 1970s.[1]

One aspect of the War on Poverty that has been little explored to this point, despite this flowering of historical scholarship, is the central role of religion. Scholars such as James Findlay and David Chappell have deftly explored the fundamental role of religion in the civil rights movement.[2] In addition, scholars like John McGreevy have examined the complex relationship between Catholicism and the black freedom movement.[3] However, the equally vital role of religion in the War on Poverty has remained unexamined for the most part. Some exceptions to this scholarly void include Kenneth Heineman's 2003 article in *The Historian* on Catholic social activism and the War on Poverty in Pittsburgh, and Susan Ashmore's 2003 essay on Catholic antipoverty efforts in Mobile, Alabama.[4] The author's intention is to build on the work of Heineman and Ashmore by exploring the development of a national Catholic War on Poverty, from its beginnings in the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ) through its maturation in the Catholic Campaign for Human Development (CHD). The essay will explore the Catholic War on Poverty in part through the careers of two

[1]For examples of this recent scholarship, see Annelise Orleck, *Storming Caesars' Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty* (Boston, 2005); Rhonda Y. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles against Urban Inequality* (New York, 2004); Thomas J. Kiffmeyer, *Reformers to Radicals: The Appalachian Volunteers and the War on Poverty* (Lexington, KY, 2008); William S. Clayson, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Texas* (Austin, 2010); Susan Youngblood Ashmore, *Carry It On: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1964–1972* (Athens, GA, 2008); and Robert Bauman, *Race and the War on Poverty: From Watts to East L.A.* (Norman, OK, 2008).

[2]See James Findlay Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950–1970* (New York, 1993); and David Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the End of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004).

[3]John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago, 1996); and McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York, 2003).

[4]Kenneth J. Heineman, "Model City: The War on Poverty, Race Relations, and Catholic Social Activism in 1960s Pittsburgh," *The Historian*, 65 (2003), 867–900; Susan Youngblood Ashmore, "More than a Head Start: The War on Poverty, Catholic Charities, and Civil Rights in Mobile, Alabama, 1965–1970," in *The New Deal and Beyond: Social Welfare in the South since 1930*, ed. Elna C. Green (Athens, GA, 2003), pp. 196–238.

priests: Geno Baroni and John J. Egan. Baroni and Egan were the two most significant of a group of activist clerics dubbed by one scholar as "community organization priests."[5] In the process of exploring the activism of Baroni and Egan, issues can be addressed such as the connections between the civil rights/black power movements and the War on Poverty; the influence of an evolving Catholic theology on Baroni, Egan, and the organizations they created; the ways in which Catholic social activism and the War on Poverty intertwined; and the implications of a Catholic War on Poverty for the relationship between church and state in American society.

America's War on Poverty began officially when President Lyndon Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act on August 20, 1964. The act created the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which provided federal funds to community action agencies that fought poverty at the local level. Community action was the key strategy of the legislation—communities were to include "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in their local antipoverty wars. The ideas of inclusion and empowerment of the poor were the most controversial aspects of the War on Poverty and key elements for the involvement of Catholic social activists in antipoverty efforts.

Catholic social activists formed the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in 1960 as a way to bring together the Catholic interracial councils (CICs) created by liberal Catholics in major cities such as Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, and Los Angeles in the 1930s and 1940s. John LaFarge, S.J., had formed the first Catholic interracial council in New York in May 1934 following an ideological division within the Federated Colored Catholics between those who wanted to focus on black identity and those, like LaFarge, who promoted interracialism. Arguing that racism was a sin, Catholic interracial councils particularly focused on segregation in schools—both public and Catholic. Sargent Shriver, the brother-in-law of future President John F. Kennedy and later the leader of the War on Poverty as the head of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), joined the Chicago CIC in the early 1950s; by the mid-1950s, he was chairman of the board of that organization and president of the Chicago school board. In those positions, Shriver was especially able to address the issue of segregated schools. The success of the Chicago CIC in challenging officially

[5]Lawrence J. Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky on the Campaign for Human Development," *Theological Studies*, 59 (1998), 636–61, here 646.

sanctioned school segregation in Chicago led to a 1958 meeting in that city of more than 400 delegates representing thirty-six CICs nationwide who pledged to work to end discrimination. LaFarge gave the keynote address at that formative conference, arguing that "the teaching of interracial justice was firmly grounded in Church doctrine." That meeting eventually resulted in the creation of the NCCIJ in 1960 with Mathew H. Ahmann, a sociologist and civil rights activist, as executive director. Headquartered in Chicago with a field office in New Orleans, the NCCIJ promoted itself as working "to end racial discrimination and prejudice and to foster interracial justice in all areas of life." Led by such prominent liberals as Shriver, the NCCIJ was at the forefront of connecting civil rights activism to the Church by supporting open housing and civil rights legislation as well as organizing the National Conference on Religion and Race in January 1963 that featured the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. as keynote speaker. The NCCIJ also was centrally involved in the March on Washington later that year—its leaders were among those who met with President Kennedy following the march—and the march to Montgomery in 1965. By the mid-1960s, Catholic interracialists had become central participants in the civil rights movement.[6]

Leaders of the NCCIJ argued for civil rights legislation from a moral perspective—racism, discrimination, and segregation were sins or immoral actions against people who were God's creations. Essentially the members of the NCCIJ thought and acted as theological neo-abolitionists, arguing that the United States needed to purge itself of the immorality of racism and segregation as well as create an interracial, socially just society. In addition to their involvement in the civil rights movement, NCCIJ activists fought in, and used similar arguments to support, Johnson's War on Poverty.

Geno Baroni—pastor of an inner-city parish in Washington, DC; an NCCIJ leader and civil rights activist; and a participant in the March on Washington and the later Meredith March against Fear—told a

[6]"To end racial discrimination": Martin A. Zielinski, "Working for Interracial Justice: The Catholic Interracial Council of New York, 1934–1964," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 7 (1988), 233–62, here 234, 250. See also Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Archives (hereafter referred to as UNDA), NCCIJ press release, n.d., Geno C. Baroni Papers (hereafter referred to as CBRN) 6/01; "History of NCCIJ," 1978, National Assembly of Religious Women (U.S.) Records (hereafter referred to as CARW) 11/01, UNDA; Scott Stossel, *Sarge: The Life and Times of Sargent Shriver* (Washington, DC, 2004), pp. 121–29; McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, pp. 86, 148.

Washington Post reporter that social issues such as poverty, civil rights, jobs, and housing were "moral issues" and were "the proper and vital business of the church." Baroni claimed that a split had developed in the Catholic Church between the middle class and the poor—as the move of middle-class Catholics out of the city had helped sever the religious connection between the social classes. Baroni argued that affluent, middle-class Catholics did not see "poverty, housing, civil rights as moral issues." For Baroni, it was a "great scandal … that the church has lost the poor. … And if we are not the church of the poor, we are in trouble."[7]

Baroni, an outspoken advocate for African Americans and impoverished ethnic whites, stands as a prime example of Catholic clerical social activism in the twentieth century. Born in Pennsylvania in 1930 as the son of an Italian immigrant coal miner, Baroni graduated from Mount St. Mary's College and Seminary prior to his ordination as a Catholic priest in 1956. He served in working-class parishes of ethnic whites in Pennsylvania until his excitement about the civil rights movement led him to request an assignment to Sts. Paul and Augustine Parish in Washington, DC, in 1960. It was during his tenure at Sts. Paul and Augustine that he spearheaded the civil rights and antipoverty efforts of NCCIJ and became one of the leading voices of Catholic social justice activism.[8]

Baroni published a number of articles in religious journals expounding on the theology behind Catholic involvement in the civil rights movement and the fight against poverty as well as the practical implications of those beliefs. In the article "The Church and the War on Poverty," Baroni explained the fundamental significance of the Second Vatican Council to the expanding involvement of Catholic priests and parishes in social justice causes. Baroni argued that the Second Vatican Council urged Catholics to take on the cause of the poor and underprivileged as its own. For Baroni and other Catholics, the juncture of the Council with the civil rights movement and antipoverty efforts was profound. According to the Council, the Church most resembled Christ when it revealed "a predilection for the poor, the outcast, the injured, and the despised." In testimony to the House Subcommittee on Appropriations for the District of

[7]Phil Casey, "Social Ills Held Moral Issues," *Washington Post*, September 10, 1966, D1.

[8]Lawrence M. O'Rourke, *Geno: The Life and Mission of Geno Baroni* (New York, 1991).

Columbia, Baroni expounded on this argument, saying that "religion must provide a voice for the poor of the community." Thus, for Baroni, participation in a government program intent on aiding the poor was not optional, but was a requirement for those Catholics who desired to be more like Christ.[9]

But how to implement the theology of the Council? How to use the War on Poverty for the Church's ends? For Baroni, the answer was the parish. Baroni argued that since the parish was "traditionally the central force in the Church's network of bringing spiritual and material support to the person of the culture of poverty" and was an integral part of the local community, it could play a significant role in the War on Poverty. Through activist antipoverty efforts, inner-city parishes could "demonstrate a new relationship to the poor in the community."[10]

Catholics could exhibit that new relationship to the poor through the creation of a parish neighborhood center. The center, housed in parish buildings, would provide assistance to the poor through community education, housing referral, employment services, health and welfare referral services, and a "community action volunteer program" aimed at bringing in volunteers "from middle income and suburban parishes who are anxious to participate in an active program that promises assistance to the less fortunate." Baroni argued that the volunteering of the more fortunate to help the poor "underlies the essential commitment of the laity to the war on poverty."[11]

In addition, Baroni posited that the parish center could become "a vital force" in the creation of community action programs that he clearly saw as central to the War on Poverty and essentially as an extension of the civil rights movement. For Baroni, the community action aspect of the War on Poverty represented "a new phase in the civil rights struggle—a switchover from a decade in which the concentration was on breaking down legal barriers to one in which the excluded seek genuine equality in jobs, education, and housing." In

[9]Geno Baroni, "The Church and the War on Poverty," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, 153 (1965), 184–97, here 185; Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky," p. 640; Father Geno Baroni Testimony to the House Subcommittee on Appropriations for the District of Columbia—Hearings on Appropriations for the District of Columbia's Public Welfare Department, 1965, Baroni Papers, CBRN 3/05, UNDA.

[10]Baroni, "The Church and the War on Poverty," p. 184.

[11]Baroni, "The Church and the War on Poverty," pp. 186–90.

addition to shifting its focus to economic issues, this phase of the extended civil rights movement, as Baroni understood it, would give

> the poor of the city the power to solve their own problems. It means giving them a collective voice to be heard when their garbage is not picked up, when the landlords cheat them, and when their elected officials refuse to listen to them.[12]

For Baroni, then, the community action aspect of the War on Poverty continued the democratization of the civil rights movement and empowered the poor.

Baroni saw the War on Poverty as an extension of the civil rights movement in part because he saw a direct connection between poverty and racism. In another publication, "The Church and the Inner City," Baroni asserted that poverty and racism were dual sins in American society. He argued that although racism was "a radical distortion of the relationship between man's body and his social life," poverty was "a radical distortion of the relationship between man and the goods that he needs for social life." In addition, Baroni maintained that

> to deny men goods, property, the means to sustain life, is to deny them the right to participate in creation. . . . The poverty of the exploited is a denial of their spiritual function in the world, which is to participate with Him in creation. As racism denies man's bodily integrity, poverty denies his spiritual integrity.

It was a Christian's duty, then, to work to expunge poverty and racism from society.[13]

Although community action programs would aid and empower the poor, they also would provide a venue for individual Catholics to live out their faith. The War on Poverty provided a vehicle for Baroni to continue his activism, his efforts at social justice, and his attempts to be more like Christ. Indeed, Baroni noted that "many of

[12]Baroni, "The Church and the War on Poverty," pp. 192–93. Notably, as an inner-city priest, Baroni clearly saw the War on Poverty and community action as geared primarily toward urban African Americans. He never mentions the possibility that rural parishioners might be able to use community action as well. This thinking also reflected his view that the War on Poverty was an extension of the civil rights movement.

[13]Geno Baroni, "The Church and the Inner City," n.d., Baroni Papers, CBRN 3/5, UNDA.

the same priests and ministers so recently involved in the struggle for civil rights now find themselves brought together to assist in developing community action programs in our poor center city neighborhoods."[14]

But Baroni also recognized that not all priests and ministers saw themselves as activists. Indeed, in a 1966 article, Baroni noted "a serious division of views" at a joint meeting in 1965 of the NCCIJ and the National Catholic Social Action Conference (NCSAC) between those priests who wanted "the church to play its customary role as guardian of the past" and those clergy who insisted "that the Church should play a more direct role in social change." Baroni acknowledged that these different approaches had always been present among priests, but he argued that

> recently a strong and young group of clergy within the Church have gained momentum because of their involvement in the civil rights movement. . . . At any gathering of clergy, there seems to be a clear demarcation between those who have participated in direct action and those who have not.

That experience in civil rights direct action led many priests, including Baroni, to advocate for parish-level involvement in community action and the War on Poverty.[15]

Baroni wrote this article from experience. He had already established a parish neighborhood center at Sts. Paul and Augustine, complete with a volunteer program, employment services, job opportunity workshops, a credit union, and a summer youth educational and job training program. Indeed, Baroni had established the neighborhood center, employment services program, and summer youth program in 1963, prior to the creation of the federal legislation establishing the OEO. Thus, Baroni and members of his parish were already fighting their own Catholic war on poverty prior to the federal government declaring one.[16]

The NCCIJ in which Baroni was active had begun its antipoverty efforts prior to 1964 as well. By the mid-1960s, it had become the

[14]Baroni, "The Church and the War on Poverty," p. 191.

[15]Geno Baroni, "Inner City Initiatives," *Community,* September 1966, 8.

[16]Baroni, "The Church and the War on Poverty," pp. 187–88; "A Little War on Poverty," *Christianity Today*, June 19, 1964, 36–37.

center of the Catholic antipoverty campaign. The theme of the 1963 NCCIJ Convention—"Poverty, Race and Religion: Challenge to a Catholic Community"—reflected its commitment to both achieving civil rights and an end to poverty. The theme of the 1965 NCCIJ convention in Omaha, "Poverty's Challenge to Interracial Action," continued NCCIJ's work on the dual fronts of race and poverty. The conference theme and the resolutions passed by the delegates demonstrated the connection made by the NCCIJ between the civil rights movement and the War on Poverty. The prelude to the conference resolutions highlighted this racialized conceptualization of poverty:

> if it is not painfully obvious in 1965 that poverty and racial tensions are inextricably intertwined we affirm it again: at every turn in their unending struggle for participation in the responsibilities and the benefits of the free society, Negroes, Indians, and the Spanish-speaking feel the effects of generations of weakening destitution.[17]

The NCCIJ believed antipoverty efforts needed to be multiracial to reflect the diversity of the American people and the poverty that informed the experiences of many of America's minority groups. In America, poverty was not just a story of black and white.[18]

NCCIJ members, like Baroni, also clearly viewed the War on Poverty as an extension of the democratization of the civil rights movement. It supported the federal government's antipoverty efforts, but also criticized its "defects and omissions." The War on Poverty's key defect, according to the NCCIJ, was a lack of participation by the poor at key levels of most community action programs. Indeed, the second resolution passed at the convention called for OEO director Shriver—who, as noted earlier, was a founding member of the NCCIJ—"to take prompt and realistic steps to insist on genuine participation in the decision-making process by poor persons in every War on Poverty program." NCCIJ members believed that democratic participation in the War on Poverty was the primary way for the civil rights movement to continue. As a result, the NCCIJ concluded its conference

[17]NCCIJ *Commitment* newsletter, Sept.–Oct. 1963, Reynold Hillenbrand Papers, CMRH 29/29; "The Human Face of Poverty: A Challenge to Interracial Action—Resolutions Adopted by the Delegates to the Convention of the NCCIJ," August 1965, Baroni Papers, CBRN 6/01, both UNDA.

[18]For more on multiracialism and the War on Poverty, see Bauman, *Race and the War on Poverty*.

report recommending that "the church dedicate its resources primarily to the poor of all races."[19]

Baroni and other NCCIJ members continued their support of the War on Poverty as the terminology of the civil rights movement shifted to the slogan "black power." The NCCIJ sustained its support of the movement both ideologically and practically through backing the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO). Formed in early 1967, IFCO sought to coordinate the efforts of religious organizations in supporting community action programs, arguing that there were "limits on the degree to which Federal and city governments can support community action programs." IFCO's top priority, according to its bylaws, was "to implement common programs and strategy among religious groups for the development of community organizations among the poor … as part of the urban mission, ministry and program of such religious groups." In August 1967, NCCIJ joined the board of the newly formed IFCO. At the same time, it issued a policy statement that addressed common misunderstandings about the meaning of black power, arguing that civil rights groups "which are predominantly Negro in membership are in fact black power organizations dedicated to full citizenship and full partnership in our society for all men."[20] That same month, the NCCIJ board, with Baroni and Egan playing key roles, passed a resolution calling on

> the white community to accept the primary responsibility for the presence and atmosphere of violence found in the cities of our country….We resolve that funds be used positively to alleviate poverty and build self-sufficient communities….We resolve that the Church support the efforts of the Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican American and other minorities to attain necessary power to achieve political, social and economic equality.[21]

Early the following year, the NCCIJ celebrated black power, arguing that "the terms of the struggle for racial justice and equity" were "hap-

[19]"The Human Face of Poverty: A Challenge to Interracial Action—Resolutions Adopted by the Delegates to the Convention of the NCCIJ," August 1965, Baroni Papers, CBRN 6/01, UNDA.

[20]Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of NCCIJ, August 20, 1967, CBRN 29/01, UNDA; Report of Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organization, March 16, 1967, CBRN 27/02, UNDA; Steven V. Roberts, "Religious Groups Join to Help Poor," *New York Times*, May 11, 1967, 29.

[21]NCCIJ Board Resolution–August 18, 1967, CBRN 29/01, UNDA.

pily being dictated by the Negro community itself." It also maintained that "the primary task" of the NCCIJ was "in the white community … and the white church." As a result, the NCCIJ looked for ways to direct "white resources to the … requests of the Black community." One demonstration of NCCIJ's support of black power was through its creation of a Department of Urban Services that became the organization's institutional and financial link to IFCO.[22]

NCCIJ's relationship with and commitment to IFCO was challenged following the issuing of the Black Manifesto in 1969. In April 1969, James Forman, the former executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the director of United Black Appeal, issued his Black Manifesto at the National Black Economic Development Conference. It condemned American institutions for slavery and racism and demanded $500 million in reparations from churches and synagogues for their participation in what Forman termed "the most vicious, racist system in the world." Forman and Lucius Walker, the executive director of IFCO, posited that any reparations should be donated to black community organizations through IFCO.[23]

Responses to the Black Manifesto by the Catholic Church and its affiliated organizations ranged from outright rejection to hesitant support. At the first NCCIJ convention following the Black Manifesto, the NCCIJ elected its first black chairman, Walter Hubbard. In addition, the convention passed a resolution supporting reparations to minorities and maintained that "while the language of the Black Manifesto and the political philosophy of some of its backers might be abrasive … Christians cannot hide behind the smoke screen of distasteful rhetoric to mask our criminal tolerance of racism." Walker spoke at the NCCIJ conference, urging the organization to encourage Catholics to understand the importance of reparations to African Americans. Walker suggested that individual parishes raise at least $1000 to help fund black community organizations.[24]

[22]"NCCIJ Report of the Executive Director–February 1968," CBRN 35/08, UNDA.

[23]Philadelphia, Presbyterian Historical Society, "Black Manifesto," National Council of Churches Records, Records of the General Secretary, Series III, R.H. Edwin Espy, 1963–1973, RG4, Box 34, Folder 15.

[24]In addition to Walker's talk, the NCCIJ program also featured presentations by Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket; Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers; and Arthur Fletcher, assistant secretary of labor and an architect of affirmative action. On the resolution, see the NCCIJ *Commitment* newsletter, Sept.–Oct. 1969, Reynold

In fall 1969, the NCCIJ formed the National Catholic Committee on Reparations with the National Association of Laymen. This reparations committee, which included Baroni, promoted the notion of reparations to Catholic parishes throughout the nation and also worked to obtain funds for IFCO projects. In addition, the reparations committee wrote the position paper "A Catholic Position on Reparations." In the paper presented to the National Council of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), the committee called the Black Manifesto a "profoundly prophetic event" that provided Catholics with not only an opportunity "to correct past and continuing injustice" but also to "renew the American Church." The paper further argued that commitment of funds to IFCO projects would not only benefit black urban communities but also reorient "Church priorities to re-emphasize her role of concern and service for the poor and oppressed."[25]

The ideology of black power evident in IFCO and the NCCIJ position paper also infused the development of black nationalist Catholic organizations in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1967, black Catholics formed the Council of Catholic Negro Laymen, which a year later became the Council of Black Catholic Laymen. Also in 1968, in what one scholar has called "a milestone in the history of the black Catholic community," black clergy formed the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus (NBCCC) at a meeting of the Catholic Clergy Conference on the Interracial Apostolate that had the theme "Black Power and the White Church." At its first meeting, the NBCCC issued a statement arguing that the American Catholic Church was "primarily a white racist institution" and demanded the hiring of more black priests, the training of white priests working in black communities, and the inclusion of black clergy in decision making at the diocesan level. The same year, black women religious created the National Black Sisters Conference (NBSC) to address the needs of African American Catholics and "to confront individual and institutional racism and injustice found in society and in the Church." Two years later, in 1970, lay Catholics formed the National Black Lay Catholic Caucus. These organizations, to one degree or other, espoused the

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Hillenbrand Papers, PMRH 136/09, UNDA. See also Washington, DC, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, The Catholic University of America (hereafter referred to as ACUA), NCCIJ press release, August 8, 1969, and "NCCIJ 1969 National Convention" program, George Gilmary Higgins Papers, Box 162, Folder 8.

[25]James T. Harris Jr., Executive Director, NCCIJ to Councils and Commissions, November 7, 1969, Higgins Papers, Box 162, Folder 8, ACUA.

ideas of self-definition and community control that formed the core of IFCO's message.[26]

The individual Catholic who provided the most significant support for IFCO was Monsignor John J. (Jack) Egan. A colleague of Baroni's who also served as a leading voice of Catholic social activism, Egan was a major advocate for Catholic involvement in the War on Poverty and a prominent community organizer. Born in New York in 1916 to Irish immigrant parents, Egan and his family moved to Chicago when he was a young boy. Chicago and the Catholic Church became Egan's true passions. Egan attended DePaul University and St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Chicago and served as a priest in several Chicago parishes. Egan's involvement in social action began during his seminary studies with Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand, who had formed the Young Christian Workers movement geared toward economic and social activism. Hillenbrand's theology was informed by the idea of the laity as equal members of the Mystical Body of Christ, a notion that led its followers to work toward the democratization of the church and society. For Hillenbrand and Egan, racism divided that mystical body. Egan's involvement in and commitment to community organization began in earnest when he met Saul Alinsky in 1954. The famed organizer of the Back of the Yards Chicago neighborhood and founder of the Industrial Areas foundation connected with Egan's own commitment to the dignity of each human being. Their meeting brought Egan into community organizing and led to a friendship that lasted until Alinsky's death in 1972. In 1957, Egan became Alinsky's first priest intern. Alinsky trained Egan in the dynamics of power, leadership development, and "the skills of democratic organization."[27]

[26]"A milestone": Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York, 1990), p. 258. For the NBCCC statement, see "A Statement of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, April 18, 1968," in *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979*, ed. Gayraud S. Wilmore and James H. Cone (New York, 1979), p. 322. On the NBSC, see "Brief History of the National Black Sisters Conference," August 1977, CARW 15/11, UNDA. See also Davis, "God of Our Weary Years: Black Catholics in American Catholic History," in *Taking Down Our Harps: Black Catholics in the United States,* ed. Diana L. Hayes and Cyprian Davis (New York, 1998), pp. 17–46; and Ronald L. Sharps, "Black Catholics in the United States: A Historical Chronology," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 12 (1994), 119–41.

[27]"Democratic organization": Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky," p. 646. See also Margery Frisbie, *An Alley in Chicago: The Ministry of a City Priest* (Kansas City, 1991); and Beryl Satter, *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America* (New York, 2009), p. 120.

Egan's first foray into community organizing came with the Latin American Committee of the Woodlawn Organization (TWO)—the community organization started by Alinsky in the Back of the Yards neighborhood—and in canvassing black neighborhoods in the south side of Chicago to determine the effect on black residents of the construction of the Dan Ryan Expressway. In the process, with the support of Cardinal Samuel Stritch, Egan established the first diocesan Office of Urban Affairs in the nation and "gave community-organizing a Catholic mantle of credibility … and articulated the theological premises for church involvement in community organization." Those experiences led him into further involvement in social justice, including participation in the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965 as well as establishment of housing and employment campaigns in Chicago. Indeed, his activism against urban renewal in Chicago created enemies. For example, Egan's 1966 appointment as pastor of Presentation in the all-black neighborhood of Lawndale actually was an attempt to silence him by Cardinal John Patrick Cody, the new archbishop of Chicago and no fan of "troublemakers" who advocated for social justice. Rather than heeding such a signal from Cody, Egan helped form the Contract Buyers of Lawndale that challenged unfair housing contracts.[28]

Egan's efforts on behalf of community organizing occurred outside of Chicago as well, despite Cody's opposition. In February 1966, Egan spoke at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, DC, on the topic of Saul Alinsky and community organization. Baroni had helped arrange Egan's address and wrote a memo to Patrick O'Boyle, the longtime archbishop of Washington, outlining the significance of Egan's address and the need to establish and support community organizations in the district. Baroni wrote O'Boyle, "the serious question of the role of the priest and the parish in community organizations needs urgently to be discussed."[29]

Egan's involvement in civil rights and antipoverty community organizations seemed natural, as he, like Baroni, saw the War on

[28]"Catholic mantle": Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky," p. 646. For an extended, detailed discussion of Cody's battles with Egan and other activist priests in Chicago, see Charles W. Dahm, *Power and Authority in the Catholic Church* (Notre Dame, 1981). See also Frisbie, *An Alley in Chicago*, pp. 80–110, 179–81; Satter, *Family Properties*, pp. 123–46, 233–44; and Tim Unsworth, "Chicago's Jack Egan, Jack Egan's Chicago," *America*, March 19, 1994, 6–9.

[29]Baroni to O'Boyle, February 10, 1966, CBRN 16/04, UNDA.

Poverty as an extension of the social justice goals of civil rights. For Egan, community organization was almost a holy method of ministry, as he noted, a "kind of secular sacrament … [through which] the weak can get power to make their lives whole." Egan connected this sanctity of community organization to Catholic involvement in IFCO.[30]

For Egan, IFCO represented a way for socially activist Catholic priests to become involved in a national antipoverty community organization. In March 1967, Egan, Baroni, and other priests formed the Catholic Committee of Community Organization (CCOO) to provide the official Catholic link to IFCO. The roots of CCOO lay primarily in the establishment of diocesan offices of urban affairs in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and in the experiences of priests working in civil rights and community antipoverty projects. Egan and Baroni were chosen to represent CCOO on the IFCO board. After the July 1967 IFCO board meeting, Egan wrote to Baroni that the "enthusiasm … was evident and the national response to IFCO has been somewhat overwhelming." Egan later wrote Emil Seliga, his friend and colleague at NCCIJ, that the NCCIJ needed "to decide how we can substantially help IFCO." Later that year, the CCOO changed the name of the organization to the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry (CCUM) to reflect the wider scope of their work. The members of CCUM "were at the forefront of Catholic activism and had experience in organizations focused on self-determination: community organizations, economic development organizations … housing initiatives, and neighborhood associations." For Egan, CCUM was a way to continue work in community organizing after he accepted a position at the University of Notre Dame and to provide "ministry to the ministers, ministry to those empowering the poor." The CCUM served essentially as a network for priests, community organizers, and others interested in addressing causes of social justice. It held a four-week program every summer where, according to Egan, it trained "a whole generation of priests, Sisters, and lay people" in community organization. The group developed urban ministry programs in dioceses; created the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs (headed by Baroni); and helped create the Campaign for Human Development, the Catholic Church's official antipoverty program.[31]

[30]Frisbie, *An Alley in Chicago*, pp. 235–36.

[31]"Enthusiasm … was evident": Egan to Baroni, July 13, 1967, CBRN 27/02, UNDA. "Help IFCO": Milwaukee, Marquette University Archives, Egan to Seliga, October 6, 1967, Series 15, Box 1, NCCIJ Records. "At the forefront": Engel, "The Influence of Saul

The Campaign for Human Development stemmed from the Urban Task Force of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC). The task force, which had been created in summer 1968 and was headed by Baroni, included Egan and other CCUM members. Seeking ways to coordinate diocesan antipoverty efforts in urban centers, to address Forman's Black Manifesto, and to consider the role of Catholic black power organizations, the task force convened in Cumbermeare, Canada, in August 1969. At Cumbermeare, the task force created the "Catholic Crusade against Poverty." Knowing that many Protestant denominations had committed funds to Forman's National Black Economic Development Conference, whereas the Catholic Church had not taken similar action, the task force proposed a Church commitment of $50 million for community organizations of

> white and minority poor to develop economic strength and political power in their own communities [and] self-help funds for voter registration … seed money to develop non-profit housing corporations, community-run schools, minority-owned cooperatives and credit unions, capital for industrial development and job training programs.

In other words, this body of social activist priests recommended that the Catholic Church create its own war on poverty, based on the antipoverty and urban community organizing experiences of Baroni, Egan, NCCIJ, CCUM, IFCO, and NBCCC and spurred by the Black Manifesto.[32]

Baroni and the Urban Task Force then took the resolution to the November 1969 meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The bishops discussed Baroni's proposal in smaller sessions at the meeting. From those sessions, the bishops identified two priority courses of action: the "education of the total Catholic community in terms of a more generous, sympathetic and Christ-like attitude toward the poor and minority groups; and to establish a special poverty collection." The final resolution approved by the bishops stated:

Alinsky," p. 648. "Ministry to the ministers": Egan, quoted in Frisbie, *An Alley in Chicago*, p. 243. See also Frisbie, *An Alley in Chicago*, pp. 236–38, 241–44; "Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry" flyer, n.d., CARW 11/02, UNDA; Letter from Msgr. John Egan to Father Geno Baroni, April 28, 1967, and Minutes of Community Organization Meeting, April 25, 1967, CBRN 27/02, UNDA; and John J. Egan, Peggy Roach, and Philip J. Murnion, "Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry: Ministry to the Ministers," *Review of Religious Research*, 20 (1979), 279–81.

[32] "Resolution on the Crusade against Poverty," Baroni Papers, CBRN 13/6, UNDA; Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky," pp. 649–53.

> There is an evident need for funds designated to be used for organized groups of white and minority poor to develop economic strength and political power in their own communities. . . . Therefore, be it resolved that the National Conference of Catholic Bishops establish a National Catholic Crusade Against Poverty.

Clearly, the Black Manifesto's demands for reparations from religious institutions through contributions to economic development in impoverished minority communities had profoundly influenced the bishops.[33]

Over the next year, the NCCB plotted strategy for its antipoverty campaign. In March 1970, a memo from Baroni and the Urban Task Force to Bishop Joseph Bernardin recommended that the USCC Crusade against Poverty focus on educating Catholics on the extent of the problem in the United States and providing funds to community organizations. The task force argued that the crusade "could be a national conduit of funds for self-help development projects … to develop economic power and organization among groups living in poverty and dependence."[34]

In November 1970, CCUM met prior to the NCCB annual meeting. Egan reported to Bernardin that the CCUM "support[ed] and strongly endorse[d]" the bishops' antipoverty campaign. Egan added that the bishops' action had "given renewed hope to many in the Church and a new promise to the poor." A few days later, on November 16, 1970, the NCCB adopted the Resolution of the Campaign for Human Development (the new name for its antipoverty campaign). The official Catholic War on Poverty had begun. In the fifty years since its inception, the CHD has provided more than $300 million in grants for projects in community organization and economic development to community and faith-based antipoverty organizations as well as prepared numerous priests, nuns, and low-income individuals to address poverty in their communities.[35]

[33]Minutes of the Seventh General Meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, November 10–14, 1969; and "Resolution on the Crusade against Poverty," Baroni Papers, CBRN 13/64, UNDA. See also Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky," p. 657.

[34]Memo from USCC Task Force to Bishop Bernardin, March 7, 1970, Baroni Papers, CBRN 13/64, UNDA.

[35]Egan to Bernardin, November 12, 1970, Urban Task Force Papers, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, ACUA; Engel, "The Influence of Saul Alinsky," pp. 660–61; Catholic Campaign for Human Development Web site, http://www.usccb.org/cchd/

Many of the organizations funded by CHD over the years are "heirs to the legacy of Saul Alinsky." They are community or faith-based groups that have pursued agendas related to housing, jobs, education, and health. CHD-funded groups have challenged redlining practices in real estate, brought attention to low rates of child support enforcement, helped clean up toxic waste dumps in low-income neighborhoods, and advocated for increased access to health care for the poor. An early group funded by the CHD was the Contract Buyers League, the antihousing discrimination organization formed by Egan in Chicago. Eventually, the league evolved into the Gamaliel Foundation, a faith-based antipoverty organization with affiliates across the United States. The CHD approach is evident in terming its grantees "poor empowerment groups" and advocating in its literature "a hand up, not a handout"—the same slogan used by the OEO when the federal government's War on Poverty began in 1964.[36]

The establishment and continued presence of the CHD and its sponsored programs demonstrates that the War on Poverty did not end in the 1970s. Indeed, it continues today largely through community and faith-based antipoverty organizations that often are funded by the CHD or have personnel trained by the CHD and other religious groups. It also suggests that America's War on Poverty has a wider spectrum than the government sector. Indeed, many of the groups receiving funds from the CHD have received or continue to receive funds from federal, state, and/or local governments. In other words, America's War against Poverty reflects the nation's evolving relationships of public and private institutions. An example is President Barack Obama's White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, an expansion of an office created by President George W. Bush. Obama had worked for a faith-based antipoverty organization in Chicago (the Developing Communities Project of the Calumet Community Religious Conference that has the slogan "Christ Organizing in the Midst of Community").The president noted that the office's top priority would be "making community groups an integral part of our economic recovery and poverty a burden fewer have to bear.…" Further reflecting the coalescence of church and state, Obama appointed Joshua DuBois, a twenty-six-year-old Pentecostal minister, to lead the office.Thus, this office exemplifies the continued

[36]John D. McCarthy and Jim Castelli, "Working for Justice:The Campaign for Human Development and Poor Empowerment Groups," Draft Report, The Catholic University of America, Life Cycle Institute, November 1994, ACUA.

development of a public/private antipoverty effort launched during the 1960s.[37]

The office also underscores the significant relationship between the evolving, long civil rights movement and the War on Poverty. The careers of priests like Baroni and Egan demonstrate the connection between the movement and antipoverty efforts that was clear to social activists. To them, the War on Poverty, particularly community action, was an extension of the democratizing efforts of the civil rights movement. In addition, their involvement and leadership in groups such as the NCCIJ, CCCUM, and IFCO, combined with their experience in community organization, informed their understanding of the connection between race and poverty. The development of these Catholic civil rights and antipoverty groups also reflects the changing nature of the long civil rights movement. Beginning with the NCCIJ, an organization focused on race relations, Baroni and Egan moved to groups such as CCUM and IFCO, influenced by the increasing emphasis on black power and spurred by Forman's Black Manifesto. By the late 1960s, the community groups that Baroni, Egan, and their fellow clergy sought to serve were highly influenced by the ideas of self-definition and community control of the black power movement. In many ways, the eventual creation of the CHD was the Church's response to Forman's Black Manifesto and the increasing focus on economic power at the community level.

The significant involvement and leadership of Baroni and Egan in the Catholic Church's antipoverty efforts reflects a number of influences, including their experiences as urban priests, their theology, and their belief in the teachings of the Second Vatican Council. With a theology that emphasized the centrality of the Church's commitment to the poor, the sanctity of each individual, and a desire to emulate Christ, a cadre of socially active priests (including Baroni and Egan) spearheaded Catholic efforts for civil rights and against poverty. Indeed, both Baroni and Egan continued their work in social justice via community organizing well into the 1970s.

After thirteen years at the University of Notre Dame, Egan returned to Chicago and established several antipoverty organizations, including the Chicago Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice. Beginning in

[37] "President Creates Faith-Based Office," Associated Press, February 13, 2009; Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (New York, 2004).

1999, Egan began a campaign against the payday loan industry, which used astronomical interest rates to take advantage of low-wage workers who often were black or Latino. After Egan's death in 2001 at age eighty-four, the organization was renamed the Monsignor John Egan Campaign for Payday Loan Reform. In 2005, the Illinois General Assembly passed the Egan Payday Loan Reform Act, which created significant regulations for the payday loan industry.

Baroni founded the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs (NCUEA) in 1970 in response to the Kerner Commission's conclusion that white ethnic racism had played an important role in urban violence in the late 1960s. Reflecting the influence of the War on Poverty and the black power movement, NCUEA emphasized self-determination and community control as well as nurtured grassroots leadership in white ethnic urban areas; the aim was to challenge government agencies on issues related to jobs, income, and education. Baroni served as assistant secretary for Housing and Urban Development during the administration of President Jimmy Carter—the highest federal office ever held by a Catholic priest—and then returned to NCUEA in the early 1980s. He died of abdominal cancer in 1984 at age fifty-three. Monsignor George G. Higgins, former director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, eulogized him as "one of the most innovative and most effective Catholic social actionists of his generation." Building on the efforts of Egan and Baroni, the organizations that they served in the 1960s and 1970s—NCCIJ, CCUM, IFCO, and particularly CHD—continue fighting racism and poverty in the twenty-first century, demonstrating the continuity of a long Catholic War on Poverty.[38]

[38]For Higgins's eulogy, see Higgins Papers, Box 4, Folder 1, ACUA. See also Satter, *Family Properties*, pp. 380–81.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Art, Faith and Place in East Anglia: From Prehistory to the Present. Edited by T. A. Heslop, Elizabeth Mellings, and Margit Thøfner. (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer. 2012. Pp. xvi, 352. $80.00. ISBN 978-1-84383-744-2.)

East Anglia is an ill-defined region on the east coast of England, sticking out into the North Sea. Like many places in a similar situation—Cornwall, at the southwest corner of England, springs to mind, as does Brittany, in northwest France—East Anglia has tended to evolve its own culture and to draw its influences from across the water rather than from its inland neighbors. Before the nineteenth century, after all, it was usually easier and quicker to get to places by sea than by land, and East Anglia has always been in the front line when it came to invasions, whether defending the coast from Germanic pirates in the third century, or providing the bases for bombing raids on Germany in the twentieth. Trade across the North Sea was important for England for many centuries and brought with it language, customs, and buildings not always found elsewhere in the country: the use of the Old Norse word *gate* to mean street, for example, and the abundance of churches with round towers, now generally thought to be following models from northern Europe. Such regions also tend to have their favorite saints. The prevalence of churches dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch is discussed in this volume, and Ethelbert, Etheldreda, and Edmund are popular locals who achieved sainthood. Paganism, too, is liable to continue in regions far removed from the center long after it has been suppressed elsewhere.

This wide-ranging volume comprises twenty chapters examining the relationship between sacred works of art (mostly but not exclusively Christian) and the location in which they were made or used. The examples include Roman and Anglo-Saxon artifacts, medieval wall paintings and stained glass, nineteenth-century church buildings, and twentieth-century war memorials; most readers of this journal will find something here to interest them. But in one important respect the volume is not so wide-ranging after all. The region of East Anglia is nowhere defined (nor is there a general map, to help those unfamiliar with the area), but by the end of the introduction it is clear that what is meant is the area covered by the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; various other definitions of East Anglia (for example, the present Roman Catholic diocese of that name, not to mention the Anglo-Saxon kingdom) include Cambridgeshire. In fact, fourteen of the twenty chapters deal exclusively with Norfolk, including Norwich.

This is not altogether surprising, as the three editors are from the School of World Art Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, and the origin of the volume is the research project "Icon: 2000 Years of Art and Belief in Norfolk." Unfortunately, no information is provided about the other seventeen contributors, beyond the fact that they "range from professional scholars to enthusiasts and from the devout to the openly atheist" (p. 3).

The book is well produced and illustrated, and it is a pleasant surprise to find footnotes as opposed to endnotes, as well as a comprehensive bibliography. It is a shame that as much trouble was not taken with the index, which is virtually useless. Quite apart from the mistakes it contains, it seems to have been compiled without a logical system. Worst of all, in a book about "place," it indexes only a tiny proportion of the places mentioned.

Great Totham, Essex, United Kingdom JAMES BETTLEY

Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100–1522. By Ane L. Bysted, Carsten Selch Jensen, Kurt Villads Jensen, and John H. Lind. [Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East, Vol. 1.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2012. Pp. xiv, 393. €75,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52325-5.)

The subject of the present volume is the Danish involvement in the crusades in northeastern Europe that traditionally have been perceived to begin with the Wendish crusade of 1147 and to have continued with the Baltic crusades of the late-twelfth century and later. These were aimed at conquering and converting the lands on the eastern and southern coast of the Baltic Sea. The campaigns in northeastern Europe have been the subject of a number of scholarly works. Until recently the most notable book in English was arguably Eric Christiansen's *The Northern Crusades* (Minneapo-lis, 1980), but since the late 1990s a great deal of research has been published in English. There has, however, been very little research on the Danish involvement in the crusading movement since Paul Riant's *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1865). That is not to say that twentieth-century historians working on the Danish Middle Ages completely ignored the crusades, but most scholars mentioned the Danish crusading activity only briefly and often ascribed it to local economic and political concerns, thus weakening the links between the Danish expeditions and the cross-European crusading movement.

That is convincingly challenged by the authors of the present volume, who highlight the exchange of ideas between the Danish realm and the rest of Latin Christendom as well as the complexity of the motivations of the crusaders. The volume, which is a translation of the Danish book *Danske korstog—krig og mission i Østersøen* (2nd ed., Copenhagen, 2004), opens with a brief historiographical survey. The remainder of the book is dedicated to a thorough discussion of the Baltic crusades and the Danish engagement in these campaigns, including themes such as the funding of the crusades, the

militarization of society, and the role of the military orders and the mendicants. It focuses on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—namely, the period up to the Treaty of Stensby (1238), which secured the Danish king control over northern Estonia (chapters II–XII). The authors go on to discuss the Danish rule of Estonia up to 1346 and the Danish crusades of the late Middle Ages (chapters XIII–XVIII).

The authors present numerous new interpretations that are the results of extensive source studies. Many of these will undoubtedly stimulate future discussions about the Danish involvement in the crusading movement—indeed, some have already attracted highly relevant criticism from other historians working on the Danish medieval material; among the disputed issues are the nature of the Confraternities of St. Knud and the character of the Danish campaigns against the Wends in the twelfth century. A key point is the matter of the definition of *crusade*. The authors briefly discuss the long-ranging debate on this issue (chapter I), but it is not made entirely clear where they stand on this matter. They take a very inclusive approach, in which a great number of expeditions are labeled as crusades and many medieval Danish developments and institutions are seen as related to crusading ideas. They include not only expeditions that are crusades in the "inclusivist" sense ("wars that were conducted with papal consent against the enemies of the church, which granted participants an indulgence for their sins," p. 13) but also those campaigns and institutions that may have been related to ideas about holy war or defense of the faith, apparently favoring a "generalist" approach. The authors do not, however, address the way we may determine whether a campaign or institution indeed was influenced by such ideas. Nor do they argue for the fruitfulness of their approach, thus depriving the reader of what might have been a most interesting contribution to the debate about the understanding of crusades.

Nevertheless, the volume provides a stimulating and accessible survey of the Danish involvement in the Baltic crusades and will be useful to students and scholars interested in the history of the Baltic crusades and the Scandinavian kingdoms of the Middle Ages.

Aalborg University, Denmark IBEN FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT

French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600. By Virginia Reinburg. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 297. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-107-00721-5.)

For decades, books of hours have been a focus of research into later medieval art and religion; as the most popular book of private devotion during the period covered by this volume, and surviving in greater numbers, they provide a rich quarry from which to mine.

The present volume is divided into two parts. "A Social History of the Book of Hours" describes the book as an object within society, addressing its pop-

ularity, the effect of the invention of printing, its role within a family, the implication of its primarily Latin content to owners whose Latin may have been very limited, its relation to liturgical books, and especially as "an archive of prayer" (p. 236, see also pp.131–32, 135, 137). The second part, "An Ethnography of Prayer," analyzes prayer as an activity—asserting that it is both "speech" and "rite" (pp. 4, 132; chapter 4)—in order to offer a new lexicon for the activity of prayer in this era" (p. 4).

A problem for any book that aims to cover a large topic is that it may have to make generalizations that are only partially true and simplifications that may mislead; clearly, a generalization that might be true for 1575 often will not be true for 1425. Two centuries is a long period to cover, but the book of hours is a pan-European phenomenon, not just a French one; so if one is going to make sweeping generalizations it is hard to justify the use of arbitrary geographical boundaries. Especially interesting or surprising statements are inadequately substantiated and often contradicted later. A case in point is that "an oldest son could expect to receive the family's book of hours at the death of his parents" (p. 57), yet many examples are provided (for example, pp. 54, 65, 66, 74, 75) of such books passing to female relatives or to others outside the family. Unconvincing was the repeated assertion that books of hours were "family" possessions (chapter 2 and elsewhere); even if a book contains the heraldry of a married couple or a depiction of a whole family, this does not mean that it was actually used or possessed by more than one person.

Another problem is that the intended reader apparently has no knowledge of medieval manuscripts, iconography, or religion; every chapter has observations that read as statements of the obvious. To list just one example of many: "Many of these prayer books have not survived into the twenty-first century" (p. 60). A reader with such a lack of background knowledge would be better served by reading Roger Wieck's *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988), to which Reinburg contributed a chapter; Wieck's *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1997); and Eamon Duffy's *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven, 2007). These relatively inexpensive books have innumerably more reproductions than the volume under review and cover a wider geographical and chronological range in more detail. What the present volume offers that these books do not is an interpretation of prayer as an activity and a means of classifying types of prayer; much of the second part of the book depends upon what can be gleaned from the text of prayers. (These prayers are usually given in English translation, without the original text, which is understandable in a book aimed at a general readership, but inappropriate for an expensive book from a university press). This reviewer found this analysis to suffer from the same problems of oversimplification and generalization as marred the first half of the book.

London, United Kingdom PETER KIDD

Renovatio et Unitas—Nikolaus von Kues als Reformer. Theorie und Praxis der reformatio im 15. Jahrhundert. Edited by Thomas Frank and Norbert Winkler. [Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung, Band 13.] (Göttingen: V & R unipress, an imprint of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2012. Pp. 253. ISBN 978-3-89971-962-8.)

This volume originated in a February 2011 workshop and a fall 2011 conference at the Free University at Berlin. The authors attempted to bridge the gap between philosophical and historical perspectives, between *vita activa* and *contemplativa* in Nicholas of Cusa and in the context of his writings situated between the medieval and early-modern eras. The result is ten contributions on various aspects of *renovatio, unitas,* and *reformatio*. The emphasis is on the concrete reform initiatives with reflection on the theoretical implications of *reformatio*. The introduction points out the shift from *reformatio* as personal improvement in the earlier Middle Ages (see Gerhart Ladner's *The Idea of Reform,* Cambridge, MA, 1959) to the later ideas of structural-social change and the Janus perspective of looking back to a golden age and forward to the wrath of God to come unless reform occurred. For Cusa, there were conceptual reform, personal renewal, and the process of ridding institutions of abuses. In the last part of his life after the collapse of the Council of Basel and external reform, Cusa turned more to interior reform.

The first study by Hans Gerhard Senger puts Cusa's dilemma in the context of the controversies with the Hussites—the issue of unity versus renewal/reform—and this Bohemian question stayed with Cusa for the last thirty years of his life. For him, the truth of the Church ontologically was rooted in its unity. Interestingly, he wrote on renovation in his sermons but not in his other writings. *Renovatio* could never be a valid ground for breaking unity, and so reform was not an issue if division then occurred.

Isabelle Mandrella treats reform dealings and speculative thought in Cusa, who had been asked for guidance by the monks at Tegernsee. It took him thirty years to finish his tract *De Beryllo*, and his *De docta ignorantia* presents in a highly theoretical and abstract manner his thoughts on the active and contemplative life; freedom; and the concepts of the new, obedience, and the one and the many while referring to the story of Martha and Mary. For Cusa, "the many" is always unstable, and so unity is the norm for the thinker and reformer. He looks at the striving for knowledge and truth as a dynamic and always renewed process, and so one must be open to the new to reach a better understanding. Man is called to go beyond the here and now of self-will to the true freedom of God's will.

Norbert Winkler's discussion of the link of Cusa to Meister Eckhart is centered in the Christological concerns that arose about Eckhart. In a dense and complex analysis Winkler explores some facets of this story: Eckhart's condemnation in 1329, the role of the ideas of Albertus Magnus, the tension

between the Aristotelian worldview and neo-Platonist/Hermetic thought, the influence of Tauler and Suso, and discussions on formal analogy and the idea of participation. He presents seeing and knowing as one and the same for Eckhart and Cusa, and it is God's seeing that holds the creature in its being, whereas for Cusa, the human only sees through a glass darkly. For mankind, Christ is the teacher of complete wisdom, for he alone is fully the *homo divinus*. For Eckhart and Cusa, the real enemy to be conquered is that self-love that is opposed to love of God and of the other.

For Thomas Leinkauf, Cusa, unlike later figures, did not see himself as a reformer, since he did not desire to throw out the old. He expressed Greek ideas as ones changed by Judeo-Christian thought—in God, possible being and actual being are absolutely in one; God was the basic ground of all being. He followed Ss. Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure in his thoughts on *potentia absoluta Dei* and *potentia ordinata Dei*. For Cusa, God's *Posset* stands over against all created *Sein*—the realm of potential, of capability. Man is, however, like God in that man is the former or maker of himself. Cusa explores a number of ways of looking at this idea such as the paradigm of painter or sculptor.

The remaining essays are a series of concrete historical instances. Thomas Izbicki treats Cusa as a preacher of reform. When Cusa attended an imperial diet to advocate for Pope Eugenius IV against the Council of Basel, he preached a lengthy oration at Frankfurt to seek support for the pope and composed a letter to Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo. He pushed the idea of coming closer to St. Peter as the way of bringing peace and reform. After this, Cusa was invited to Trier for a visitation and delivered an address on the roles of a visitor and a canon. Canons were to desert the world to become blessed in the Kingdom, to follow the vision and become conformed to Christ. In 1446 Cusa preached at Mainz and developed the language of delegation and legation; a legate was to follow the model of Christ, who was his father's legate.

Thomas Woelki points out that in his career, Cusa had many dealings with the mendicants and has been seen as very strict in these, but was he their enemy? Cusa, like Gerson, can be seen as part of the secular clergy of his day. In his treatises Cusa mostly cited older canon law in regard to regular clergy rather than more recent decretals when he had to deal with divisions and disputes with the regular clergy. In 1451–52 he faced the mendicants in Nuremberg and also handled a dispute in Trier on the power of a bishop to reform religious (Cusa favored this), and the example was followed in Mainz and subsequently in Cologne. The question of the mendicants and their privileges arose at the papal Curia and led to canonistic discussion. A key question was posed—who would decide who was fitting and approved for a position? The mendicants stated that this fell under the papal purview (as Johannes Andraea had said in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, whereas Cardinal Francesco Zabarella and Archbishop Niccolò Tedeschi assigned this role to

the local bishop). Cusa also faced a dispute between local pastors and the mendicants over confessional rights.

Jürgen Dendorfer takes up the "Reformatio Generalis" that Cusa based on conciliar calls for reform. This work by Cusa, written in early 1459, ran parallel to Pope Pius II's call for curial reform that year, reinforced by the pope's later formation of a reform commission and his issuance of a papal bull on reform before his death in 1465. Dendorfer looks at the connections between these events and documents as well as their link with the reform decrees of Basel some twenty years earlier. For him, the reform of the Curia and the reform *consilium* of Cusa (who wanted reform to start at the Curia) were rooted in the decrees of Constance and Basel. A key question was whether the pope was bound to rule with the consent of the cardinals. In addition, Dendorfer compares a contemporary writer on reform, Domenico de'Domenichi, with the ideas of Pius II and Cusa.

Thomas Frank looks at another instance of Cusa on reform—the question of the Hospitallers at Orvieto—and shows the complexity of this issue for Cusa and others. Gisela Naegle examines Cusa and several of his contemporaries from the perspective of their role in reform of the Empire. Finally, Florian Hamann considers the issue of reform in the Western Church and the East as well as the relations of Christians and Muslims during a time when Islamic expansionism was seen as very threatening. What in particular did Cusa think and write about Islam in that era? How tolerant and ecumenical was he in reality? What about his contemporaries—Pius II, Torquemade, George of Trebizon? What was the response to their proposals and ideas? How did personal conflicts affect attempts to have confrontation on the level of ideas rather than on the battlefield? How new was this?

This collection of studies ranges far and wide over important questions for that time and today. The essays raise many issues and problems that deserve careful reading, reflection, and study.

State University of New York at Fredonia THOMAS E. MORRISSEY

Ancient

Augustine and Catholic Christianization: The Catholicization of Roman Africa, 391–408. By Horace E. Six-Means. [Patristic Studies, Vol. 10.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2011. Pp. viii, 215. $77.95. ISBN 978-1-4331-0804-4.)

This book presents St. Augustine as the primary force behind efforts to make Roman North Africa Catholic (as opposed to pagan or Christian of a non-Catholic kind). Six-Means employs the (to this reviewer, unhelpful) term *spin doctor* to describe Augustine's role as Africa's arbiter of all things Catholic, whether they are in the realm of rhetoric, law, or theology. Despite

the author's insistence that Augustine worked in concert with his episcopal colleagues, we actually see very little of them in this book. Augustine is indisputably the star of the show. Although the book initially seems to have as its ambition an explanation for Catholicism's ultimate dominance over all other forms of belief, it quickly settles into a discussion focusing mostly on the Donatists. The dates of investigation (391 to 408) aid in pushing the narrative in this direction, but do not necessarily force its hand. Although 391 is understandable for commencing a study (it is the year Augustine was ordained as a priest), 408 is problematic. In this year Stilicho was executed. Six-Means believes that with Stilicho's death came a "chill" in the fruitful relationship that the Catholics in Africa had cultivated with the imperial court while Stilicho enjoyed power. This is oversimplification. The book all but ignores what is happening in Africa itself. Real and sustained resistance by administrators in Africa (of whatever level) to imperial support for "Catholicization" places Augustine's assumed role (and Six-Means's thesis) in jeopardy. The date of 408 also feels somewhat arbitrary, for although this is largely a book about Augustine's relationship with the Donatists, the cut-off date enables the author to avoid analysis of the 411 Conference and its aftermath, which, in fact, could have lent support to Six-Means's arguments.

There are a number of bright spots in this volume. The author does a good job tracing Augustine's intellectual evolution as he transforms himself from a professional rhetor associating with the elite of the empire to a Catholic bishop who must care for all people's spiritual well-being. The best part of the book is a discussion of Augustine's use of Genesis 22:18 (on the blessed seed of Abraham) to argue for a Catholic universality. Six-Means articulates well how Augustine adopts the Genesis passage, filtered through St. Paul as well as Tyconius, to make a sustained argument against real and perceived notions of Donatist purity and separatism.

The book also raises many interesting and important questions. What were the intellectual influences on Augustine? How did Augustine's knowledge and understanding of the self translate into action and activity as a bishop? What, for Augustine, constituted the relationship between rhetoric and theology? How did Augustine persuade the people of North Africa to embrace Catholic Christianity? The answers given, however, are largely unsatisfactory for two basic reasons. First, the author is hesitant to strike out on his own, preferring to present problems and their possible solutions as already adumbrated by well-known contributors to the fields of Augustinian and late-antique studies. The work of Peter Brown, William H. C. Frend, Henry Chadwick, Averil Cameron, J. Patout Burns, and Ramsay MacMullen is very well represented. Second, the narrative follows a perplexing trajectory. The author will present a crucial and tantalizing problem, thereby elevating the reader's expectations to pleasing heights, but then the same reader must immediately descend into very basic introductory material, which probably is meant to provide context for the question just raised, but it only interrupts the flow. When Six-Means

eventually returns to the question at hand, very often he inserts block quotes from the primary (or even scholarly) sources with little explanation or interpretation. We then proceed right on to the next issue wherein this same kind of interpretive approach is repeated. The exciting rises, precipitous falls, and sudden shifts can make for an uneasy and, in the end, frustrating read.

University of Georgia ERIKA T. HERMANOWICZ

Christ Circumcised. A Study in Early Christian History and Difference. By Andrew S. Jacobs. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 314. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4397-0.)

Discussion of ancient Christianity has become increasingly concerned with the idea of identity. In a reaction against older discussions of the subject, scholars, influenced by recent theoretical models that have their origins in postmodernity, have emphasized the diversity of the early Christian movement and the constructed character of the identities promoted by individual Christians, including those who came to be associated with the "orthodox." In the discussion of the construction of such identities, much significance has been attached to the role of the "other" and to the related idea of boundary formation and exclusion. The book under review emerges out of these concerns, but critiques what it terms the prevailing "socioanthropological model of boundary formation and exclusion" (p. 4) in favor of an approach, based upon psychoanalysis, in which the self is a partially realized fantasy from which the other is never completely separated: "In this understanding of personhood, the 'other' is for the 'self' simultaneously an object of identification and distinction" (p. 12). Such a view of identity will be used to articulate Christian understandings of Judaism, in particular as these were refracted through the idea of Jesus's circumcision.

In this learned and wide-ranging book, Andrew S. Jacobs covers a bevy of subjects. The book is set against the overarching background of Rome and its Empire, in which Jacobs sees questions of difference and their incorporation as central to Roman identity and shows how Roman understanding of circumcision in some ways embodied these ideas. Jacobs writes authoritatively on a range of Christian texts that have traditionally been described as *adversus Judaeos*, showing how their engagement with the circumcision of Christ "simultaneously rejects and reinscribes its originary Jewishness" (p. 12), noting also how the dialogical form that some of these texts take also implies a more blurred and complex understanding of Christian identity. Chapters follow on heresiological writing, again emphasizing a similar point about the capacity for those who are supposedly excluding to reabsorb contents of the ideas of those they are opposing (here introducing Julia Kristeva's idea of the "abject" in which rejection and absorption of the other are brought together and the question of identity rendered ambiguous) and on St. Epiphanius's dis-

cussion of the Ebionites. In the latter, Jacobs makes clear how the bishop of Salamis—in opposing Ebionite justification for using the rite of circumcision by reference to Jesus's own practice—retains and internalizes ideas of difference, ideas that are severely tested by the cross-dressing "Jewish-Christian" sect ("Orthodox Christianity subversively mirrors the hybridity of Jewish Christianity" [p. 118]). The final two chapters deal with Christian exegetical engagement with the subject of Christ's circumcision and with the introduction in the sixth century of the Feast of Christ's Circumcision, viewed against a variety of interpretations. In a lengthy conclusion, which is much more than a summary of the book, Jacobs introduces the idea of "passing," in which he shows, *inter alia*, how the circumcised Christ could pass both as a Jew and a male, arguing that it was Jesus's paradoxical and contradictory mark that can be used as an emblem for engaging with the complex and interlocking Christian identity.

This is a stimulating and thoughtful book at whose qualities this review can only hint. Amongst many other things, it builds upon and develops ideas that have been advocated in the so-called "ways that never parted" school, which argues for a much more nuanced understanding of Jewish and Christian separation. Some, whose level of theoretical sophistication is a few registers below that of Jacobs (this is a book with a considerable amount of theoretical freight, but articulated with clarity), might argue he has given eloquent theoretical expression to the view that Christians in rejecting Judaism, however understood, were inevitably forced to appropriate and reinterpret aspects of it if they wished to retain their connection with what they termed the old covenant. Jacobs is wise to this view and rejects a more defensive reading of the varied literature examined by his book, preferring to see the strategies he so skillfully describes as inevitable elements of identity formation.

Peterhouse, University of Cambridge JAMES CARLETON PAGET

Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike: Repräsentationen städtischer Räume in Literatur, Architektur und Kunst. Edited by Therese Fuhrer. [Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, Vol. 4.] (Boston: Walter De Gruyter, 2012. Pp. xx, 448. $124.00. ISBN 978-3-11-022213-5.)

Recent years have seen an impressive amount of research on the late-antique city of Rome, a general growth of interest in late-antique capitals, and a flourishing of work on late-antique urbanism in general. Until very recently what had been lacking was work looking at late antique (capital) cities in properly comparative perspective so this volume, the first to focus directly on Rome and Milan together, is bound to be welcome. This edited collection stems from a May 2009 conference in Berlin and features the work of both historians and archaeologists. Because space does not permit detailed discussion of all sixteen chapters, this review will aim at a broad overview of the volume and its strengths and weaknesses.

After a brief introduction the volume is divided into four parts. The first looks at the city and (and without) the emperor. Here the focus is primarily material, looking at the topography and archaeology of the two cities. Inevitably, the focus is primarily on Rome, due to the vastly more extensive ancient remains surviving from this city. This section includes a useful account by Vincent Jolivet and Claire Sotinel of the early-fifth-century imperial palace recently excavated at the Villa Medici, the so-called Domus Pinciana. Part 2, consisting of only two chapters, focuses on literary representations of the two cities, in imperial panegyric (Rome and Milan), and in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus (Rome alone). Part 3, which focuses exclusively on Rome, looks at the currently fashionable concept of the (late-antique) city as "Erinnerungslandschaft" (landscape of memory), focusing on both literary texts (including Macrobius, Prudentius, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Servius) and topography (including the Roman Forum, Forum of Augustus, and the Lupercal). Finally, the last and longest section of the book explores the late-antique city in Christian discourse, with chapters again focusing on topography and text alike.

As can be seen, certain key themes and interests tie this volume together, other than the focus on Rome and Milan. Both the importance of rhetoric, and the ideological as well as physical significance of topography and topographical change, are notably prominent, as is to be expected from recent scholarship. Bishops are key figures in the late-antique city—the towering figure of St. Ambrose is unsurprisingly prominent in several discussions of Milan, whereas St. Damasus is the subject of a lengthy and useful reconsideration by Neil McLynn (the sole chapter in the volume written in English, rather than German). Direct juxtaposition—or indeed, comparison—of Rome and Milan within individual chapters is rare, which is perhaps to be expected considering the huge differences between the two cities. Several chapters do a good job of getting beyond the limitations of the literary and archaeological evidence available for Milan, including Claudia Tiersch's chapter, which looks at the evidence for Christian Milan in the fourth century. Therese Fuhrer, meanwhile, in another interesting chapter, looks at the interaction of text and built space in our picture of late-antique Milan.

Scholars interested in Rome and Milan in late antiquity will undoubtedly find much of interest. This reviewer feels that, with a little more editorial input, the volume could have been rather more than the sum of its parts. The presence of an *index locorum*, as well as a general index, is to be welcomed. However, a combined bibliography would have been more convenient for the reader, and a more substantive, referenced introduction also would have added to the utility of the volume as a larger contribution to the history of imperial capitals in late antiquity.

University of Edinburgh LUCY GRIG

Medieval

Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages. By Ruth Mazo Karras. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. vi, 283. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24420-5.)

Ruth Mazo Karras coins the term *unmarriage* to denote heterosexual partnerships that did not amount to legitimate marriage. She prefers that term to *quasi-marital union*, because the latter "assumes marriage as the model that other unions only approached, an assumption I did not wish to make" (p. 8). Nevertheless, most of the book is devoted to normative issues and to contemporaneous perceptions of the differences between legitimate and illegitimate unions.

The book is organized thematically, albeit with a chronological drift. Discussion of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages occurs mainly in the first two of the four chapters, whereas the last two focus on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In chapter 1, Karras considers ecclesiastical efforts to demarcate between valid and invalid unions, which she traces from the heightened sense of marriage as a religious institution in the fourth century to the full articulation of a canon law of marriage emphasizing consent in the twelfth. In chapter 2, Karras considers unequal partnerships, especially those between a free man and a slave, but including those in which a class disparity was not a fatal impediment in law yet fulfilled cultural expectations for premarital or extramarital unions. Karras reviews sexual relationships in the various forms of slavery that persisted in various parts of Europe during the central Middle Ages. It was a surprise not to find Pope Hadrian IV's decretal *Dignum est* (1155) mentioned in Karras's brief survey of servility in the canon law of marriage (pp. 81–82). It was the culmination of a canonical effort based on Galatians 3:28 to make status irrelevant to the sacrament of marriage. In chapter 3, Karras focuses on priests' sexual partnerships, which were necessarily invalid after holy orders had become a diriment impediment in the twelfth century. Just as a servile concubine was not a *mulier honesta* in late antiquity, so a priest's concubine was despised as his whore in medieval polemics. In the final chapter, Karras considers couples who could have married but chose not to do so. Here, as also in some sections of chapter 3, Karras draws extensively on records of the archdeacon's officiality in Paris during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Karras aims throughout the book to consider unmarriages from the woman's point of view, although she concedes in conclusion "how little we know" about it (p. 210). Every chapter includes vignettes of particular women in relation to the chapter's themes. For example, in chapter 3, on "Priests and Their Partners," Karras writes about Katharina Shütz Zell, the wife of a Lutheran priest who wrote a pamphlet defending her husband's decision to marry. In the same chapter, Karras reviews a convoluted legal opinion by the

French civil jurist Gui Pape (d. 1487), which centered on the rights of a priest's concubine or mistress, Antonia, and of their son after the priest's death. Karras says little about the legal instability of invalid unions, in contrast to the permanence of marriage in Western theology and canon law. The term *matrimonium ratum* connoted permanence as well as validity, and the insecurity of invalid unions was surely their chief disadvantage for women.

The book is salutary insofar as it reminds us that celibacy and marriage were *de facto* not the only alternatives in the Middle Ages, but does it amount to more than the sum of its parts? Karras proposes "to analyze pair bonds without privileging marriage, while still recognizing that medieval people did, in fact, privilege marriage" (p. 5). But can one examine how marriage was privileged without privileging marriage? And is a merely privative category, such as unmarriage, a fit subject for coherent study and argument?

Emory University PHILIP L. REYNOLDS

La Visitation dans l'art: Orient et Occident, V^e^–XVI^e^ siècle. By Anne Marie Velu. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 2012. Pp. 218. €33,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09658-4.)

In this handsome book, entirely printed on coated stock and lavishly illustrated (99 figures, 27 of them in color), Anne Marie Velu aims to understand a specific development in the iconography of the Visitation in the late-medieval West. To the scene in which Mary, having been informed by the angel Gabriel of her cousin Elizabeth's pregnancy, meets and often embraces the future mother of John the Baptist, artists often added the two unborn children, portrayed either in the bubble of their mothers' transparent wombs or as hovering in radiating mandorlas in front of them. The space given by Velu to basic overviews of topics such as the rise of the image in early Christianity suggests that she wants her findings to be accessible to a wide audience of general (and perhaps pious) readers interested in medieval art and religion. After a brief introduction explaining that her conclusions arise from a series of fifty-six visual examples in a wide range of media and diverse geographical origin—every image of her subject that she found—she begins with chapters on narrative and liturgical sources. For the texts explicitly including the unborn children, she relies on the *Protoevangelium of James*, the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, and the female mystics of the fourteenth century. An exploration of the many manifestations and developments of this scene in later medieval Latin and vernacular narratives such as lives of Mary and Jesus, as well as the most likely avenues for its widespread distribution, would have filled a gap in Velu's source study. The chapter on cult and liturgy briefly traces the introduction of the feast of the Visitation in Eastern and Western Christianity, and describes the places of the Visitation in *The Little Office of the Virgin*, the central text in Books of Hours, as well as in various cycles of prayers that eventuated in the rosary.

Chapter 3 begins the study of visual motifs: the embrace of the two women and Elizabeth kneeling. The detail of hand gestures opens the next chapter, followed by considerations of secondary characters and of the space in which the two women meet. The chapter then turns to the inclusion of the divine: the Trinity and angels. In chapter 5, Velu focuses on her central subject: images of the Visitation that either suggest or actually delineate the unborn children. Efforts to understand these images take her to medieval attitudes toward pregnancy and the embryo, and specifically to the drawings of fetuses in scientific books. A search for origins leads her to ask whether this image was created in the East or the West, which she answers with ideas of interpenetration or entanglement.

Chapter 6 locates the impetus for Visitations with visible children in the mystic spirituality and devotional practices (such as Jesus dolls and cradles) of the beguines and other female religious, especially German and Flemish mysticism, relying heavily on the scholarship of Jeffrey Hamburger to do so. Such images appear in a range of media and a variety of milieux and are concentrated in the fifteenth century. The last chapter articulates the thesis that appears to have motivated this project—that Annunciation and Visitation often form a closely interlinked pair because together they visualize the mystery of the Incarnation, thus meeting the need to *see* that was compelling in the late Middle Ages. A brief conclusion treats the demise of this image under the strictures of the Council of Trent as interpreted by Johannes Molanus. One might regret that Velu neither took great advantage of the many studies of the medieval female body published in recent years, nor exploited the theorized work of feminist medievalists on Marian imagery. Yet, different approaches serve different audiences, and many who would not read those books will enjoy and learn from hers.

Baruch College and the Graduate Center, CUNY PAMELA SHEINGORN

The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville. By Jamie Wood. [Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages, Vol. 21.] Boston: Brill. 2012. Pp. xii, 275. $151.00. ISBN 978-9-004-20990-9.)

The florid title of this book conceals more than it reveals of its author's purposes, which involve the comparison of all the writings of Isidore that have any bearing on history. These consist primarily of short historical narratives of different kinds, but also include considerations of the nature and purpose of history in such seemingly nonhistorical texts as the *Etymologiae*. Such an approach, embracing the full range of these texts, is revealing, especially of reasons for the marked differences between the two versions of both St. Isidore of Seville's *Chronicle* and his histories of the Goths, Vandals, and Sueves. The explanations given for such variations depend upon an *a priori* view of Isidore as both principal ideologue and spokesman for the Gothic

monarchy, and as the dominant figure in the Spanish church of his day. Although such an interpretation of his political role and of his purposes in his historical writings is long established, it requires more challenge than it encounters here.

Academics subscribe too easily to the assumption that those who have left us writings were more influential in their lifetimes than those that have not. This is certainly not justified in the case of Isidore. Could he from Seville have exerted more influence on the successive royal courts in Toledo than the bishops of that city, who included Heladius (615–33), a former provincial governor and *vir illustrissimus aulae regiae*? Isidore himself appears in this book largely in intellectual isolation, devising historical narratives aimed mainly at pleasing his royal "patrons." No attention is given to the powerful African influence on his thinking and on the Spanish church of his time, and the author is not well versed in theological issues, not least the Three Chapters Controversy. Isidore's judgments on former kings based on their treatment of "the poor" are taken literally, although in reality this can only have reflected their donations to the Church. Direct contact between monarchs and "the poor," however defined, were exceedingly rare in any period. Similarly, we are told that, in his aim of elevating the new Gothic order, all Romans were apparently branded as heretics by Isidore because of the theological views of a handful of emperors, although the wider context of the nature and evolution of Roman, Gothic (not *Visi*gothic), and Hispanic identities in the post-imperial kingdoms of Spain is left unexplored.

Despite such omissions and debatable interpretations, there are many highly commendable features of the book, including its conception. There also is a good discussion of the differences between the views of Ss. Isidore and Augustine on the Six Ages of the World, and of the idea and practice of *brevitas* in Isidore's historical work. Particularly interesting is the revelation of his increased emphasis on the virtues of joint rule in the second versions of his Chronicle and *Historia Gothorum*, both dating to the mid-620s, when Suinthila had associated his young son Riccimir as notional co-ruler.

Stylistically the book can suffer from its origin as a thesis, laboring under an excess of signposting. Each of its four main chapters is introduced by up to three pages of description of its intended content and ends with a similar section repeating the conclusions reached. A final ten pages effectively repeats all of these individual sets of conclusions, leaving the reader exhausted by this authorial nannying. Additionally, Jamie Wood is overaddicted to anachronistic metaphors, as in "the episcopal juggernaut had a wide turning circle" and "an ideology which had been in a research and development phase" (pp. 134–35). It is to be hoped that he will take his work on Isidore further and fill out some of the areas not fully or entirely convincingly explored here.

University of Edinburgh ROGER COLLINS

Gateway to Heaven: Marian Doctrine and Devotion, Image and Typology in the Patristic and Medieval Periods, Vol. 1: *Doctrine and Devotion*. By Brian K. Reynolds. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 415. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-56548-449-8.)

This is an excellent book that should be owned by anyone interested in the history of Marian doctrine and devotion, and it is terrific that New City Press has now made it so easily and affordably available. The book was originally published under the title *Porta Paradisi* (Taipei, 2009), and it was long extremely difficult to acquire. This was most unfortunate, since *Gateway to Heaven* surpasses Hilda Graef's excellent earlier survey of Marian theology and piety in early Christianity and the medieval West, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (New York, 1963); however, Graef's volume still remains valuable especially for its broader chronological scope and for its superior attention to post-Patristic developments in the Byzantine world.

The work is presented as the first volume of a two-volume study, although it is not clear when the second volume will be issued. This first volume concentrates, as the title indicates, on the development of Marian doctrine and devotion, whereas the second will consider the history of Mary's various "attributes" and—something that will be most welcome—the history of Marian typology. In the present volume, the focus lies decidedly more on the development of Marian doctrine than devotion, an emphasis that the author explains in the light of the fact that several recent studies have appeared on the history of Marian piety. Nevertheless, the author's contribution to this topic also is significant.

Gateway to Heaven is primarily a work of synthesis that combines the most recent scholarship with a thematic and chronological survey of Marian literature from early and medieval Western Christianity. The chapters are organized around the following topics: (1) Divine Motherhood; (2) Virginity; (3) Mary Co-Redemptrix: Remote Co-Operation; (4) Intercession, Mediation and Devotion; (5) Mary Co-Redemptrix: Immediate Co-Operation; (6) the Assumption; and (7) the Immaculate Conception. Each topic is explored first during the Patristic period, proceeding in chronological fashion and noting developments in both Greek and Latin literature (as well as in works by a few important Syriac writers such as Ephrem and Jacob of Serug). Reynolds limits the Patristic period to the beginning of the eighth century, at which point he abandons the Christian East. The sections on the medieval period then begin with the Carolingian period and conclude with the beginning of the fourteenth century. The reasoning given for these limits is that by these points Marian doctrine and devotion had reached their peaks in East and West respectively.

This volume is especially valuable for the numerous translations that it provides from the primary sources, many of which have not otherwise been

translated into English. The presentation of these sources according to topic and chronology in the context of the most recent scholarship marks an invaluable contribution to Marian studies. No less important is the care with which Reynolds notes the development of Marian piety in the medieval West in relation to earlier precedents from the East—such connections are often overlooked in much scholarship on Mary in the Middle Ages. Likewise, Reynolds is to be commended for resisting and correcting the tendency of much Roman Catholic scholarship to read later doctrinal developments in the West (i.e., the Immaculate Conception; Immediate Co-Operation) back into the Greek Patristic sources. The main shortcoming of the work, however, is that many of its translations appear to derive from the Italian collection by Georges Gharib, *Testi mariani del primo Millennio* (Rome, 1989), rather than from the original languages. One also wishes that more attention had been given to later Byzantine writers, and there also is a fair amount of repetition among and within the various chapters (e.g., the same passage from Romanos is cited on p. 335 and then again as if it were something new on p. 338). Nevertheless, for the periods that it covers, this book is the best survey of Marian doctrine and devotion currently available.

University of Oregon STEPHEN J. SHOEMAKER

The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987). By Geoffrey Koziol. [Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 19.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2012. Pp. xx, 661. €100,00. ISBN 978-2-503-53595-1.)

After reading Geoffrey Koziol's latest book, this reviewer would like to turn to the audience, especially his French colleagues, and exclaim, *voici, une merveilleuse histoire de la France ou plutôt de la* Francia occidentalis *de 840 à 987*—although this remark would only correspond to its subtitle. This work represents the author's passionate plea for the relevance of diplomatics and *Urkundenforschung* in contemporary medieval studies. For a great many scholars, this plea is not really new, as their training encompassed the use of formal diplomatics as well as charters for writing full-fledged history in the vein of Marc Bloch's ogre of the fairy tale. So any historian of what is now Austria or Bavaria in the early-medieval period would be at a loss without charters. But Koziol's endeavor is not one of "reinventing the wheel." Instead, this book builds a bridge between medievalists who understand the importance of charters and diplomas and those who do not.

Koziol's book offers some fine observations such as those discussing the reason for the lack of the *libri confraternitatum* or *libri memoriales* in Western Francia (see, for example, pp. 270, 332) and the role of the *placita* (see esp. pp. 340–43, 347). To settle disputes amicably, *placita* often served as performative acts (to use the author's concept). More often than not, two litigants stood up in court after they had been assigned the roles of winner and

loser well in advance. Sometimes they functioned in favor of a third person (called *complacitatio*). The winner could even belong to the lower strata of society, who for some reason had found the support of high-ranking dignitaries or even the king. Koziol rightly points out that these procedures did not necessarily prove an "even-handed Carolingian justice" (p. 347). These *placita* must not, however, be considered as "sham courts"; instead, the necessary ritual was really performed and the symbols applied represented something real to the participants. Above all, any royal diploma could be impeached; the verdict of a *placitum* was unimpeachable. The author also well portrays Charles III's use of diplomas, which displayed his endangered and finally diminishing royal power. The most beautiful Carolingian diplomas were issued by his chancery especially at the beginning of his reign.

Koziol has produced a great book, although it is unfortunate that three historians rather different in age, scope, and vision have been lumped under the label *sceptical diplomatists* (p. 484n96). Readers may recall that the author wrote the earlier book *Begging, Pardon, and Favor. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992). It is to be hoped that another two decades will not pass before Koziol's next installment appears.

University of Vienna HERWIG WOLFRAM

The Community of St. Cuthbert in the Late Tenth Century: The Chester-le-Street Additions to Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19. By Karen Louise Jolly. [Text and Context.] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2012. Pp. xxvi, 410. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-8142-1181-6.)

Visually humble and weathered from extensive use, Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19 is the oldest extant English collectar (sets of prayers and readings for the eight services of the Divine Office). Written somewhere in southern England *c*. 900, it had by the third quarter of the tenth century passed into the possession of the Community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street (Co. Durham), where it was augmented by at least six scribes. The original Latin text was supplied with a word-for-word gloss in Old English, and extensive supplements (further hymns, psalms, and collects, along with various lists and notes) were copied onto new quires. A colophon associated with four of the added collects reveals that this particular page was written on August 10, 970, by Aldred, the community's provost—an individual best known for glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels and supplying them with the colophon that is the key document for their localization.

Given that the text of DCL A.IV.19 was fully published in 1927, that the manuscript was reproduced in complete facsimile (with a detailed introduction) in 1969, and that a new edition of its collectar section was produced in 1992, one might perhaps wonder whether the volume merited further monographic treatment. Yet the present study shows how much more of value can

be elicited by a holistic interrogation of the substantial Northumbrian additions. After a general introduction to the history, nature, and setting of the community at Chester-le-Street (chapter 1), Jolly provides a detailed reassessment of Aldred and his two colophons (chapter 2) and then a thorough examination of all the later scribes represented in A.IV.19 and their interrelationships (chapter 3). The implications of the nature of the scribal work and of the textual content for both the devotional (chapter 4) and the intellectual (chapter 5) life of the community at Chester-le-Street are then explored. Finally, chapter 6 teases out the inferences that may be drawn from this material about the community's pedagogy, learning, and spirituality more generally. Appended to and underpinning the analysis are detailed tables of the structure and content of the manuscript, plus editions of the material in the quires that were added at Chester-le-Street (pp. 217–359).

Jolly's investigation of the codicology is meticulous, her analysis of the texts sensitive, and her assessment of the quality and purpose of the work sympathetic: she reasonably takes a very favorable view of Aldred's abilities and contributions in particular. If her discussion of the physical structure of the additions is occasionally difficult to follow (even for a reader who knows the manuscript fairly well), her analysis of the gloss is pellucid (a welcome contrast to the dense articles by A. S. C. Ross that have until recently dominated the bibliography on the subject). Equally, even if more could perhaps have been made of the other manuscripts that are known to have been at Chester-le-Street in the tenth century, the decision to focus on the additions to this one book is wholly defensible, not least in view of their status as uniquely important witnesses to Northumbrian culture from a period that is otherwise dominated by manuscripts produced in southern England. Balancing rigorous analysis of the evidence of the additions with a realistic attempt to empathize with the aims and assumptions of those who produced them, Jolly's insightful study shows how part of a single key manuscript can indeed be a window through which to perceive the beliefs, culture, and observances of a distant community and its relationship to a wider world.

Durham University RICHARD GAMESON

The War on Heresy. By R. I. Moore. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 378. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-674-06582-6.)

This is an important book, and one that will generate much debate. In the last twenty years the study of medieval heresy in Western Europe has evolved radically. Historians have reread the sources with a more critical eye, with a greater sensitivity to the concerns, goals, and preconceptions of the authors of these texts, and with greater attention to their interrelationships. The result has been a dramatic questioning of most of our standard understanding of the subject. The results of this research, however, have remained in the pages of specialist monographs and journal articles. R. I. Moore, whose work has done

much to spur this reconsideration, has in this volume produced the first synthetic overview of heresy that is thoroughly steeped in this new scholarship.

Moore's subject is not so much heresy in and of itself. Indeed, he is very skeptical that heresy, in the sense of organized groups that consciously challenged commonly received doctrines of the Catholic faith, actually existed. Instead, the real subject of the book is the process by which the leaders, lay and clerical, of Western Europe came to believe that heresy, both organized and doctrinally coherent, existed and constituted a major threat to the well-being of society.

For Moore, heresy is something that was very much constructed in the eyes of those who sought to repress it. In his interpretation the religious life of Europe in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries was characterized by a great variety of spiritual currents. Many of these were expressions of the traditional Christianity of small-scale peasant communities. Others reflected the complex reforming currents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was the only the process of the labeling of some of these by church authorities that made them "heretical."

For Moore, the war on heresy, which began in earnest in the twelfth century, was part of a revolution from above. The construction of the notion that the Christian church was beset by a widespread, unified, and organized challenge, together with the mobilization of means to repress it, was part of the ruling elites' efforts to subordinate local societies to centralized governmental institutions and elite cultural norms. To wage this disciplinary offensive the ruling strata devised a variety of mechanisms, two of which Moore sees as key. One was the juridical technique of inquisition, which "had a formidable capacity to break down the instinctive resistance of small communities to the demands of outsiders." The other was the fashioning of a set of discourses that "could readily provide a basis for demonizing the defence of local customs or the expression of particular grievances as manifestations of universal conspiracies that menaced human society and divine order" (p. 329).

This is a persuasive, and attractive, argument. It has, however, one great stumbling block: the set of practices and beliefs called by historians, rather unhelpfully, Catharism. If any of the religious movements of the Middle Ages can be classified as heretical, then certainly it was this one, with its dualist theology of two gods, one evil and one good, and its counter-church organization, complete with bishops, deacons, and sacraments. Moore endorses the position, most zealously advanced by Mark Pegg, that Catharism is, and was, largely a myth of the inquisitors and modern historians. Moore has many interesting things to say on this problem, but some readers may think that the effort to "deconstruct" this particular heresy has gone too far.

The War on Heresy is one of the most stimulating books on the subject of heresy to be published in the last few decades. Its readers may not be con-

vinced by every aspect of Moore's argument, but they will agree that he has succeeded in demonstrating that the struggle against heresy, whether reality or chimaera, played a central role in shaping European civilization.

University of California, Irvine JAMES GIVEN

Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza: March 1–7, 1095. By Robert Somerville. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 151. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-19-925859-8.)

Robert Somerville began his scholarly career with a study of Pope Urban II's game-changing council at Clermont in November 1095. Since that first study, Urban has never been far from his thoughts. He has published an extraordinarily thorough study of Urban's Council of Melfi that took place in 1089 (New York, 1996) and has now published an equally splendid study of Urban's council on Italian soil in spring 1095 that preceded his journey to Clermont.

The canons promulgated by the councils of the Latin Church until the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 present varied and always difficult problems. For reasons that no one has yet explained and probably never will, the conciliar canons were not preserved and circulated in a papally approved and authenticated document. As Somerville has written in this and earlier books, the canons were usually—but not invariably, as far as we know—read out during the last session of the council. Was each canon delivered on an individual piece of parchment, or were all the canons written out on a single sheet? There is evidence for the first presumption that would explain why the transmission of the canons was so serendipitous. The participants did not have a neatly ordered set of canons to carry back home on a single page, but, if they were interested, a sheaf of canons that invited confusion, losses, and lack of uniformity.

The question is further complicated by the content of the canons. At the end of his study, Somerville discusses Urban's last council in Rome in April 1099. The death of Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate in the Holy Land appointed by Urban to guide the crusade, raised great concerns about whether the crusade would be a success. The crusade became an issue for the council. Urban was a reformer, and he also wished to repeat his earlier reform canons that he had promulgated at Melfi and Piacenza. Somerville points out that Urban reissued canons 1–13 from Piacenza and 2, 3, 5, and 7 from Melfi again at Rome. One could imagine that the participants of those earlier councils would not have been interested in canons with which they were already familiar and would not have bothered to collect them. This repetition of previously issued canons at church councils was a common feature of conciliar work until the thirteenth century.

Somerville's contribution to conciliar history in this book is his careful and detailed exploration of the manuscript tradition of Piacenza's canons and his edition, translation, and commentary on them. In chapter 4 he lays out the rich manuscript tradition—thirty-six manuscripts contain canons from Piacenza—and also the canons' transmission in the canonical collections where they lived on for centuries. Somerville points out that Gratian included almost all of the canons in his Decretum, and through Gratian they were normative texts of canon law until 1917. He writes, "With the extensive absorption into canon law collections . . . the fortuna of texts from Piacenza is a very impressive phenomenon."

Somerville's careful scholarship is even more impressive. He has meticulously edited the canons of Clermont, Melfi, and Piacenza. Unless new manuscripts are discovered, his work will definitive for a very long time. He has given Urban's conciliar activity a firm and secure place in conciliar history.

The Catholic University of America KENNETH PENNINGTON

The Mortgage of the Past. Reshaping the Ancient Political Inheritance. By Francis Oakley. *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages,* Vol. 2. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 171. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17633-9.)

This second volume of Francis Oakley's impressive trilogy on the emergence of Western political thought deals with three main topics—church-state relations, the recovery of ancient philosophy, and the medieval idea of representation. These apparently disparate themes all reflect some underlying ideas that characterize Oakley's work.

The book opens with the Investiture Contest of the late-eleventh century, a struggle that began when a reformed papacy challenged the then taken-for-granted right of the emperor to appoint bishops throughout his realm. The reformers quoted ancient laws referring to the election of bishops in the early Church, but the laws took on a new significance when they were applied to bishops who now were not just shepherds of a Christian flock but often great feudal lords holding large estates from the emperor. When the emperor resisted the pope's demands, a long struggle ensued that finally ended in a compromise. Its principal results, Oakley notes, were a diminishing of royal sacrality and the establishment of two structures of government, ecclesiastical and secular, each limiting the power of the other.

Oakley next presents a series of chapters on "recuperating the past" (p. 42). He explains how medieval scholars could learn from ancient philosophers that the phenomena of the physical universe could be explained by natural causation without any direct divine intervention and how this might lead to an awareness that the world of the political, too, was something nat-

ural to man. But the author also insists that the revival of ancient ideas was not just a passive rediscovery; rather, the ideas underwent a "transformational reinterpretation" (p. 43) when they were assimilated into a medieval Christian culture.

Oakley finally turns to a quite different theme, the development of the idea of representation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Here, the argument revolves around two phrases of Roman law: *plena potestas* and *quod omnes tangit*. This language had no constitutional significance in its original ancient context. But, building on earlier work of Gaines Post, Oakley shows how, when the language was assimilated into the canon law of the twelfth century, it was "profoundly reshaped"(p. 147) and eventually came to be accepted as defining principles of public law relating to the summoning of elected representatives, first to church councils, then by a sort of osmosis to secular assemblies.

The topics covered deal with quite different issues but, as previously suggested, they can all be seen as exemplifications of a common approach that characterizes Oakley's work. The author is persistently concerned with the tensions and interplay between ecclesiastical and secular government and, equally important, with the tensions and interplay between the medieval world of thought and ideas revived from the past. These concerns were all evident in the material we have considered. In each case, ancient ideas were reshaped when they were applied to the realities of medieval society; then the changed ideas in their new form helped to reshape the medieval reality. Oakley's work helps us to understand how this whole complex process could be a source of the progressive change that would finally lead to a form of modern political thought.

Oakley has undertaken a highly ambitious project, one that calls for much erudition and not a little courage. Although we still await his final volume, it already seems clear that the completed opus will be an outstanding work of historical synthesis, ambitiously conceived and brilliantly executed.

Cornell University (Emeritus) BRIAN TIERNEY

The Great Beginning of Cîteaux: A Narrative of the Beginning of the Cistercian Order—The Exordium Magnum *of Conrad of Eberbach*. Translated by Benedicta Ward, S.L.G., and Paul Savage; edited by E. Rozanne Elder. [Cistercian Fathers Series, No. 72.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications/Liturgical Press. 2012. Pp. xxx, 614. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-87907-172-1.)

What an unusual pleasure it is to be able to recommend a book unreservedly; yet that is what may be done here. The foreword by Brian Patrick McGuire, the preface by Sister Benedicta Ward, the informative introduction

by Paul Savage, the lucid translation (from difficult Latin), the useful annotations, the glossary, the extensive bibliography, and the four indices (of scriptural references, classical references, patristic and medieval references, and the general index) are all admirable; Cistercian Publications can only be congratulated for making this important text available to us. The text is the *Exordium Magnum* of Conrad of Clairvaux and Eberbach, translated from the sound critical edition of Bruno Griesser (Rome, 1961). The work consists of a long series of miracle-stories strung, like pearls, on a historical thread provided primarily by the *Exordium Parvum*. The stories tell us how the Cistercian Order originated, how it was rooted in the teachings of Christ himself, how it became guilty of *negligentia* or "slackness," and how this situation was to be remedied. The author was certainly a monk at Clairvaux in the 1170s, but had left—presumably for Eberbach—by 1195. Eberbach, near Mainz, was the first Germanic daughter-house of Clairvaux and, by Conrad's time, the most important Cistercian abbey in the Rhineland. Conrad was elected abbot in May 1221, but governed the house for only a few months before his death on September 18 of the same year (see pp. 26–28). He compiled the *Exordium Magnum* over some three decades, from the 1180s (when he was still at Clairvaux) to about 1215. It cannot be called an original work (Conrad's sources are discussed on pp. 17–24), although the way in which Conrad assembled his material and drew on oral traditions make it much more than a simple compendium.

The book is not, of course, history as we understand it today—we are somewhat reluctant to accept miracle-stories as documentary evidence—but it was certainly history to a medieval mind. For Conrad, history revealed the transforming presence of God in human affairs, especially human lives, and the *Exordium Magnum* reveals a God who was exceedingly busy. He establishes the tradition of the Common Life; he guides the first monks; he inspires St. Robert of Molesme to found the New Monastery of Cîteaux; he is ever present to St. Bernard and the early abbots of Clairvaux; he intervenes in the lives of illiterate laybrothers as well as monks; he reveals the dangers of disobedience, discord, negligence, and a variety of other vices; he shows what needs to be done to restore the Order to its pristine glory; and he leads the dying to a blessed death. If, like the White Queen in Lewis Carroll's *Alice through the Looking-Glass*, we can believe six impossible things before breakfast (it just takes a little practice), Conrad's compilation takes us into a wonderful world of miracles, visions, and splendid stories. Even if we cannot emulate the queen, this excellent translation still provides us with some remarkably entertaining reading and sheds a great deal of light on the Cistercian spirit and the nature of Cistercian spirituality in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Memorial University of Newfoundland DAVID N. BELL

Francis of Assisi: The Life and Afterlife of a Medieval Saint. By André Vauchez. Translated by Michael F. Cusato. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 398. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17894-4.)

André Vauchez has written a learned and very readable biography of the one of the most popular and important saints of the European Middle Ages. Moreover, Michael Cusato, a prominent scholar of Franciscan studies, has produced an excellent translation. The first of the four parts of Vauchez's book narrates the biography of St. Francis of Assisi, creating a clear and cogent narrative based on the principal sources, with a reasonable preference for the *Legend of the Three Companions.* Francis's life is known almost exclusively from texts composed by thirteenth-century Franciscan authors: the provenance and relative importance of each of these texts has produced much scholarly debate, and Vauchez manages to present these complex traditions in a way that is both clear to novices and will seem fair to specialists—no small feat.

In part 2, Vauchez recounts the "transfiguration" of Francis in the years following his death in 1226, into one of the major saints of the Latin Church: the canonization by Pope Gregory IX, the construction of the vast basilica that was to house his relics, and the difficulties of the early Franciscan order in reconciling the radical message of Franciscan poverty with the concrete needs of a large and growing order. He shows the tensions that this struggle caused within the order. For Vauchez, as for earlier scholars who have worked on this material, the institutionalization of the order, although perhaps inevitable, represented a "second death of Francis": the huge, lavish basilica that was to become the mother church of the order, in particular, violated the ideal of poverty that Francis had embodied.

The third part concerns the forging of "myths and images" of the saint. In a chapter on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Vauchez presents first the textual traditions, with the emphasis on Franciscan hagiography and the dispute between spiritual and conventual factions within the order: a story that has been told many times, here presented succinctly and clearly. A second section on "Francis in images" is somewhat disappointing. By choosing to treat iconography separately from the texts, he removes it from its context—clearly the Bardi dossal was not produced in the same context, or for the same audience, as the frescoes in the upper basilica of Assisi. Moreover, there is a wealth of other iconography that goes unmentioned (as does much recent work in the field), and (perhaps most disappointing for the general reader), there is not a single reproduction of any of the images discussed. Missing from this chapter, as well, is the sense of how Francis and the Franciscans became a part of the daily life of cities in Italy (and elsewhere in Europe), in particular through the building of lavish churches in many cities, with elaborate iconographical programs and chapels financed by rising urban aristocrats—and where they were often buried. The case of Florence's

Santa Croce (studied by Rona Goffen) is a prime example of a phenomenon repeated throughout Italy and beyond. Another chapter deals with perceptions of Francis from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, with the emphasis on nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarly debate on the different early sources on Francis (which has come to be known as the "Franciscan question").

A final, fourth part is a series of six interesting and thoughtful essays on different aspects of Francis's message and mission, with close attention paid to Francis's writings. Vauchez's biography should become the fundamental one-volume study of Francis, useful to all those who want an introduction to the rich and complex field of Franciscan studies. Specialists, although they will find little new, should appreciate the clear and balanced presentation of the many of the major themes in Franciscan studies. Some will be disappointed that Vauchez treads the well-worn paths of the "Franciscan question," focusing on Franciscan hagiography and pontifical sources and paying little attention to much of the rich recent work in other areas of Franciscan history.

Université de Nantes JOHN TOLAN

The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order 1209–1310. By Neslihan Senocak. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xivi, 276. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-8014-5057-0.)

The vexed matter of the appropriateness of theological studies divided the followers of *il poverello d'Assisi* from the 1220s and found expression in the carefully crafted passages in the hagiographical tradition and the expostulations of reformers, including Peter of John Olivi, Iacopone da Todi, Ubertino da Casale, and Angelo da Clareno. The emergence of the Franciscan Order's theological schools forms the basis of this compelling new monograph by a young scholar: Neslihan Senocak, assistant professor of history at Columbia University. Senocak brings a sure-footedness and assurance to a question that has separated historians along partisan lines. For example, some English historians of the order were deemed too sympathetic to the writings of Paul Sabatier. Similarly, the temptation to interpret Franciscan history along the lines of the widening rift between the Friars Minor Conventual and the Friars of the Observant reform has bedevilled historiography. Franciscan apologists, hagiographers, and chroniclers yoked the pursuit of theological studies to the ministry of preaching. This apologetic spirit, for example, pervades St. Bonaventure's *Letter in Response to an Unknown Master*. Contemporary observers were more inclined to view clerical education as an aid to the friars' ministry rather than a betrayal of the ideals of St. Francis. Certain forms of the apostolate demanded significant levels of theological literacy, a feature that was all the more necessary when friars engaged in dialogue and disputation with heretics in northern Italy and southern France. Senocak deftly

moves through the early Franciscan history to show that the movement was gaining in social, ecclesiastical, and academic respectability through the caliber of its novices; this is how Roger Bacon describes the luster that Alexander of Hales, a wealthy regent master of theology at the University of Paris, brought to *le grand couvent de Cordeliers de Paris* about 1236. An air of triumphalism is glimpsed in the accounts of the clothing of scholars, monks, secular priests, abbots, and bishops. The admission of such distinguished novices undoubtedly led to hubris on the part of some Franciscan historians whose proclivity to emphasize the successes achieved by their order was accentuated by the mendicant controversies, beginning in the 1250s at Paris. Senocak persuasively shows that the friars recruited graduates capable of filling the senior posts in provinces and custodies. This explanation accords with the plea for reform launched by Ubertino da Casale, who asserted that the order was not being well served by an educated elite more familiar with the university than the hermitage. It is one of the ironies of Franciscan history that the search for suitably qualified vocations began with the defenestration of Elias of Cortona, the first minister general to be removed from office by the pope. The transformation of the order is reflected in the two *vitae* of Francis composed by Thomas of Celano. From 1240 the order was led for the first time by a friar, Haymo of Faversham, who had not met the saint of Assisi. Moreover, he set a new pattern for the ministers general because he combined priesthood and a university education with the promotion of high standards of evangelical poverty. His successors in the later thirteenth century were ordained graduates, generally from the University of Paris.

This book teems with good and sensible explanations of the place of theological study in the order. The last part looks at the polemics raging around the friars' use of books and the formation of their conventual libraries. Senocak weighs the reforming views of Ubertino da Casale against the information from the nascent Franciscan libraries; the abuses that he targeted were real rather than imaginary and were mirrored in the order's general and provincial constitutions. This is an excellent book for which Senocak is to be warmly commended.

St. Edmund's College, University of Cambridge MICHAEL ROBSON

The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles. Edited by Janet Burton and Karen Stöber. [Medieval Church Studies, Vol. 19.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2011. Pp. xvii, 514. €130,00. ISBN 978-2-503-53248-6.)

This hefty volume joins twenty-two essays devoted to the most widely dispersed, yet least studied among medieval British religious orders, the regular canons. As is well known, Augustinian canons were the most ubiquitous organization under rule in medieval England, where they were joined by the Premonstratensians and the native double-order (nuns *and* canons) of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. Yet, as is equally well known, the historiography

treating all three orders in their insular context remains depressingly thin. Why were these groups apparently so popular, and in what activities were they engaged?

In the main, the answers offered in this volume are somewhat disappointing. The historians here assembled, in their best moments, offer often provocative local narratives, vignettes from individual houses. These fill in, but do not necessarily qualify or develop, views enunciated long ago by J. C. Dickinson and A. Hamilton Thompson, or by David Robinson in his informative geographical study of Augustinian houses. Although Anne Mathers-Lawrence pronounces R. W. Southern's provocative six-page discussion of the order as "no longer universally accepted" (p. 59n1), virtually all her co-contributors who mention it rely upon Southern's account. An opportunity for a productive debate—did Augustinian houses, particularly after the great burst of well-endowed foundations associated with King Henry I and his court, merely provide an opportunity for "devotion on the cheap"?—Southern's proposition—rather goes abegging.

At least part of the problem here is many contributors' rigorous attentiveness to a legalistically conceived institutional emphasis (and especially an interest in origins, not development or practice over the long haul). One certainly understands that "historical evidence," narrowly construed, is documentary and that the most readily documented stages in the life of any religious house concern foundation, acquisition of properties, and domestic accounts. But it is striking that the most provocative essay in this ensemble, Julian Luxford's "The Idol of Origins: Retrospection in Augustinian Art . . ." (pp. 417–42) opens with an apology for the use of nondocumentary sources in an assessment of Augustinian interests. Luxford goes on to investigate architectural forms of memory, particularly tombs, in a variety of sites.

Luxford's thought-provoking study has resonances elsewhere in the volume, for one prominent skein of discussion here concerns the canons' engagement with "memory." Although the Augustinians, from their foundation, were intended to serve those parishes whose churches formed prominent parts of their endowments, parochial service had substantially diminished, if not disappeared, by the late Middle Ages. Instead, a number of authors here argue, Augustinian houses proved attractive to many communities because of their engagement in the divine office, particularly—given that all canons were required to be priests—their capacity to offer memorials for their benefactors. This proposition is argued most fully in Graham St. John's "The Significance of Devotion . . ." (pp. 339–61). Further telling evidence on this topic appears in Emma Cavell's "Kinship, Locality, and Benefaction" (pp. 363–85), a demonstration, both amusing and evocative, concerning several generations of ongoing female benefactions to Wombridge, a small Shropshire house; and in Andrew Abram's "Augustinian Canons and the Survival of Cult Centres in Medieval England" (pp. 79–95).

Other impressive essays address Augustinians in somewhat different contacts with their social surround. The premier scholar of English schooling, Nicholas Orme, offers a customarily detailed survey of "The Augustinian Canons and Education" (pp. 213–32); and another expert, Claire Cross, surveys the varied fates of "The Last Generation of Augustinian Canons in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire" (pp. 387–400). At the other end of the chronological spectrum, Janet Burton and Mathers-Lawrence (pp. 41–57, 59–78) argue that, at least in their initial foundation, some northern Augustinian houses may have been integral to twelfth-century reform movements. Glyn Copack's "'And then he added canons'. . ." (pp. 291–311) provides an exciting revisionary account of the archaeology of Sempringham (although the marking of his detailed plates is confusingly out of sequence with the discussion in the text). Notes 7 and 10 on pages 5–7 will serve to direct interested readers to a variety of trenchant past studies.

Keble College, University of Oxford RALPH HANNA

The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance. By Guy Geltner. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 188. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-199-63945-8.)

Antifraternalism, criticism of the mendicant friars, is probably most familiar through characters such as Geoffrey Chaucer's Friar John or False Seeming from the *Romance of the Rose*. Although scholars have long argued about how accurately these literary types reflect the lives (and vices) of medieval friars, that debate has rested largely on evidence drawn from literary sources and theological polemics of the friars' opponents within the Church. With this book, Guy Geltner offers us a new definition of antifraternalism based on a much broader range of source material.

Geltner divides his study into two parts composed of two chapters each. Part 1 concentrates on criticisms leveled at the friars by their opponents. Chapter 1 revisits the traditional antifraternal *corpus*, the theological and literary sources critical of the friars. By most accounts, at the root of these are polemics arising from conflicts between secular and mendicant masters at the University of Paris in the 1250s, especially criticisms of the friars contained in William of St. Amour's *On the Dangers of the Last Times* (1256). Geltner argues that although later antifraternal authors did build on St. Amour's exegesis and repeat many of his charges against the friars, his challenge to the very legitimacy of their existence was atypical of most subsequent criticism of the friars that aimed at their reform rather than their eradication. Chapter 2 identifies other sources of antifraternal activity through an investigation of accounts of violence directed against the friars (gleaned from court records between the early-thirteenth century and the end of the fourteenth). These reveal a modest yet consistent rate of aggression against the friars, but no common motivation rooted in antimendicant sentiment derived from the rhetoric of St. Amour.

In part 2 Geltner investigates how the friars themselves contributed to the development of antifraternalism. Chapter 3 concludes, on the basis of evidence drawn from the mendicant orders' records, that there was some substance behind the polemics of their opponents. The friars did often behave badly, and given the public nature of their mission, this was cause for scandal. Chapter 4 then surveys how the friars' chroniclers portrayed the conflicts and violent episodes in which the orders were involved. Geltner characterizes this record as a lachrymose history, which sought to portray the friars as vanguards of the Church by emphasizing the Christological dimension and eschatological significance of their suffering, but, in the process, highlighted their contentiousness and misconduct. This led the chroniclers to focus on the conflicts at the University of Paris, which are thereby returned to a central position in the history of medieval antifraternalism.

This is a short book, and at times the reader is left wishing for more detail about the intricate interplay of polemic, violence, deviance, and remembrance in the development of medieval antifraternalism. In addition, elements of the first three chapters have already appeared in print elsewhere, and a number of Geltner's criticisms of the reigning model of antifraternalism elaborate on the work of other scholars. But this also is an important book. It provides us with a significant corrective to an over-reliance on evidence from literary and theological works in understanding criticisms of the friars in the Middle Ages, and Geltner's argument for the contribution of the friars' own historiography to the development of the antifraternal tradition offers a whole new perspective on that process. Most important, however, Geltner brings this material together in a call for a comprehensive revision of how we think about antifraternalism.

Augustana College GEOFFREY DIPPLE
Sioux Falls, SD

John Mirk's Festial. *Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*. Edited by Susan Powell. 2 vols. [Early English Text Society, O[riginal] S[eries] 334 and 335.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009 and 2011. Vol. 1: Pp. cxlv, 188; $130.00; ISBN 978-0-19-957849-8. Vol. 2: Pp. 189–690; $135.00; ISBN 978-0-19-959037-7.)

A first-rate edition of a medieval sermon collection is a blessing for historians, and all the more so when the collection in question is John Mirk's *Festial*. Mirk, an Augustinian canon at Lilleshall Abbey in Shropshire, compiled this vernacular collection in the late 1380s or 1390s, explaining in his prologue that he designed it for clergy who did not have enough books or education to teach their parishioners about all the major feasts in the church calendar, as they were supposed to do. The market for such a preaching aid must have been enormous and long-lasting, for the *Festial* became one of the great best-sellers of its era. It survives, as a whole or in part, in more than three-

dozen fifteenth-century manuscripts and was printed more than twenty times between 1483 and 1532. Priests who used the book may often have supplemented it with other sources, of course, but it is reasonable to infer from its long popularity that the *Festial* exerted a formative influence on the preaching in English parish churches for several generations before the Reformation.

Susan Powell's edition of the *Festial* reproduces the contents and order of the earliest and most authoritative of the extant manuscripts. Besides the prologue and a brief opening prayer, the text has seventy-four chapters, sixty-seven of which are sermons for particular days in the Sarum calendar, running from Advent and St. Andrew (Nov. 30) to St. Katherine (Nov. 25). The occasions covered include the major feasts of Christ and the Virgin Mary, several dozen widely venerated saints and two local Shrewsbury ones (Alkmund and Winifrede), All Saints, and All Souls, plus Rogation Days, Ember Days, and all the Sundays from Septuagesima to the end of Lent. The last seven chapters are more miscellaneous in character: sermons for the dedication of a church, a marriage, and a burial, notes on the rules for burial in holy ground, advice on teaching the *Ave Maria*, an additional Marian miracle story, and a sermon that expounds the Paternoster.

Before Powell's edition, the *Festial* had been edited in modern times only by Theodor Erbe, who published a bare-bones version of the text (*Mirk's* Festial: *A Collection of Homilies*, EETS E.S. 96, London, 1905) and died shortly thereafter, without completing the introduction and notes he had planned for a second volume. Powell's handling of the medieval text itself is more reliable than Erbe's, and she supplements it with vast amounts of additional information. Besides describing her own editorial practice, for example, Powell's introduction presents the discernible facts about Mirk's life, the principal sources of the *Festial* and the way he uses them, the complex relationships among the surviving manuscripts, the reasons for choosing British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II as the best text, and an expert analysis of the various scribal hands that contributed to this manuscript. Following the text, Powell provides nearly 200 pages of explanatory and textual notes, an extensive and helpful glossary, detailed descriptions and contents of all the *Festial* manuscripts (appendices I and II), full collations of eight selected portions of Mirk's text (appendix III), an analysis of the dialects represented by the three main hands in the Cotton Claudius manuscript (appendix IV), a reproduction and transcription of the list of *Festa ferianda* in the manuscript (appendix V), and an index of biblical references and allusions (pp. 685–90).

Despite the strengths of Powell's edition of the *Festial*, most readers will find it hard going at first. Like other EETS publications, it is designed primarily as a resource for specialists in Middle English and makes few concessions to the needs of a wider audience. Although Mirk's sermons are roughly contemporary with the *Canterbury Tales*, the language of Cotton Claudius A.II is further from modern English and much less consistent than that of the best

Chaucer manuscripts. In accordance with EETS policy, Powell's edition retains all of the eccentric scribal spellings in the base manuscript and most of its Middle English letter forms, normalizing nothing except punctuation and capitalization and emending only the most obvious errors. As a result, readers will frequently need to consult the glossary and explanatory notes, and may wish that Powell had made those parts of the apparatus even more helpful and complete.

Not every aspect of this edition is definitive, of course. With regard to Mirk's sources, for example, Powell has almost certainly not had the last word. Mirk says in his prologue that he drew his material "owt of *Legenda Aurea* wyth more addyng to," and his principal sources probably included not only the three Powell emphasizes (the *Legenda*, John Beleth's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,* and a Sarum missal) but also at least one breviary or lectionary for the daily office. One effect of Powell's fine edition should be to stimulate wider interest in the *Festial* and further research on its sources and many other aspects of the book, its transmission history, and its influence on the religious culture of late-medieval England.

University of Wisconsin, Madison SHERRY REAMES

The Late Medieval Church: Vitality and Vulnerability before the Break with Rome. By G. W. Bernard. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17997-2.)

G. W. Bernard's account of the late-medieval English Church is a perplexing endeavor. On the one hand he emphasizes his own long-standing dissatisfaction with the "protestant grand narrative" (p. ix) that saw the Reformation as the inevitable outcome of the corruption, decadence, and superstition that were all the late-medieval Church had to offer, and he affirms his broad agreement with the very different view of that Church offered by Eamon Duffy in *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992). Yet on the other hand he informs us that it was Duffy's book itself that provoked his own "rethinking" of the subject, because he found its analysis left it impossible to explain why the Reformation happened at all. Bernard's alternative interpretation, which he originally set out in a short article about fifteen years ago, offers us "vitality and vulnerability" as a general theory that he hopes will generate vigorous new debate in the field.

What is perplexing is that there is nothing for this new theory to do. The suggestion that Duffy's analysis of the late-medieval church makes the Reformation seem impossible or inexplicable has often been made, yet it has never been entirely clear what it means. Duffy's analysis was the culmination of a generation of scholarship that exploded the "protestant grand narrative," and his explanation of the English Reformation was simple—the late-medieval Church did not totter and fall under its own unstable weight; it was

in a stable equilibrium until it was pushed over thanks to a stupendous effort on the part of one of the most powerful kings ever to rule this land—Henry VIII. This is, when one comes down to it, much the same as the explanation Bernard himself offers in *The King's Reformation* (New Haven, 2005), however much one might demur at his tendency to reduce an extremely complex set of political maneuvers to a mere act of will on the part of the monarch. "Vitality and vulnerability" are offered as the solution to a supposed problem. But it is not clear what the problem is, nor how the solution works.

Bernard repeatedly affirms the "vitality" of the late-medieval church, but is uncomfortably aware that the focus of his own analysis is "vulnerability." While anxiously disavowing any intention of reviving the old narrative of corruption and decadence, the theory he advances is that the vulnerabilities explain why the Church did not resist Henry VIII more effectively when the assault of the 1530s was launched. Thus, because pilgrimage could be made to inauthentic relics or to fraudulent images, and could be undertaken for superstitious or self-serving reasons, it was "vulnerable" to the kind of critique that Desiderius Erasmus, Henry VIII's propagandists, and Protestants leveled against it. But this explains either nothing or too much. Either the late-medieval Church was indeed, as A. G. Dickens maintained, a sort of house of cards, that only needed the lion's roar to bring it tumbling down; or, as Duffy has persuasively argued, it was not. Of course, the late-medieval Church had its weaknesses. People knew that at the time, and not even Duffy has ever sought to argue otherwise. But either these vulnerabilities are a sufficient cause for the collapse of that Church, or they are not. That is what *The Stripping of the Altars* was about.

Although, then, this book fails at the theoretical level, it remains both interesting and valuable. The brilliant forensic analysis of the Richard Hunne case with which it opens is the fairest and most thorough ever achieved. Bernard is in his element here, attacking a conceptually straightforward question—was Hunne murdered, or did he hang himself?—through a thicket of contradictory and problematic evidence, to reach a conclusion (suicide) that runs counter to the verdicts or prejudices of the majority of other scholars who have worked on it: Bernard *contra mundum*, his favorite situation. For the rest, the extent of the secondary literature he has laid under tribute is awe-inspiring, and the book is a mine of information. Nobody could read it and fail to learn from it. Yet the guiding idea is inadequate to the mass of material and ultimately detracts from its impact. Vitality and vulnerability are the wrong lenses, and they prevent the book from vying with Duffy's in terms of presenting a coherent view of what the late-medieval English Church was and what it meant to its members. Bernard's study aspires to be "not a coldly efficient synthesis of a mass of particularities but rather an exploration of the church in the round" (p. x). In the end, though, it is more the former than the latter.

Queens' College, University of Cambridge RICHARD REX

Bigamy and Christian Identity in Late Medieval Champagne. By Sara McDougall. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. vi, 216. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4398-7.)

In the study of medieval marriage, the English historians have long dominated the field through the sheer volume of research. However, Sara McDougall's new book reveals just how wrong it would be to assume that the approach adopted by the English Church to marriage was the norm. In comparison with the ecclesiastical authorities in Troyes, the medieval English Church seems positively magnanimous. Fines and whippings three consecutive Sundays in procession around the parish church are a walk in the park when compared with sentences of imprisonment, even execution, doled out by the northern French Church to bigamous husbands. McDougall demonstrates the unique approach adopted by the northern French to marriage regulation, prompted in large part by the recurrent disruptions to family life caused by the Hundred Years' War, the Great Schism, dynastic struggles, and episodic plague outbreaks and accompanying famines. Eager to impose order at the most basic level, the Church clamped down primarily on older men who engaged in serial marriages, calling on husbands to emulate St. Joseph, the newly reinvented symbol for male Christian identity.

The strength of McDougall's fine book lies in its boldness—McDougall asks us to rethink accepted beliefs about medieval marriage. Although other scholars have eschewed the term *bigamy* because the medieval world reserved the term for married clergymen, McDougall asks us to refocus the lens on the symbolism of marriage, to understand that a layman who violated the "order of matrimony" committed the same crime as the bigamous cleric. Her work also is highly comparative. Drawing on studies from England, France, Belgium, Geneva, Portugal, and Italy, McDougall offers an incisive perception of the matrimonial concerns leading up to the momentous Council of Trent (1563), at which the Church reversed its former policy of toleration for clandestine marriage.

Some of McDougall's arguments are more compelling than others. In opposition to works by this reviewer, Philippa Maddern, and others who have argued that serial monogamy represents the Church's failure to persuade the medieval laity of the permanence of marriage, McDougall sees instead that the Church was too successful. Here, her argument centers on the determination of bigamous men to undergo a second church wedding, despite the invalidity of the marriage. McDougall interprets preference for a church wedding as respect for the sacramental nature of marriage. Quite simply, this argument is unconvincing. Since the time of Lateran Council IV, the Church required couples to have their marriages solemnized and punished them if they did not do so. Most instances of bigamy prosecuted at court involved bigamous men with second wives who were entirely ignorant of their husbands' marital past. The bride-to-be and her family had no reason to believe that they

were breaking the law—so, why would they risk her soul by failing to have the marriage solemnized as the Church required? Any man would have had great difficulty in convincing his fiancée that they should begin their lives together in such a risky fashion, especially in a world where women were widely recognized as the more pious sex. Furthermore, adhering to the marriage rituals of one's culture does not necessarily mean that the participants internalized the ideals behind those rituals. Today, many men and women are married in the Catholic Church, not because they believe that marriage is a sacrament, but because their Catholic mothers want them to have a church wedding. We simply cannot gain insight into medieval mentality through a required ritual.

Nonetheless, McDougall has written a thought-provoking book that will be much appreciated by those across the field.

Loyola University New Orleans SARA M. BUTLER

Early Modern European

The One Thomas More. By Travis Curtright. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012. Pp. ix, 231. $64.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1995-0.)

Travis Curtright does a fine job fusing St. Thomas More's "humanist credo" and "his later polemical theology" (p. 107). Eamon Duffy and Brendan Bradshaw, nesting in Curtright's bibliography, have been on that job, but *The One Thomas More* usefully supplements their luminous article-length efforts. For example, Curtright's "close reading" of More's 1518 letter to Oxford has it propose a "harmony of faith and liberal learning," soldering the former to the latter in ways that Alistair Fox famously overlooked (105–11). Fox subscribed to the "two Mores" thesis, which exaggerated the distance between the Lord Chancellor who terrorized heretics and the younger, kinder, gentler More who was at home with humanists. The latter pointed out the insufficiency of envious, arrogant, ignorant Oxford scholars' pieties; the former railed against self-sufficiency (against reformers who thought they could tease meaning from sacred texts without consulting a tradition of interpretation otherwise honored always and everywhere in Christendom) as well as against the early Protestants' impiety. Bradshaw brilliantly sabotaged Fox's distinctions in the 1980s. Curtright cinches the case.

As Curtright acknowledges, however, popular perception is now shaped by two images of More's obstinacy. Robert Bolt's often restaged and replayed *A Man for All Seasons* has heroic More stubbornly—conscientiously—defend his right to withhold consent when official policy runs counter to his faith. Hilary Mantel's acclaimed novel, *Wolf Hall*, portrays More as unfeeling and fanatical. Bolt conjures up his one Thomas More, and Mantel introduces her

one Thomas More. Neither gets close to the right one—"the real Thomas More," Curtright claims, preferring the persistently prudent Christian humanist whose formidable resolve to defend a life of virtue and the Roman Catholic Church made him appear ruthless to contemporaries and to some historians. To Curtright, the "commitment to traditional consensus within a visible, historical, and known ecclesiastical discourse connects More's humanist letters to his antiheretical tracts" (139).

Without directly dissenting and arguing that More was kind then cruel, or sensible then superstitious, one could prefer multiple Mores. Most of Curtright's contentions come off as quite conventional. The "ironic and subversive ethos in More's last letters" (176) is obvious to readers who remember the anecdotes sent to Alice Alington. That his history of King Richard III's tenure "enacts and undermines" (44) or "enacts and qualifies" (71) ideals expressed in his political epigrams seems incontestable. And the pervasive emphasis on piety—in Hythloday's huffing and puffing, in the *Response* to Luther, in More's *Life* of Pico, and in More's life—has long been recognized. Curtright competently chronicles it all. Cramming that along with the book's fresh perspectives on More's discretion, humanism, Christianity, and politics into "the one Thomas More" seems conceptually unnecessary and not appreciably less awkward than a doubled-up More. Curtright seems at cross-purposes. His book shows us something of the resourceful self-refashioning that enabled his subject to wear several hats, often in the same work. But Curtright's urge to unify tends to bottle up an impressively versatile sixteenth-century protagonist, who, to this reviewer, kept and keeps subverting, undermining, and qualifying the efforts of contemporaries and historians to define and confine him.

University of Richmond PETER IVER KAUFMAN

Atti del Convegno di Studi Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543). Edited by Marco Agostini and Giovanna Baldissin Molli. (Cittadella-Padova, Verona: Biblos Edizioni. 2012. Pp. 216. €25,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-6448-031-2.)

This volume, which is enriched by numerous images, collects the proceedings of the congress that was held at Verona on December 2–3, 2009, to reassess the figure of the reforming bishop Gian Matteo Giberti in close correlation with the overall experiences of the sixteenth century.

Giberti was invested with major positions in the Roman Curia during the pontificates of Leo X and Clement VII. However, he was suspected of heterodoxy and was part of the Roman Oratory of *Divino Amore*. His pro-French policies did not sit well after the Sack of Rome by imperial troops in 1527, and he also was affected by the new political orientations resulting from the meeting between the pope and the emperor in Bologna in 1529. He settled in his Diocese of Verona and became the protagonist of reform plans for the

Church, ranging from diocesan-level activity to the reconstruction of episcopal authority and leaving an indelible mark on spiritual life.

As emphasized by Danilo Zardin in his *Introduzione*, the volume shows the complexity of a leading figure in the policies of the Roman Church and the construction of the ideal figure of the bishop of the Counter-Reformation, particularly in his use of pastoral visiting. Giberti's *Constitutiones* (Verona, 1542) exerted considerable influence at the Council of Trent as well as in the work of St. Carlo Borromeo.

Adriano Prosperi, in "Gian Matteo Giberti e la politica della «libertà d'Italia»," reminds us of Giberti's crucial role in the policy that led to the drafting of the League of Cognac and the subsequent failure of the whole plan. He also is notable as the man who kept the door of the Catholic Church open to Desiderius Erasmus.

The deep difference between the two often compared reformist bishops—Giberti and Borromeo—is significant. Apart from the diversity and incomparability of the times in which they lived, a greater difference arises from their actions as diocesan bishops—the result of a political defeat for Giberti and the result of a free choice for Borromeo.

Whereas Gabriella Zarri, in "I circoli spirituali femminili della riforma," discusses the spiritual groups of women in her presentation of the *Constitutioni* for the nuns of Giberti, Zardin, in "Gian Matteo Giberti nel contesto europeo," takes us back to the European religious and political situation and the contacts with the Protestant Reformation. There are numerous as well as significant contributions on Giberti's role in fostering artistic production and Giberti's relationship with the world of the *literati* and the humanists such as Pietro Aretino. New and useful information is supplied on the figure of Tullio Crispoldi and on Giberti's influence on the works of Nicolò Ormaneto. As Zardin underlines, Giberti's life exemplifies a love for the Scriptures, the development of biblical studies, a liturgical renewal, and the valorization of local church institutions gathered around their bishop.

Ultimately, this volume is a useful contribution that provides, thanks to its numerous as well as diverse papers, an up-to-date and comprehensive summary of Giberti's work and his role in the broader world of early-sixteenth-century Europe.

University of Bologna UMBERTO MAZZONE

The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus. By Robert Aleksander Maryks. [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, Vol. 146.] (Boston: Brill. 2010. Pp. xxxiv, 281. $147.00. ISBN 978-90-04-17981-3.)

The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews is a superb study of the relationship between Jesuits and New Christians—converts from Judaism and their descendants—during the three generations after the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540. It has long been known that many New Christians joined the Society in the sixteenth century. The opposition that this influx of New Christians inspired both within and outside the Society, however, is something of which only a few specialists have been aware until recently. James W. Reites and Francisco de Borja Medina have written important studies of St. Ignatius of Loyola's philosemitism and of the divisions within the Society that developed after Ignatius's death. Maryks, however, does something that no one has attempted until now—he investigates the genealogical roots of dozens of sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits. Among these men were several of the most notable Jesuit intellectuals of the period, including José de Acosta, Diego Laínez, Juan de Mariana, Jerónimo Nadal, Juan Alfonso de Polanco, Pedro de Ribadeneira, and Francisco Suárez.

Maryks links his genealogical study to a sophisticated analysis of the various factions that developed within the Society as a result of the debate about the admission of New Christians. In addition, Maryks analyzes the strong opposition in court and clerical circles in Spain and Portugal as a whole to the admission of New Christians in the Society.

The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews provides a profound and convincing analysis—based on extensive archival work—of the conflict between theory and practice in the Society of Jesus. The Society's founding documents called for an inclusive approach to the admissions process. In practice, however, discrimination in the admission of a wide range of minorities—including not only New Christians but also Asians, Africans, Amerindians, and mestizos—was widespread.

The debate about New Christians hinged on the interpretation, by individual Jesuits, of Ignatius's intentions. Drawing on their direct contacts with Ignatius, on their understanding of the Institute of the Society, or on both, Jesuits on both sides of the debate about New Christians asserted that they sought to adopt the policy that Ignatius would have adopted had he been alive in the 1570s, when the debate threatened to produce a schism in the Society.

The vocal minority in the Society that opposed the admission of New Christians gained strength at the Third General Congregation in 1573, when it prevented the election of Polanco to succeed Francisco de Borja as Superior General. Opponents of Polanco said that they wished to elect the

first non-Spanish Superior General, but their true goal—to prevent the election of a New Christian—was clear to all the electors. The new Superior General, Everard Mercurian, removed influential New Christians from their administrative posts in Rome and ordered them to return to Spain.

At the Fifth General Congregation in 1593, the electors voted to exclude men of Jewish and Muslim descent from the Society. Acosta cast one of only two dissenting votes. Maryks provides the most comprehensive analysis to date of the bitter debate surrounding the passage of the exclusion decree. Several notable Jesuits, including Ribadeneira and Antonio Possevino (an Italian who was likely of Jewish descent), mounted an eloquent defense of the principle of nondiscrimination in general and of the admission of New Christians in particular. The decree was modified slightly in 1608 to ensure that investigations of lineages not extend beyond five generations, but it was not formally rescinded until 1946.

Ironically, as Maryks notes, Mercurian's marginalization of the New Christians gave several of these Jesuits—notably Nadal, Polanco, and Ribadneira—the opportunity to explore interests that they had not previously had time to pursue. During the next forty years, these men produced a brilliant collection of writings—ranging from history and biography to spiritual reflections, philosophy, and political theory—that were influential in their day and that continue to inform our understanding of the Society.

The Catholic University of America THOMAS M. COHEN

Avventure dell'obbedienza nella Compagnia di Gesù. Teorie e prassi fra XVI e XIX secolo. Edited by Fernanda Alfieri and Claudio Ferlan. (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2012. Pp. 267. €22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-15-23789-7.)

Jesuit apologists and anti-Jesuit polemicists concur that obedience is the trademark of the Society of Jesus. Each cites St. Ignatius of Loyola's exhortation that Jesuits ought to allow themselves "to be carried and directed by Divine Providence through the agency of the superior as if he were a lifeless body . . . or as it were an old man's staff. . . ."[1] Recently historians such as Michela Catto in *La Compagnia divisa: Il dissenso nell'ordine gesuitico tra '500 e '600* (Brescia, 2009) have been peeking behind the rhetoric of spiritual treatises and congregational decrees to ascertain "blind obedience" as practiced.

Each article in this collection offers a new, fascinating perspective on a subject that merits more investigation and discussion. The Society of Jesus rests on twin pillars: the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions*. A sensi-

[1]Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. and ed. George E. Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis, 1970), pp. 248–49, no. 547.

tivity to and a discernment of spiritual movements is the goal of the former; the latter invites Jesuits to a blind obedience to the will of the superior. The authors investigate conflicts between a subject and his superior. In an article not in this collection but cited by Sabina Pavone, Antonella Romano suggests that *dissidenza* (dissidence, dissent) is inappropriate, because it connotes explicitly organized opposition to a central power. Instead, she recommends *obbedienza negoziata* (negotiated obedience). Besides prescriptions to blind obedience, the constitutional decree

> is not only highly but supremely important for the superior to have complete knowledge of the inclinations and motions of those who are in his charge . . . [and] thus he may direct them better without placing them beyond the measure of their capacity in dangers or labors greater than they could in our Lord endure with a "spirit of love". . . . (p. 104, no. 92)

This should be neither forgotten nor underestimated. Each Jesuit has the right to represent to his superior his hopes and aspirations, fears and anxieties, but the final judgment is the superior's (p. 117, no. 131). Despite such representation, tension may remain, as individual Jesuits opt for obedience to a power higher than their superior. In the late-seventeenth century, for example, French Jesuit provincials claimed obedience to King Louis XIV took precedence over that to the general. The contributors examine various modalities (*variegate modalità*) of Jesuit obedience: among others, Tirso González's desire to go to the Indies[2]; Brother Juan de Casasola's refusal to relinquish a reliquary of the True Cross; Paolo Segneri's advocation of probabilism despite González's crusade against it; the survival of Jesuits in Russia after Pope Clement XIV's *Dominus ac Redemptor*; Anthony Kohlmann, better known in American Catholic history for the legal recognition of the seal of confession, and exorcism.

For some unexplained reason, interest in the theory and practice of Jesuit obedience remains a quasi-Italian preserve. Perhaps the English translation of articles on the same theme by Silvia Mostaccio, scheduled to appear in 2014, will encourage Anglophone historians of the Society of Jesus to venture into this field. Meanwhile, the contributions here provide a fascinating introduction.

Fordham University THOMAS M. MCCOOG, S.J.

[2]For Tirso's subsequent problematic career see Jean-Pascal Gay's *Jesuit Civil Wars: Theology, Politics and Government under Tirso González (1687–1705)* (Burlington, VT, 2012).

Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany. Edited by David M. Luebke, Jared Poley, Daniel C. Ryan, and David Warren Sabean. [Spektrum: Publications of the German Studies Association, Vol. 3.) (Brooklyn, NY: Berghahn Books. 2012. Pp. x, 206. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-85745-375-4.)

This collection of essays draws on specialist knowledge to shed light on a broad theme. Composed of nine essays together with a foreword and an afterword, the purpose of the collection is to examine the issue of conversion in the German lands in the early-modern period and not only in the sense of how it was conceived during the age of confessionalization; the authors also are concerned with how the act or the language of conversion intersected with other aspects of early-modern life, from notions of identity and boundaries to power politics. Although no single thread ties the contributions together, the authors seem to share the premise that the traditional spiritual or theological explanations of conversion theory will no longer suffice to capture the full spectrum of meaning behind a change of faith. There is thus a turn toward the secular aspects, a shift noted by David M. Luebke in his introduction when he declares that the common concern of the volume lies "between conversion and the reconfiguring of politics" (p. 3). But this focus on politics is itself situated in a broader historiographical framework more interested in coaxing out contexts and contingencies than piecing together the spiritual biographies of self-professed converts. As Luebke writes, "Taken together, the contributions to this volume recommend a departure from interpretations of conversion in early modern Europe that stress rupture over continuity and the primacy of individual experience over social and political contingencies" (p. 10).

The volume opens with a contribution by Duane J. Corpis, which makes a series of etymological and methodological distinctions that run through the entire volume. Early-modern conversion (*conversio*) can be understood in two ways—it can refer to a spiritual change within the individual, a type of intrareligious conversion that denotes an increase in personal faith or conviction that did not necessarily mean a change in affiliation; and there was conversion in the interreligious sense, which entailed a switch from one religious community to another. The former implied an increase in spiritual awareness, the latter the crossing of boundaries. Over the course of the confessional age, as Corpis reveals, there was a shift from the original notion of intrarelgious conversion—that is, the model of the Pauline metanoia—to the idea of a change from one church to another, as the various confessional groupings "had come to see one another as institutionally, theologically, and historically separate religions" (p. 27). Eric-Oliver Mader takes up this discussion in his study of the different meanings of *conversio* during the period—its different theological and philological nuances with the passage of time, its use by the different confessions (the Lutheran concept, for instance, "was completely different from the Catholic" [p. 35]), and the historical conse-

quences of these different meanings such as those relating to church politics or missionary activity. Drawing on the test case of the city of Wesel, Jesse Spohnholz examines some of these ideas in context. Conversion, as he points out, might occur for a wide range of reasons, both spiritual and secular; and indeed it might not occur at all in the strict sense, for in Wesel, which was "confessionally ambiguous" (p. 51), Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists lived together in close proximity in something of a "supraconfessional" or "non-dogmatic civic church" (pp. 53, 55) that prompts Spohnholz to question whether it is correct to use "confessional categories to describe events that took place during a period when confessions remained undeveloped" (p. 57).

Pluralization raised difficult problems for the authorities, as Ralf-Peter Fuchs explains in his contribution, as was reflected in the peace treaties of the age. The post-Reformation scale of religious pluralization was unprecedented in European history, and this meant that conversion raised a new set of legal and political issues that had to be worked out in the wake of the shifting relations of power. Indeed, the political repercussions of conversion are the subject of Daniel Riches's study of diplomatic relations between Sweden and Brandenburg after the conversion of the Swedish wife of the Brandenburg ambassador to Stockholm. On the basis of this case of private conviction, Riches sheds light on the role of public religion in the emerging absolutist systems of rule and the extent to which confession crossed paths with sovereignty, identity, and the symbolic and perfomative elements of princely rule. Alexander Schunka also examines the conversion of a public figure—in this instance, Elisabeth Christine of Wolfenbüttel—and to similar ends as well, demonstrating the extent to which religion played a role in dynastic politics. But Schunka's case is further complicated by the surrounding discourse of the Irenicism movement at the efforts at Protestant unification, all of which were inflamed by the conversion controversy and demonstrated "the ongoing durability of confessional boundaries well into the eighteenth century" (p. 113). By looking at the efforts of Frederick William I to establish confessional flexibility in Brandenburg, Benjamin Marschke dives even deeper into this issue (and the related association between *Preußentum* and *Pietismus*), although he, too, finds that confessional passions—particularly on the part of the Pietists—worked against mutual tolerance. Lutherans feared that tolerance was the first step to forced conversion. To be sincere, conversion had to be private and thus a matter of choice. However, this did not dissuade Pietist clergymen from overseeing the process—as Jonathan Strom reveals—by way of hymns, sermons, and Bible readings, to ensure that the parishioners did not go the way of the radicals. Strom reveals how the Pietist conversion narratives were "implicated in doctrinal definition and confessional identity" (p. 144), although not all conversion narratives were necessarily tributes to greater piety and faith, as Douglas H. Schantz points out in his study of the radical thinker Johann Christian Edelmann, who used much of the same topoi of new birth, providence, and deliverance to chart his conversion from faith to reason.

Although the individual contributions are specific in their focus and based on specialist research, much of it archive-based, the volume does leave the reader with a sense of common purpose. All of the contributions explore the meaning and significance of conversion in early-modern culture and use it as a problem, a problematic, or a "prism" (Schunka) for raising broader questions and illuminating the age. The volume would have profited from a synthetic overview, either at the beginning or the end, that drew out some of the parallels between its findings and the work of scholars studying tolerance and conversion in historical settings other than Germany. Recent studies by Judith Pollmann, Oliver Christin, Thierry Wanegffelen, Benjamin Kaplan, Keith Luria, and Alexandra Walsham, for instance, raise many of the same issues and reach similar conclusions and would have provided some useful contrasts and comparisons. But this is a minor criticism of a first-class collection of articles full of insight and suggestions for future research. It deserves a wide readership.

Queen's University, Belfast C. Scott Dixon

The Sixth Scottish University. The Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575 to 1799. By Tom McInally. (Boston: Brill. 2012. Pp. xii, 226. $136.00. ISBN 978-9-00421-42-6.)

Tom McInally's welcome study of the Scots Colleges on the continent of Europe draws on research for his PhD dissertation at the University of Aberdeen, defended in 2008. The volume builds on previous studies: Maurice Taylor on the Scots College in Spain (1972); Mark Dilworth on the Scottish Benedictine monasteries (1974); Brian Halloran on the Scots College, Paris (1997); and McCluskey (ed.) on the Scots College, Rome (2000). Through such works and others, the pervading narrative has become a familiar one of colleges that sought—against a background of penuriousness and inconsistent governance—to prepare priests who would return to tend to the scattered, discrete Catholic communities of Scotland. This was a task fraught with all kinds of difficulties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The book has six chapters. After an introductory overview in chapter 1, chapter 2 outlines the development of the various colleges (at Douai, Paris, Madrid, and Rome) as well as the so-called *Schottenkloster* (Benedictine foundations) at Regensburg, Würzburg, and Erfurt. Chapter 3, although titled "The Education Provided," actually moves beyond a discussion of the curricula studied by students to ask broader questions relating to the impact of new learning and Enlightenment values on the colleges' alumni. Chapter 4 applies prosopographical methods in analyzing the geographical backgrounds and family connections of students. Chapter 5 provides analysis of the future careers of students—many going on to become Jesuits rather than seculars returning to the Scottish mission—and a more general (but useful) outline of the history of the Scottish mission between the aftermath of the Reformation

(in the 1560s) and 1799. Finally, chapter 6 provides a brief summary of the book's principal theses.

What, therefore, does McInally ultimately bring to the field in terms of those theses? First and foremost, a clue lies in the title of the work itself—he makes connections between the various institutions. McInally is keen to make the case for the Scots Colleges *as a group* to be considered a fully-fledged university. The argument is made most explicitly at various junctures (pp. 47, 71, 211). Although one may not be entirely convinced by what is undoubtedly an attractive argument, McInally has put his finger on a key insight—namely, that the continental Scots Colleges need to be understood less in isolation and more in broader contexts of connections with each other and with contemporary scholarly currents. There are certainly stand-out individuals who merit the attention given them in this book: the first Historiographer Royal, Thomas Dempster (1579–1625); the architects James Smith (*c*. 1645–1731) and James Gibb (1682–1754); and the biblical scholar and poet Alexander Geddes (1737–1802). These are but three examples of Scots College alumni whom McInally presents as making an impact on their wider societies. It is fascinating to learn of the early experiments in electricity by another alumnus, Andreas Gordon, of whom McInally muses that his lack of recognition in his native country is probably due to the fact that he was a "Scottish Benedictine monk working in Germany at a time when Catholicism was outlawed in his own country" (p. 117). Herein lies McInally's second major insight. The story of the continental Scots Colleges still awaits fuller integration into the "general history" of Scotland and Scottish education in particular. McInally's conscientiously researched and engrossing work underlines once again that the Scots Colleges abroad should no longer be seen as peripheral or tangential to the "core" Scottish experience. In sum, this is a book deserving of a wide readership amongst those interested in the development of education and cultural interchange in early-modern Europe.

University of Glasgow RAYMOND MCCLUSKEY

Journeys of a Mystic Soul in Poetry and Prose. By Cecilia del Nacimento. Edited and Translated by Kevin Donnelly and Sandra Sider. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series, 18.] (Toronto: Iter, Inc., and Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2012. Pp. xii, 548. $37.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7727-2118-1.)

One of the most fascinating literary currents of the Spanish Renaissance and Golden Age is that provided by mystical writers. Inspired by the long-standing spiritual tradition of the Middle Ages and energized by the socio-historical milieu of the time and the religious zeal promulgated by the Counter-Reformation, figures such as Ss. Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross became living examples of what it means to love God with one's whole heart and

mind and soul and to love one's neighbor as oneself. The articulation of intimacy with God through poetry and prose makes mystical writings a centerpiece of humanistic letters. Partaking in this mysterious itinerarium of faith with God is a little-known Carmelite nun, Cecilia del Nacimento (1570–1646), whose work remained in obscurity until the twentieth century when her manuscripts were first subjected to close critical scrutiny, culminating with this most informative book at hand. This edition provides a bilingual selection of poetry and selected prose into English by the nun-author Cecilia. The editorial work is done by Kevin Donnelly, a specialist in colonial Spanish American studies, and Sandra Sider, whose superb skills as translator have already been manifested in her insightful rendition of the sonnets of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and the poetry of Sappho. The translation of Mother Cecilia's prose texts include the "Treatise on the Transformation of the Soul in God," one of the earliest expositions of personal spiritual experiences and ideas regarding mysticism, and the "Treatise on the Union of the Soul in God," the earliest extant prose piece written by her. As the editors note, this treatise provides the most explicit details of how Mother Cecilia's love imitated a relationship with God that transcended prayer, meditation, fasting, and works of charity.

The present edition also contains the skillful translation of Cecilia's "First Account of God's Favors," which departs from the description of the soul's spousal relationship with God and focuses on the revelations experienced by the nun through the intercession of the Virgin Mary, as well as the effects of her spiritual experiences on several aspects of her life with the sisters in the convent and the difficulties she faced during the founding of the Discalced Carmelite convent in Calahorra. Also present in this edition is the translation of Mother Cecilia's "Second Account of God's Favors," in which one finds some rather perceptive and thought-provoking references to the importance of reading and intellectual pursuits.

No scriptural text is as central to Mother Cecilia's mystic writing as is the Song of Songs, which explains the reason for the request made by Father General Esteban de San José that the nun gloss the sixteenth verse of the second song "Dilectus Meus Mihi, et Ego Illi" (2:16): "He is My Beloved, and I Am His." Perceptive is the comment made by the editors of this volume that in the gloss of this verse, the nun "wished to highlight the role of the feminine in this discussion of God's relation to humanity, of how she conceived her subjectivity in relation to the male-dominated, and at times misogynistic, structures of religious life" (p. 165). Also part of the present volume are translations of Mother Cecilia's "Theological Exposition of the Most Holy Virgin," a greatly debated issue in early-seventeenth-century Spain, the "Treatise on the Mysteries of Our Holy Faith," a reaffirmation of the Church's creed, and the "Letters to her Sister Maria and to her Brothers Antonio and Juan." These are some of the best examples of the nun's correspondence showing the profound intellectual and emotional relationships with her siblings.

The second half of this edition provides a lucid bilingual rendition of Mother Cecilia's poetry consisting of ballads, refrains, sonnets, and Christmas carols, among other poetic compositions. Included in this volume are an excellent bibliography and a most useful analytical index. As a whole, the work done by Donnelly and Sider is both timely and significant, for it brings to life and makes accessible a corpus of mystical writings little known to students of the Spanish Golden Age, as well as places in proper perspective the role and power of the feminine voice in the literary and spiritual history of the time. It is a project indeed well done.

The Catholic University of America BRUNO DAMIANI

Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism. Edited by Lowell Gallagher. [Clark Memorial Library Series.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. 2012. Pp. x, 342. $75.00. ISBN 978-1-4426-4312-3.)

This reviewer groaned as he began to read the barely comprehensible editorial introduction to this volume: more pretentious, jargon-ridden, English-lit. theorizing seemed in prospect, with little that is useful to historians of religion. It is striking how much of the work on early-modern English Catholicism is now being done in English departments in the United States, probably because so many of the easily available sources are literary texts of one sort or another, and archival resources of the kind historians often use are limited (and on the other side of the Atlantic). For all its achievements, this scholarly effort has unbalanced our understanding of post-Reformation Catholicism, with its concentration on poetry, hagiography, heroic piety, priests, and the nobility and gentry—at the expense of conventional practice, social relations, and the lower social orders. But this groaning reviewer fretted too much—although ten of the twelve contributors to this collection work in English departments, most of them can, unusually, write comprehensible English, and some make serious contributions to historical understanding.

Eleven essays are organized in three sections: three in "Signposts" (on "signature topics"), four in "Poetics" (on Catholic poetry) and four in "Communities" (on confessional identity). Arthur Marotti looks carefully at Catholic responses to Protestant attacks on Catholic worship as idolatry, but finds there is more to say about John Donne and John Milton than Nicholas Sander and Thomas Harding. It looks as if Catholics gave up trying. Frances Dolan cleverly analyzes a ponderous official text exposing the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and a murder pamphlet from 1681, although it is not clear that they go together in any helpful way. Holly Crawford Pickett tells the stories of three "serial converts" (William Alabaster, Marc Antonio De Dominis, and William Chillingworth) and suggests that they were irenic and ecumenical rather than hypocrites or shallow time-servers: in these three cases, it looks as

if she is right, although others are more problematical. Alison Shell sensitively examines Alabaster's poetry and prose of conversion in more detail, and Richard Rambuss defends Richard Crashaw's style as devotional, intellectual, and both Anglican and Catholic. Gary Kuchar convincingly characterizes St. Robert Southwell's poem on St. Peter's repentance as an alchemical allegory of transmutation, and Jennifer Rust presents a canto of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590–96) as a response to Southwell's *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares* (1591). The "Communities" section is more obviously historical. Phebe Jensen shows neatly how traditional and Counter-Reformation Catholicism interacted in Catholic celebrations of Christmas, using manuscript collections of carols. Susannah Monta offers a thoughtful assessment of Southwell's *Short Rule for a Good Life* and other Catholic texts on holy living, as patterns of domestic piety that fostered communal identity and were copied by Protestants. Anne Dillon reconstructs in meticulous detail the piety and practice of the Confraternity of the Rosary that flourished at Cardigan House in London between c.1650 and 1678, and Stefania Tutino emphasizes the Catholic elements of Thomas White's *The Grounds of Obedience and Government* (1655). The editor's introduction is probably best ignored, but the eleven other essays all have something useful to say and those by Pickett, Jensen, and Dillon in particular have real significance for historians of English Catholicism. It is, therefore, a worthwhile collection. But how can we convince editors in search of a title that "Remapping" and "Redrawing the Map" have been done to death?

Christ Church, University of Oxford CHRISTOPHER HAIGH

Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England—Essays in Honour of Professor W. J. Sheils. Edited by Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xiii, 250. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-0089-9.)

Quite unusually for a Festschrift, this set of essays really has something to do with the body of work of the person whose career is being celebrated. William Sheils, in the later part of his œuvre, was noted in particular for probing, as he put it, the "ecumenicity of the everyday." Most of these pieces look at aspects of where the everyday took precedence over and trumped the polemical divisions which defined post–Reformation English politics. This, of course, has been a topic of some significance in recent times because of some scholars' continuing interest in how one narrates the rise of a tolerant mindset, i.e., as the state became less inclined to persecute people for their religious beliefs. It is certainly possible to show that successive regimes in this period frequently did not go after people purely because they held this or that view about doctrine. So the capacity for people to "get along" should not actually be all that surprising; except, of course, that there were so many occasions when they did not.

So thoughtful, and really very accomplished, is the introduction (forcefully reminding the reader how recent postgraduates still are the future of the profession) and so well assembled are the essays that it is difficult in the space of a short review to do justice to them all.

Alexandra Walsham reprises the literature of practical tolerance among the godly. The claim is that reformed/evangelical Protestantism in this period had a considerable capacity for socialization. There is a sense that, all the way through the period, with a theological and ecclesiological arm, Starbucks could have done well even in the godlier parts of country.

Peter Marshall produces a cutting-edge essay on one of the more problematical issues of the period, the question of how Catholics who were urged to separate themselves from their local parish and all its ungodliness could end up in the churchyard even while the parochial authorities sometimes tried to keep them out.

Robert Swanson's "Fissures in the Bedrock" looks at how far the more confessionally explicit difficulties after the Reformation had their analogues in the period before it—a useful reminder for historians of the Reformation who tend to think that the world starts in 1558 or 1533. Emma Watson has a chapter on the continuing efficiency of the church courts and concludes that "both before and after the Reformation, clergymen were accountable to their congregations" (pp. 113–14). The source base for the essay reminds us that there is so much more mileage for PhD students in the under-used church court records of this period.

Andrew Cambers has a brilliant piece on the circulation of libels in Northampton, a worthy addition to the trail blazed in the recent past by Alastair Bellany. This refers back also to Sheils's work on Northamptonshire Puritanism—one bookend of his career, as it were. The article is in fact about the two libels that John Lambe denounced in Star Chamber in 1607 as part of a conformist attempt to "out" Northamptonshire Puritans and is really interesting, because it reveals a coterie of conformists and future Laudians there; this is, of course, slightly against the grain of the volume, as these people were definitely not getting along.

Rosamund Oates's contribution reviews the Challenge controversy and says, basically, that polemicists could not do anything to (re)confessionalize the calendar. Peter Lake weighs in with a typically nuanced reading of the play *Sir John Oldcastle*. Part of his recent long-term project is to work out the historical context for what London theatergoers were watching in the late-Elizabethan period. This play reverses the tropes and assumptions of Shakespeare's *Henry IV,* and essentially it is about anti-Puritanism and its antitheses. It is also a brilliant evocation of the politics of loyalist Catholicism in which, of course, Shakespeare himself is often reckoned to have had an investment. Here we have, among others, Anthony Munday trying to appro-

priate some of what one might call the center ground of debate about this issue, constructing a loyalist position that was compatible with moderate Puritans' views of themselves. This certainly makes the intellectual and ideological position of the authors of this play a good deal more complex than one might have thought.

Katy Gibbons recently published a major study on exile Catholicism in the reign of Elizabeth Tudor, a phenomenon that was arguably crucial, as John Bossy once argued, in shaping the nature of post-Reformation Catholicism in England before Tudor rule was extinguished and while France was still racked by the wars of religion. This is a timely essay on the same area: the impact of exile and the existence of "plural Catholic identities." The issue of exile is still underexplored—what it meant for those who took themselves abroad and what they thought they would get out of it. Virtually anyone who has had to endure an intolerably badly run university, for example, and has taken the opportunity to decamp somewhere else will instinctively know what was at stake here.

In the chapter that follows, Carroll and Hopper deal with the French fascination with the Quakers, and more specifically an obscure Quaker now made less obscure. It is a reminder that the Quakers could aspire to the heights of factional division at least as well as any other group defined by religion in this period. Finally, Simon Jonson provides an account of Blacklowism. This was a real eye-opener for this reviewer, as the approach adopted here allows one to see the danger of Blacklow's (Thomas White's) teaching to any kind of Catholic model for the British Isles based on obedience to Rome.

All in all, we have here not so much an account of how under certain circumstances people could muddle along if left in relative peace by those who always seek to complicate and problematize everything, but why that problematizing process was sometimes difficult to avoid through much of the early-modern period, even if historians generally cannot agree why.

Queen Mary, University of London MICHAEL QUESTIER

The Case of Galileo: A Closed Question? By Annibale Fantoli. Translated by George V. Coyne, S.J. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 271. $28.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02891-6.)

Is Galileo's trial and condemnation the prime example of the conflict between science and religion? Was science, which is based on reason and experiment, bound to clash with religion, which relies on authority and dogma? How is it that honest inquirers still ask: Why did the Church tried to silence Galileo? These questions often are raised because the Galileo Affair was a dramatic incident in the history of the relations between science and religion. It also was an isolated case. Galileo was a loyal member of the

Catholic Church, and it never occurred to him to attack the institution to which he belonged. He was eager to be heard within the Church, and he saw the rise of the new science as an opportunity for believers to gain a better insight into the workings of God in nature. He was worried that the Church might look foolish if it failed to understand the significance of the new astronomy and rashly condemn Copernicans. Events proved him right, and the Church took a long time to recover from the blow.

Annibale Fantoli is the distinguished author of *Galileo: For Copernicanism and for the Church* (Notre Dame, 1994), and this new book is a revised and abridged edition for the general public. It is one of the best accounts of the life and achievements of Galileo, and it is excellently translated by George V. Coyne, who played a major role in the rehabilitation of Galileo in recent years. The final part of the volume describes the unfolding of events after the condemnation of Galileo up to the present day. It is the history of a Church that continues to bear the heavy burden of the Galileo Affair because of its constant preoccupation with saving its good name, while being unwilling to accept, without shadows of compromise and veiled formulations, its responsibility in acknowledging Galileo's greatness. His famous *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* was put on the Index of Forbidden Books in 1633, and it was not until the 1835 edition that it was removed per the order of Pope Gregory XVI. Scholars were still barred from access to the documents concerning Galileo's trial in the Secret Vatican Archives, and an effective liberalization program started only in 1880 with the new Pope Leo XIII. The most conspicuous result was the publication of all the material related to Galileo's trial that appeared in the nineteenth volume of the national edition of the *Works* of Galileo that were edited by Antonio Favaro between 1890 and 1909.

The first pope to publicly and formally acknowledged the responsibility of the Church was John Paul II. Speaking to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences in 1979, he declared:

> I hope that theologians, scholars and historians, animated by a spirit of sincere collaboration, will study the Galileo case more deeply and, in loyal recognition of wrongs from whatever side they come, will dispel the mistrust that still opposes, in many minds, a fruitful concord between science and faith, between the church and the world.

The present book is one of the most interesting and important outcomes of this historical speech. It may not close the Galileo Affair, but the book renders the matter intelligible, and it deserves to be widely read and studied.

Max Plank Institute for the History of Science, Berlin WILLIAM R. SHEA

The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop: Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice. By Federico Barbierato. (Farnham, UK/Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xxxiii, 396. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-3547-1.)

This is a study of unbelief in Venice from the 1640s to the 1740s. It is an account of various kinds of skepticism, libertinism, atheism, and irreligion expressed by Venetians and others in so far as they came to the attention of ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The book is based on extensive reading of the trials found in the archives of the Venetian Holy Office, including a limited number of trials from Veneto inquisitions referred to Venice, and, secondarily, the archives of the *Inquisitori dello Stato*, the civil magistracy that investigated crimes involving nobles.

Barbierato sees Venice as an open city in which people spoke freely despite Church and state. Many persons came to Venice from the rest of Italy and beyond, sometimes fleeing local ecclesiastical and civil authorities. It was not difficult to obtain prohibited books, as previous scholars have documented. Venice was an excellent news center, because authors, ambassadors, and Christian and Jewish merchants came to Venice to exchange and gather information. Those who sought news and ideas did not worry about whether their sources believed in God. People expressed heterodox ideas in craft shops, barbershops, bookstores, Piazza San Marco, and family gatherings. Barbierato emphasizes the "virtuoso," the man who dominates a free-wheeling discussion.

Several forms of unbelief circulated, beginning with denial of the immortality of the soul. Barbierato offers evidence about the circulation of the views of Cesare Cremonini (d. 1631), professor of philosophy at the University of Padua for many years. He describes a Father Antonio Rocca (d. 1653), who denied the immortality of the soul in the philosophy lessons that he delivered to noblemen, doctors, lawyers, and chemists in his house in Venice. The idea that religion was invented to control the people circulated; according to a famous version, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed were three great imposters invented by rulers. A version of skepticism held that sex between unmarried people was not a sin. A bastardized form of quietism became unbelief: if a person was close to God, he possessed enlightenment and could ignore the commandments of the Church. In the scholarly debate concerning whether original popular incredulity existed, or learned incredulity trickled down, the author cautiously takes the side of original popular incredulity. Nevertheless, much of what he has uncovered looks like popular versions of learned incredulity. The book concludes with the trials of a circle of men who met in the house of a hatter to discuss free masonry and much else in the 1730s. When it convicted, the Venetian Inquisition levied light penalties, the heaviest of which were a few years in prison, usually later shortened. Because it had to keep in mind the constraints imposed by the state's jurisdictional claims, the Inquisition sought to limit unbelief. It did not try to stamp it out.

The book is based on much archival material and wide reading in secondary sources. The prose is clear, vigorous, and sometimes verbose. Barbierato provides numerous colorful quotations of people appearing before the Inquisition in lively English translations. Unfortunately, he does not include the original Italian in the notes. The bibliography is very extensive, although the citations do not give pagination for articles in collective volumes or list translators. This is a good book about unbelief in Venice.

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

Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: The Mental World of a Seventeenth-Century Catholic Gentleman. By Geoff Baker. [Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern England.] (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Distrib. Palgrave, New York. 2010. Pp. xiv, 236. $89.95. ISBN 978-0-7190-8024-1.)

This book offers the first full-length study of the papers of William Blundell of Little Crosby (1620–98), a Lancashire Catholic gentleman unremarkable for his career, wealth, or family—but who left us an archive of correspondence and commonplace books that has few equals in early-modern studies and that offers not only a rich portrait of an engaging individual but also a window onto a world.

Geoff Baker first explores Blundell's social networks of family and friends, through which he exchanged news, views, and literature and acted as a Catholic agent and patron. Through them, he also protected himself from trouble, particularly during the Civil Wars, when he faced sequestration and imprisonment as both a Royalist and a Catholic, but also from the perennial liability that came from adhering to an illegal religion. The second half of the book delves into the "approach to the world" illustrated by Blundell's commonplace books, largely private collections in which he copied out (and commented on) works of every genre on every subject from theology and natural philosophy to dueling. Baker explores how Blundell combined his commitment as a Catholic believer with his support for the "new science" movement; his interest in travel writing and ethnography; and his engagement with confessional polemic, which included producing at least one work of his own. Interesting details include Blundell's providing the Protestant Edmund Borlase with lists of (Catholic) sources for Borlase's work on the history of Ireland, hoping that his own input would "somewhat allay the spirit which poss[ess]eth his [Borlase's] party" (p. 153).

The study has shortcomings. Baker states in his introduction that the book's purpose is to consider whether Blundell's "projected image" of himself as "both a loyal Englishman and a devoted Catholic" was "justified by

his actions" and private writings (p. 1). The author's pre-occupation with this hypothesized dichotomy combines with his anxiety to distance himself from confessional history to produce sometimes simplistic statements. It is hardly a revelation to find that a Catholic professed loyalty but broke the laws, since he could not have practiced Catholicism without breaking a few; similarly, to say that "despite his profession of loyalty" Blundell's work of managing money for the English Poor Clare nuns at Rouen "posed a direct threat to the Protestant regime" (p. 88) rather suggests mid-range missiles pointed at London mounted on the convent roofs. "Indirect threat to the Protestant church" would express it better and would invite a more pertinent discussion of the contested nature of the meaning of loyalty, as exemplified by Blundell. Again, observing a contradiction between Blundell's steadfast Catholic recusancy and his writing lists of apparent errors in scripture in his commonplace book (pp. 144–45, 162) is less interesting than pursuing the question of how and why Blundell did not see these as contradictory.

Reading and Politics shines a light on a significant and under-used source, and it may be hoped that it will point the way for social and cultural historians to exploit the potential of the Blundell papers.

Centre for Catholic Studies LUCY UNDERWOOD
Durham University

Religion, Magic, and the Origin of Science in Early Modern England. By John Henry. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xii, 328. $170.00. ISBN 978-1-4094-4458-9.)

The essays collected in this book focus on a central issue in the history of early-modern science: the rise of mechanical philosophy. New philosophers and scientists such as Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, and Thomas Hobbes claimed that physics could be confined to kinematics—the motions of bodies and the interactions arising from their motions were all that was required to explain any set of circumstances. For many authors, however, a strictly mechanicist kinematics seemed unworkable. Inspired by ideas derived from theological, magical, and alchemical traditions, many physicists, neo-Platonic philosophers, chemists, and physicians held that any physical body, or matter in general, was endowed with "active principles." The animate nature of the Earth in William Gilbert's *De magnete*, Robert Boyle's "cosmical qualities," and Isaac Newton's action at a distance are cases in point. Until recently, efforts to trace the intellectual origins of Newton's concept of active principles concentrated either on the influence of alchemy or on that of Cambridge Platonism. However, it was not Newton who reintroduced occult qualities into natural philosophy. Several exponents of English mechanical philosophy before him entertained the possibility of unexplained active principles in matter. In the present volume, John Henry reconstructs a highly interesting

"prehistory" of Newton's natural philosophy. Walter Warner (1570–1642/43), who arrived at his mechanical philosophy by blending elements from medieval and Renaissance neo-Platonism with ideas from Thomas Harriot and Galileo, held that all bodies possess an efficient power or virtue. Walter Charleton, following his mentor Pierre Gassendi, argued that the atoms at their creation by God are endowed with "internal energy." Francis Glisson (Regius professor of physics at Cambridge) wrote an entire treatise on the "energetic nature of substance." Also, Boyle did not subscribe to a strictly mechanicist account of physics, as he acknowledged the need of active principles, and assumed the existence of "aerious, etherial, luminous" spirits in all mixed bodies. Robert Hooke used inherent vibrations of matter to explain light and gravity. Thus, Newton's introduction of active principles in matter cannot be seen as his major philosophical innovation, as has been usually assumed in historical studies. However, Newton vigorously rejected Leibniz's objection that gravity was an occult quality. Active principles are manifest; only their causes are occult.

The author further develops his central claim in essays devoted to Henry More, Boyle, Hooke, and Newton. He shows that the differences between More and Boyle—apparently allies brought together by common interest in Cartesianism and the use of mechanical philosophy—were crucial, extending from their epistemological views to their beliefs about the nature of the world and of God. Hooke's matter theory cannot be seen as simply mechanicist: his defense of the magician John Dee, written in 1690 toward the end of his career, shows a real concern for the importance of natural magic in the "improving of natural knowledge." A close reading of Newton's frequently quoted letters to Richard Bentley, apparently excluding the possibility of action at a distance, shows that Newton's pronouncements upon gravitational attraction are consistent with the view that he believed gravity to be a superadded inherent property of bodies that was capable of acting at a distance. In the final essay, the author argues that the leading figures in the magical tradition (including Girolamo Cardano, Girolamo Fracastoro, Giovan Battista Della Porta, Giordano Bruno, and Francis Bacon) turned to the occult not because they were fools with an occult mentality, but because occult traditions seemed to offer a source of help to find solutions to problems that the Aristotelian and Galenic traditions could not resolve.

With this collection, Henry offers a surprising and innovative perspective on the intellectual history of early-modern Europe with particular attention to the impact of theology and Christian faith on philosophical and scientific views of natural reality. Most of the authors discussed here assumed that God endowed active principles on matter, either directly or else through an all-pervasive immaterial Spirit supposedly acting as the vicarious power of God in the world. The three essays centered on More reveal the pivotal role of theological ideas in the English debates on psychology and physics. Finally, the essay on Thomas White and Kenelm Digby sheds new light on the transfor-

mation of seventeenth-century Peripatetic philosophy and, more generally, on the role of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in England.

Radboud University, Nijmegen LEEN SPRUIT
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L'ordre de Prémontré au XVIII^e siècle. Edited by Dominique-Marie Dauzet and Martine Plouvier. (Bern: Peter Lang. 2011. Pp. viii, 314. $94.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-0343-1056-7.)

This volume examines the Premonstratensian Order in Europe in the eighteenth century, and the articles come out of a 2002 conference. The articles, of course, vary in quality, and the long time between the conference and the publication of the volume means that considerable new scholarship has been produced in the interim. Nevertheless, there are some important insights in this volume. The articles here show that this monastic order—the Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré, founded in the twelfth century and also known as the Norbertines—continued to be vibrant and active even in the century of the Enlightenment. The volume reinforces many of the points made by Derek Beales in *Prosperity and Plunder. European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650–1815* (New York, 2003), from the perspective of one order. In the eighteenth century the Premonstratensians were prosperous; they built or renovated their monasteries and promoted traditional piety while also engaging the new intellectual and cultural developments of the age.

The volume presents an overview of the order across Europe, seeking common developments and reminding the reader of its institutional structure. By the 1700s the leading role of the "mother house" at Premontré in northeastern France had declined significantly. Houses outside France barely recognized its primacy within the order, and "general chapters" that drew representatives from across Europe were held only in 1717 and 1738. The order became more national in its perspectives and interests, with the German, French, and Belgian houses as particularly important; this volume focuses on those regions.

The nuanced article by Xavier Lavagne d'Ortigue on the Order in France explains much of the character of the order in this period. The Premonstratensians in France were divided into two branches: a "reformist" branch and a more traditional one. The two branches were not exactly in conflict, although there were differences in emphasis, particularly about how much (or little) a canon should move from house to house. The order was, in one sense, quite large, with eighty-four abbeys and ten urban residences. However, there were only 1200 monks of various kinds in the whole country, which meant that many houses were quite small. D'Ortigue, just like many government and church officials in the eighteenth century, considers this

structure problematic, since monastic houses with few residents suffered disciplinary problems while using resources inefficiently.

Another characteristic of the order was the large number of *chanoines-curés* in France. These were canons who served as parish priests and did not usually live in a monastic setting. These men played an important role in local religious life and seem to have performed their duties with care and dedication, as was increasingly characteristic of parish priests in the eighteenth century. In this way, the order was constantly engaged with secular life and far from the useless, detached, and materialist monastic orders satirized by Voltaire and other Enlightenment writers.

Yet at the same time, this volume describes the great baroque complexes built by the Premonstratensians during the eighteenth century in France, south Germany, and the Habsburg lands. These building projects, which were characterized most famously by wonderful libraries in locations such as Strahov in Bohemia and Schussenried in Upper Swabia, were artistic masterpieces, complete with extensive decoration in the most elaborate style. They also were hugely expensive and reflected the great wealth accumulated by the order over the centuries. In demonstrating this wealth so openly, the Premonstratensians, like all the old orders, were vulnerable to the satires of the *philosophes* and to the desire of rapacious monarchs like Joseph II to take their resources for use in other, more "useful" ways. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic era then led to the almost total destruction of the order.

This useful volume, which unfortunately does not discuss houses for women, brings the often neglected history of the Catholic religious orders in the eighteenth century to life.

Connecticut College MARC R. FORSTER

Late Modern European

Die Katholische Tübinger Schule: Zur Geschichte ihrer Wahrnehmung. By Stefan Warthmann. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2011. Distrib. David Brown Book Co., Oakville, CT. Pp. xi, 639. $138.00. ISBN 978-3-315-09856-4.)

This scholarly work is a dissertation done at Tübingen University and, not surprisingly, exhibits an astounding control of the primary and secondary sources. In sometimes repetitive detail, Stefan Warthmann explores what is meant by "school." Is the school to be defined by the faculty belonging to it? Is it to be the institutional group supporting the *Theologische Quartalschrift*? Is the school to be defined by the direction that it set for theological reflection right into the modern era? Warthmann extensively analyzes the issues raised by these questions, but selects "direction" as the concept to describe the school.

The school itself originated as a vigorous reaction to the Enlightenment and was nurtured by the romanticism, idealism, and historicism popular in early-nineteenth-century Germany along with the pastoral theological impetus provided by Johann Michael Sailer. The founders of the school itself were Johann Sebastian von Drey, who set the romantic, organic, and historical tone of the theological methodology, which was then reinforced by Johann Adam Möhler. Other early scholars in this tradition who carried forward the methodology of "doing theology" were Franz Anton Staudenmaier and Johann Evangelist von Kuhn; they went beyond the subjectivism of Friedrich Schleiermacher and were influenced by a Hegelian idealism that could support doctrinal development. For these theologians, doctrine was tied to the ongoing expressions of the historical Christian communities as they reflected within their historical contexts. Truth did not change, but rather matured or unfolded in an organic fashion.

Clearly, such an approach could be viewed by some as potentially endangering the transcendental truth offered by the institutional Church. Warthmann provides his most significant contribution by stressing how the scholars in this school's tradition responded to accusations of infidelity and influenced other theologians and church historians in France, England, Italy, Spain, and the United States as they all wrestled with the role of historical development in the theological enterprise. Such scholars as Cardinal John Henry Newman; Cardinal Yves Congar, O.P.; Karl Adam; and Josef Rupert Geiselmann have contributed in a major fashion to the influence of this school. Warthmann also explicates the contributions of other scholars such as Karl Werner, Fritz Vigener, and Georges Rouzet. Clearly the school goes beyond its original institutionalization in Tübingen. The school helped formulate a "direction" that theologians who wanted to embrace modernity could take. As he explores the school's influence, Warthmann carefully investigates the general relation of philosophy to theology and so can comment on the role of neo-Scholasticism as a rival direction. Specific concepts such as "living tradition," historically maturing, and the "kingdom of God" model have permeated the entire Tübingen tradition and have been given new life through the efforts of Karl Rahner, Cardinal Walter Kasper, and the Second Vatican Council.

Warthmann has thoroughly studied the birth and continuing life of this school and has analyzed how it has created generations of conversation partners with those theologians following other directions. He concludes by stressing how important it is to recognize that unity can be delineated by embracing the notion of multiplicity. Warthmann's work is certainly not the last word in the scholarship stimulated by the worldview formulated by this school, but his study of this theological direction can help isolate the directions to be pursued by other contemporary scholars.

Boston College DONALD J. DIETRICH

Catholiques et Comtois: Liturgie diocésaine et identité régionale au XIX^e^ siècle. By Vincent Petit. [Histoire religieuse de la France, No. 36.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2011. Pp. 720. €44,00. ISBN 978-2-204-09395-8.)

After decades of neglect, interest in the French diocesan liturgies of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is slowly but surely growing. Modern technology and the online sources available to researchers now provide the means for a more systematic scientific study. Part of the responsibility for the neglect of these liturgies is attributable to Abbot Prosper Guéranger of Solesmes, who treated them with such negative polemical passion in his writings that he damaged their respectability. Although these diocesan liturgies are not autonomous rites alongside other liturgies of both the Eastern and Western Churches, they should not be regarded as deviations that were tolerated for the sake of conserving peace and unity within the Church.

The recent change of perspective in historical research means that the French diocesan liturgies need to be placed both in the context of European intellectual history and in the political and social conditions of the time. Such an approach is to be found in the work of Vincent Petit. His examination of the cultural, social, and religious setting of the liturgy of the Archdiocese of Besançon has enabled him to show its impact upon the formation of the Catholic identity of Franche-Comté in the nineteenth century.

The work is divided into three sections, each covering approximately a quarter of a century: the period leading up to the liturgical controversy, the period of the return to the Roman liturgy, and the peculiar situation of the Archdiocese of Besançon. Petit shows that the movement for the return of the French archdiocese to the unity of the Roman liturgy was facilitated by the Ultramontane movement, rooted in the teachings of Joseph de Maistre and Félicité de Lamennais.

In the Archdiocese of Besançon, the presence of influential Ultramontane clergy such as Emmanuel Bousson, Philippe Gerbet, Thomas Marie Joseph Gousset, and Jean Marie Doney might have led one to suppose that the Church in Besançon would have been in the vanguard of reform. Yet despite such strong pro-Roman influence, the Archdiocese of Besançon was not swept away by the tide of reforming enthusiasm. More than thirty years were to pass from the beginning of the "liturgical controversy" before Besançon renounced its own diocesan books. It was Petit's desire to know why Besançon took so long to adopt the Roman books that led him to undertake his research.

The first part of this book presents an in-depth examination of the background of the province and the Church of the Franche-Comté, especially the period of the implementation of the reforms of the Council of Trent. Careful attention is given to the three decades leading up to the appointment of Jacques-Marie-Adrien Mathieu to the See of Besançon in 1834. Mathieu was an able administrator, moderate and balanced in his views. He was not an

Ultramontane, yet was loyal to the See of Rome. Nevertheless, Mathieu refused to adopt the Roman liturgy in his diocese until a year before his death in 1875.

After the liturgical disputes ended in the majority of the French dioceses, the controversy continued with a slightly different complexion in the Archdiocese of Besançon. Several members of the Besançon clergy, who had read Guéranger's *Institutions Liturgiques* (Paris, 1840–51) and the Instructions issued by those bishops whose dioceses had adopted the Roman liturgical books, decided on their own initiative to adopt the Roman liturgy. The second part of Petit's book is concerned with this problem and the tensions between some of the clergy and their archbishop. The archbishop was not concerned with his own authority but rather with the legitimate diversity and identity of a local church that he saw as an important contribution to the patrimony of the universal Church.

The third section of Petit's work is concerned with the development of regional identity and the way it was conditioned by the liturgical and devotional life of its people and the scholarly activity of its clergy.

While leading the general reader into a relatively unknown area of French ecclesiastical history, this book will bring the reward of opening an interesting dimension of the life and worship of the Church. This work is a timely reminder to liturgists that the social and historical context of their research can contribute to a wider understanding of the Church's liturgical life and practice. For those who would pursue the matter further, an extensive and informative bibliography is provided.

Hexham, Northumberland, United Kingdom ABBOT CUTHBERT JOHNSON, O.S.B.

Life with a Mission: Cardinal Willem Marinus van Rossum C.Ss.R. (1854–1932). Edited by Vefie Poels, Theo Salemink, and Hans de Valk. [Trajecta, Religie, cultuur en samenleving in de Nederlanden/Religion, Culture and Society in the Low Countries, 19-20.2010–2011.1–2.] (Nijmegen: Trajecta. 2011. Pp. 240. €19,00 paperback. ISSN 0778-8304; ISBN 978-908-140-9810.)

Roughly a half a dozen non-Italians rose to the top of the Roman Curia in the first half of the twentieth century. One of them was Cardinal Willem Marinus van Rossum of the Netherlands. Born in 1854, van Rossum joined the Redemptorists twenty years later. Specializing in moral theology and canon law, he was called to Rome in 1895, working with Pietro Gasparri and Eugenio Pacelli on the codification of canon law between 1904 and 1917. In 1911, he was made a cardinal, and in 1915 he was appointed Grand Penitentiary, responsible for deciding such matters as the remission of grave sins as well as canonical censures such as excommunication, exemptions, and dispensa-

tions. Three years later, he was made "red pope," prefect of the missionary Congregation of *De Propaganda Fide*. He died in 1932.

These essays/articles are the first steps toward a definitive biography of van Rossum. Joop Vernojji and Otto S. Lankhorst provide accounts of his early life, and Eric Corsius discusses the influence of the Redemptorists' theological tradition on him. An evaluation of van Rossum's role in the campaign against modernism during the pontificate of Pius X is offered by Otto Weiss, and his contribution to the codification of canon law is assessed by Anna Luisa Casiraghi. Especially useful are the essays on various aspects of van Rossum's fourteen-year stint at Propaganda, his contribution to the "postcolonialist" turn taken by missionary policy under Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI (Claude Prudhomme), his over-optimistic hopes for the conversion of Scandinavia (Vefie Poels), and the problems of the Catholic missions in what is now Indonesia (Hans de Valk). Marcel Chappin examines the phenomenon of international Eucharistic congresses, as van Rossum presided over two of them: Vienna (1912) and Amsterdam (1924).

There are other gems, like Johann Ickx's essay on van Rossum's tenure as Grand Penitentiary and Monsignor Giuseppe Maria Croce's essay, "Regards sur la Curie romaine de 1895 à 1932." The latter gives an excellent insight into the transformation of the Roman Curia from what had been the court of an Ancien Régime monarchy (the Papal States) into a more functional instrument of government of the universal Church. It also suggests that the scandals recently alluded to in "Vati-leaks" are nothing new. Theo Salemink, in "Cardinal Willem van Rossum and the Amici Israel (1926–1928): The Conversion of the Jews and the Debate on Zionism," casts new light on the bizarre *retroscena* to the condemnation of Amici d'Israele[1]—to wit, the curious relationship among van Rossum; the Dutch Jewish convert Francisca (originally Sophie) van Leer; the German Franciscan friar Laetus Himmelreich, who converted her; and a canon of the order of the Holy Cross, Anton van Asseldonk, who accompanied van Leer to Palestine to found a "Catholic kibbutz."

Vefie Poels points out that van Rossum embodied the interface among three kinds of Catholic milieu—Dutch Catholicism, the Redemptorists, and the Roman Curia. But she also says, "…we have no clear understanding of van Rossum's attitudes towards the main political movements of his time, such as Fascism, Communism, and the first wave of feminism or suffragettism" (p. 193). The study of these will not only be essential in achieving that definitive biography but also will broaden our understanding of the culture of the Roman Curia in van Rossum's day.

University of Cambridge JOHN POLLARD

[1]See Hubert Wolf, *Pope and Devil: The Vatican's Archives and the Third Reich*, trans. Kenneth Kronenberg (Cambridge, MA, 2010).

Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification. By Rebecca Ayako Bennette. [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. 178.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 368. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-674-06563-5.)

Rebecca Ayako Bennette has given us good reason to reconsider the 1870s in German Catholic history. Her book analyzes Catholic public discourse on German national identity, bringing contemporary cultural analysis to bear on the subject. Rather than interpreting the 1870s as a period of Catholic reaction and rejection of the *Reich*, Bennette argues convincingly that the basis of Catholic integration is forged in this decade.

Bennette has divided her study into two parts, highlighting her two major challenges to traditional historiography. Part I is a close chronological analysis of the *Kulturkampf*. Here Bennette separates the *Kulturkampf* into its component parts as a corrective to customary historical shorthand. This allows us to see more clearly the development of Catholic thought about the nation after the defeat of Austria in 1866, then through an initial phase of Catholic integration in 1871–72, and then through the political battles of 1873–75. Throughout these phases, Catholic journalists and politicians never questioned the core concept of a German *Reich*, but rather argued that Bismarck's policies and the Liberals were leading Germany down an essentially "un-German" path.

Part II addresses four themes in the Catholic construction of national identity, where Catholic leaders challenged the concepts of the nation of Bismarck and the Liberals. First, Bennette examines how regionalism was "central" to the new nation and to the Catholic view of German-ness. Second, German Catholic writers at least briefly offered a "feminine gendering of the nation" (p. 13) as an alternative to the Protestant, masculine, and militaristic images. Third, Bennette examines Catholic attempts to claim German scholarship (*Bildung* and *Wissenschaft*) and attack Liberal bias in the professoriate. Bennette's fourth theme is the Catholic vision of a new German epoch. Through these themes, Catholic writers fashioned their own version of the "special path" (*Sonderweg*) for the German nation, one that heralded the New Imperialism to come and brought true Christian culture to a world threatened by materialist civilization. Catholic writers argued that it was their duty to fend off the Liberal destruction of true German-ness so that Germany could embrace its moment in world history and lead in the advancement of Christian civilization.

Bennette notes that her analysis relies heavily on newspapers, but her study reaches beyond newspapers into the larger body of Catholic publications and the personal records of Catholic leaders. Newspapers and "confessional" journals, however, present unique challenges for historical research. Newspapers can provide a "dialogic format," as Bennette states, in which the publications both shape public opinion and respond to it. Yet Catholic *public*

opinion, especially in the 1870s, is difficult to grasp. Given the Church's censorship of materials as well as the self-censorship of Catholic writers, we need to question the dialogic openness of these publications. Bennette comments that roughly half of German Catholics did not vote for the Center Party. This is a significant fact that suggests a very large portion of Catholics did not engage in sustained dialogue with writers for *Germania*, the *Historisch-Politische Blätter*, or the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*. The chasm that existed, with social elites and their "mass" publications on one side and the German Catholic population on the other, is still a major problem for historical analysis.

Bennette's work is nonetheless a masterful study of the Catholic journals and their vision of Germany in the *Kulturkampf* era. Her work rightly brings us to reconsider the problem of Catholic integration in the *Kaiserreich* and provides a solid basis for further historical inquiry.

University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point ERIC YONKE

Soldier of Christ: The Life of Pope Pius XII. By Robert A. Ventresca. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 405. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-674-04961-1.)

This is clearly the most extensive biography of Pope Pius XII yet written. Based on original sources in the Vatican, Rome, Germany, Britain, and the United States, and written in clear narrative style, it will not totally please either side in the "Pius Wars." It does, however, give us greater understanding of the man at the center of the most turbulent pontificate since the French Revolution.

Canadian historian Robert A. Ventresca argues that the dispute over Pius has led us to see the pope as less a man than an institution. His aim is to correct this tendency. This is not an easy thing to do, for inevitably the author has to answer the troublesome questions that have been asked for years about Pius, both as man and institution. The most important of these are his problematic relations with Germany, his silence on the Holocaust, and his alleged connivance in the ratlines that abetted the escape of Nazis and fascists after 1945.

Thus, the book falls into three periods. The first takes up Eugenio Pacelli as a Roman with a strong sense of family loyalty in a Rome that was undergoing cultural modernization. It carries through to his years in the seminary, the papal diplomatic corps, as nuncio to Bavaria and Germany, and finally to his years as papal secretary of state where he faced his most challenging problem in dealing with Nazi Germany. According to Ventresca, the German bishops, who feared Bolshevism and were concerned with political stability, guided Pacelli's relations with Germany in a period that dated before the Nazi

rise to power and ended after their defeat. These bishops counseled restraint in dealing with Adolf Hitler, and Pacelli adopted their approach. It became the chief means of Vatican diplomacy during the war—a policy of maintaining neutrality along with guarded criticism so as to preserve diplomatic relations with the warring powers. As secretary of state and as pope, he carefully worded all public statements, for "he simply saw no practicable alternative" (p. 157). Instead of speaking out forcefully on wartime problems, he favored allowing bishops on the scene to decide whether to speak out or not.

When the war began shortly after he became pope in 1939, his first concern was to lessen the agony of the Poles under both German and Soviet domination. Ventresca states that the long-suffering Poles wanted a papal declaration—"a simple but powerful exposition of the Christian message"—but instead, because of Pius's fears of German reaction, they received "the cerebral casuistry of an academic and the diplomatic propriety of a statesman"(p. 176).

On the central question of the Holocaust, Ventresca uses the published documents skillfully. He portrays Pius with "a limited ability to perceive the precise nature of the Nazi war against the Jews" (p. 176) because of his background and training. Pius viewed the attack on the Jews as a political issue and therefore as not the primary concern of the Church. Notes Ventresca,

> His insistence on maintaining the public face of impartiality undermined the political credibility of the papacy, and worse yet, left the institution vulnerable to the charge that he had failed the test of moral leadership at one of humanity's darkest hours. (p. 178)

Ventresca does not give any special insight into the roundup of the Roman Jews in October 1943, and he does not mention at all the pope's failure to condemn the affirmed Catholic Croat Ustasha's systematic murders of Serbian Orthodox and Jews during the war—probably the single occasion where the pope had the greatest opportunity to lessen suffering.

The last third of the book covers the years after the war—a period not sufficiently plumbed by historians—which gives clearer insight into Pius. He had to craft a message to show that he had clearly condemned Nazi antisemitism, even though he had not done so, and statements of gratitude from Jewish leaders helped him to do so. He publicly condemned the communists who were taking over Eastern Europe, and he became a cold warrior, but at the same time he indicated to the communist regimes that he was willing to negotiate with them to protect church interests (which was what he had done with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy).

One of Pius's major concerns after 1945 was the reconstruction of Germany. He came to rely more on his German staff as advisers: Jesuits Ivo Zeiger, Robert Leiber, and Augustin Bea, as well as his housekeeper, Sister

Pacalina Lehnert. Viewing the pope's response to problems after 1945, Jacques Maritain, the French ambassador to the Holy See, described papal policy as "surprisingly provincial" (p. 272).

As for the ratlines, Ventresca says that the claim that Pius was involved "rests on shaky foundations" (p. 268). Despite Pius's tight control over diplomacy, "there was a disturbing lack of transparency … in the use of relief services" (p. 269), and Nazi sympathizers in the Vatican could take advantage of this situation.

In many ways, Ventresca argues, the last third of Pius's life was his greatest legacy, with his teaching encyclicals and the many comments and observations to the different groups who came to visit him. Whereas some may see these papal statements as truisms and platitudes, Ventresca disagrees, praising them for their far-sightedness. He closes by saying, despite his earlier criticisms, that "there is a strong argument to be made that taken as a whole, [Pius's] reign over the church was consistent with the moral, pastoral, and political leadership expected of the Vicar of Christ" (p. 309).

Saint Louis University (Emeritus) JOSÉ M. SÁNCHEZ

Der Verband katholischer kaufmännischer Vereinigungen Deutschlands 1877–1933. By Veronika Laufen. [Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, Band 22.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2011. Pp. 515. €79,90. ISBN 978-3-631-62053-3.)

This excellent book examines the relationship between labor and Catholicism in Germany—a subject largely neglected by research until now. At first, political liberalism dominated commerce in the country. Founded in Koblenz, the Union of Catholic Commercial Associations brought together local entities of Catholic businessmen in an umbrella organization through general meetings at Mainz (1877) and Koblenz (1878). Priests played an eminent role in leading the organization on the local and regional levels, although the Union was based on the idea of lay apostolate. Its members held a profound loyalty to the Catholic Church, the bishops, and the pope and drew on Catholic social teaching and the needs of their professional milieu to construct their philosophy. The Union relied on two principles—Catholicism (*Katholizität*) and parity (*Parität*)—thus seeking to unite the white-collar workers on the one side with the merchants on the other. It unfolded a broad spectrum of activities, including the publication of twelve periodicals. The most important was the Union's magazine, *Merkuria*. Other initiatives included life and health insurance, Social Security agencies, savings banks, and self-supporting recreational facilities. The Union also provided its members with job opportunities, legal assistance, scholarships, and funds in cases of economic hardship. A main concern was with the condition of a Catholic minority in a Protestant-dominated society. The Union's educational programs

and professional training initiatives were a way to remove or reduce disadvantages imposed by Catholic inferiority (*katholische Inferiorität*).

Because of its emphasis on parity, the Union differed from the Christian trade unions. The latter operated as socially and politically effective pressure groups, acting only as representative bodies of working-class interests without regard to religious denomination. In contrast, the Catholic merchants' Christian faith informed a conception of corporatism and an interpretation of Christian doctrine so that they favored a peaceful agreement of socially distinct or even opposite groups. Such a perspective resulted in the association's failure to forge wage agreements. The hardships of the political situation forced the Union to merge with stronger partners in Christian trade unionism. This group eventually joined with the Association of the German National Commercial Clerks (*Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband*), although deep reservations existed about the nationalist and antisemitic tendencies of the latter organization. From 1933 to 1938 (the year of the Union's dissolution), the group was reduced to silence, only permitted to conduct purely religious demonstrations in public.

The study of Veronika Laufen is impressive, offering much valuable and reliable information. Consulted were publications and archives of the Union as well as a number of episcopal and town archives. The interpretation of documents is accurate and clearly arranged. A balanced narrative is presented, offering a clear-cut overview of structural features and chronological developments. Laufen targets the heart of the problems, expressing sympathy for her subject, but giving an objective analysis. She follows Michael Klöcker in maintaining that the Catholic bourgeois milieu tended toward "authority." That might be true for the commitment of the commercial clerks to their Church, but this argument has less validity given the obvious achievements of an autonomous organization in a society that was indifferent or even hostile to Catholics during the *Kaiserreich* and the Third Reich.

The addition of a biographical index would have been helpful. Individuals such as Heinrich Held, Peter Cahensly, Otto Gerig, and Peter Altmeier tend to receive the most coverage, whereas the other protagonists of the Union are lesser known. The latter deserve much more attention in current historiography on social Catholicism in Germany.

University of Passau WINFRIED BECKER

In God's Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World. Edited by Owen White and J. P. Daughton. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 324. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-539644-7.)

Des missionnaires plongés dans la Grande Guerre, 1914–1918: Lettres des Missions étrangères de Paris. Edited by Paul Christophe. [L'Histoire à vif.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2012. Pp. 367. €27,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09688-1.)

French Catholicism in the modern period is heavily influenced by church-state tensions, beginning with the attacks of the French Revolution and culminating in the Law of Separation in 1905. The importance of this context is unavoidable and is competently considered by scholars of the period. One aspect of the French Church that has only recently seen increased scholarly attention is that of French missionary activity. Two recent works examine the complexities faced by French missionaries in the light of church-state issues at home as well as other factors, both positive and negative, that shaped their work.

The first work, *In God's Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World*, is a collection of essays edited by Owen White and J. P. Daughton that examines the situation of French missionaries across the globe. It contains twelve original essays that are bookended by an introduction from the editors and an afterword that compares the French and British missionary experiences. The essays are divided into four parts: Atlantic World; Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and the Middle East; East and Southeast Asia; and Africa and Oceania. This wide geographical scope is further augmented by a chronological range that treats topics from the aftermath of the French Revolution through the mid-twentieth century. It is therefore a work that should be of interest to many scholars, particularly specialists in non-European areas who are interested in colonialism, empire, and the possible relationship of missionary activity to these issues.

Several tensions are present in this engaging work, a major theme of which is that a comprehensive examination of French missionary activity resists any neat characterizations and indeed often appears shaped primarily by the particulars of unique local situations rather than any overarching forces that emerged during modern colonial expansion. One tension faced by all missionaries was the relationship between their faith and their country. Were they first Catholic or French? The answer to this question might appear obvious when posed about those whose work was dedicated to spreading the gospel, but circumstances sometimes made their primary role murky. For example, the Lazarist Jean-Baptiste Étienne served as an official representative of the French government in the Middle East during the 1840s. Furthermore, to the extent that missionary goals overlapped with or aided the expansion of empire, government support of the missions often resulted in situations where the missionaries served dual roles on behalf of the Church and France.

Charles Lavigerie, cardinal-archbishop of Algiers and founder of the White Fathers, played a prominent role in the establishment of a protectorate in Tunisia as well as other African missions founded in conjunction with French expansion. The editors describe his efforts as a type of synergy that advanced the interests of both Church and state.

A peaceful cooperation was not always present, however, an unsurprising fact during a time of anticlericalism and growing French secularization. Chapters on missionaries in Vietnam and Cameroon demonstrate a clashing of outlooks that also occurred at times, resulting in government attempts to thwart missionary goals. Jennifer Dueck's description of this relationship in her chapter on Syria and Lebanon during the Mandate Rule as "a combination of affinity, opportunism and mistrust" (p. 164) is apt for several of the cases examined in this work.

The contribution of this collection goes beyond the church-state dynamic and includes examinations of missionary interactions in Muslim lands that yielded both positive and negative outcomes, and the work of missionaries beyond the borders of the French empire. Finally, the tensions inherent in the uneven growth of local churches and the need to train indigenous clergy are considered during a time when the missions were transitioning into a period of decolonization. The breadth of *In God's Empire* in no way detracts from its coherence; rather, the particularities of each chapter serve to reinforce the overall complexity of French missionary activity.

In contrast to this wide-ranging approach, a second work on French missionaries examines a much narrower topic but one that also yields interesting conclusions. *Des missionnaires plongés dans la Grande Guerre: Lettres des Missions étrangères de Paris*, edited by Paul Christophe, traces the reaction of members of the MEP throughout the course of World War I. Its fifteen chapters are divided into five parts that roughly proceed in chronological order from the onset of war through its difficult aftermath. Each chapter is organized by region that, in the case of the MEP, was spread across various parts of Asia. There are several recurring figures throughout the work, and following the course of an individual's letters during these turbulent years provides fascinating insight into the outlook of these missionaries. Yet there also are many people who appear only once, allowing the reader to hear from many priests and trainees. The editor provides commentary throughout the book that aids in grouping the letters together and explaining additional context. He also should be commended for his thorough and meticulous footnotes that provide details on many otherwise obscure names.

The beginning of the war was a galvanizing experience for all citizens of France, including those missionaries far from home. Despite the tensions between French Catholics and their government, there was a widespread sense that the cause was just and that all steps must be taken to defeat the

Germans. For priests, this raised the possibility of mobilization and service in the military, a prospect that was not appealing to many who had traveled great distances and begun the promising work of evangelization. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the letters demonstrate it was ultimately the support of bishops in missionary territories that first rallied support for the war effort among missionaries.

The evolution of sentiments expressed during the course of the war is perhaps not altogether unpredictable. The beginning saw a certain level of excitement among the mobilized who believed in the nobility of their cause while expecting a short war with a victorious outcome. The leaders of the missions also were optimistic that they would be able to retain enough missionaries to successfully continue their work. As the war moved along, optimistic expectations were dashed on all fronts—more missionaries were mobilized at an increasingly significant cost to the effectiveness of the missions and in service of a war effort with no foreseeable ending. Letters increasingly reflect the longing of priests to return to their missionary lands and the concern of their bishops that any gains were being lost due to insufficient manpower and financial resources. The circulation of news among the MEP contained ever-growing lists of their members who were killed or captured. The end of the war and return of the missionaries was a welcome development, but the geopolitical and financial consequences of the war were very harmful for the work of the MEP.

Ultimately this work serves as a firsthand account of the ongoing reactions of French missionaries to World War I and is of interest to specialists in French missions, the MEP, or the religious response to the war. Both this work and the collection edited by White and Daughton shed further light on the contributions of French missionaries throughout the modern world, and the result is two welcome additions to the existing literature.

Quadrangle Historical Research Foundation DANIEL V. FRASCELLA
Barto, PA

Jacques Maritain e i diritti umani: Fra totalitarismo, antisemitismo e decmocrazia (1936–1951). By Daniele Lorenzini. (Brescia: Editrice Morcelliana. 2012. Pp. 206. €16,50 paperback. ISBN 978-88-372-2566-7.)

This is an historical rather than philosophical investigation of Jacques Maritain's political thought, although it should be of interest to anyone who studies this dimension of Maritain's work. Lorenzini's central thesis is that there is a significant development in Maritain's political thought with respect to human rights between *Humanisme intégral* (Paris, 1936) and his writings during and after World War II, a development that was probably affected in some manner by the French philosopher's collaboration with the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights in the United States and its review, *The Voice for Human Rights*. The earlier development in Maritain's political thought

between his support of the French monarchist movement *Action Française* and his shift toward a more liberal position is well known. But the later development, treated by Lorenzini in his book, seems not to have received so much attention.

The book is divided into three chapters. The first chapter treats the history of the American Committee of Catholics for Human Rights and Maritain's collaboration with it. The committee, founded in 1939 as the Committee of Catholics to Fight Anti-Semitism, sought to counter the growing anti-Jewish tide that was abetted by the radio sermons and periodical *Social Justice* of the Catholic priest Charles Coughlin. Two leading committee members and friends of Maritain, Emmanuel Chapman and Harry McNeill, encouraged his involvement with the group and asked him to write articles for *The Voice*. As Lorenzini details, the committee changed its name to the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights to emphasize its support for the brotherhood of men with God as Father and to work for human rights on this basis against the "new barbarisms" of the day that threatened not only Catholics but also numerous other social, ethnic, and religious groups. Maritain's contact and work with the committee became quite close, given his decision to remain in the United States during the war.

The second and longest chapter charts the development in Maritain's political theory from *Humanisme intégral* of 1936 to his publications and speeches on political themes in 1943. Lorenzini notes that in *Humanisme intégral*, although Maritain does open the door to a politically defined social pluralism, he is not yet prepared to defend a human right to practice a non-Christian religion or to follow a non-Christian way of life. The pluralism supported by Maritain in this text is one based on a politically prudent tolerance. Although Maritain does elaborate a theory of "rights of the human person," he avoids the language of "human rights" or the "rights of man" during this period. The latter language found its way into Maritain's work for the first time in 1939, in the draft of "The Conquest of Freedom" (subsequently published in 1940). According to Lorenzini, behind the lexical difference there was, for Maritain, a philosophical and theological difference. Talk of the rights of the human person was linked to the Christian understanding of man as created by God, whereas the language of human rights and the rights of man was linked with the secular political theory of the Enlightenment, especially Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Lorenzini contends that Maritain's experience with the committee and of the evil of fascism during the war led him to rethink his approach to rights and finally to work out a reconciliation in his own thought between a Christian political vision and the political legacy of the Enlightenment, a reconciliation made clear by the title of his book *Les droits de l'homme et la loi naturelle* (New York, 1942).

The final chapter is an account of Maritain's work on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the systematization of his later political

thought—as it developed after *Humanisme intégral*—in *Man and State* (Chicago, 1951).

Ave Maria University JOSEPH G. TRABBIC
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The Santa Marija Convoy: Faith and Endurance in Wartime Malta, 1940–1942. By Dennis A. Castillo. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield. 2012. Pp. ix, 261. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-2895-4.)

Dennis A. Castillo's *The Santa Marija Convoy: Faith and Endurance in Wartime Malta. 1940-1942* is an excellent addition to the scholarship on World War II in Malta. The dominant narrative point of view of this account is that of the faith of the people and the manner in which the Church, mainly through parish priests, lived and suffered among the faithful through three years of the worst aerial bombardment in history.
Castillo's study delves into the major political context as it appeared just before war broke out in Malta on June 11, 1940. The tension between the British government and the pro-Italian nationalists took a turn once Italy entered the war. Issues of language and allegiance, as well as of the successor to Archbishop Mauro Caruana—head of the Catholic Church in Malta—came to the fore. The ongoing machinations between the Stricklands of the Constitutional Party and the suspicion with which the Holy See and Bishop Mikiel Gonzi were viewed form an ongoing backdrop to the unfolding narrative that concludes with the confirmation of Gonzi as archbishop in the last months of the war.

Against the political and strategic background, the highly personal accounts of individuals are brought to the surface. The roles of faith and courage are manifested through the dedication of priests, soldiers, and other brave individuals in the many micro-accounts that Castillo brings together in the telling of these events. The losses that were endured as the years of bombings wore the island down to rubble and chased its people into shelters hewn from rock is narrated through many firsthand accounts drawn from the diaries, memoirs, and interviews with survivors. The amount of detail provided as Castillo describes one air attack after another brings home the immense loss of human life; the families torn apart; the loved ones destroyed and discovered beneath the stone of their houses. After each attack the reader is given an account of the number of dead and injured; in addition, Castillo provides the names and the ages of the dead, which personalizes the statistics.

Whereas many accounts focus on the soldiers' experience, or on the people and their faith, *The Santa Marija Convoy* places the experience of priests—particularly parish priests—at the heroic center of the book. Of

these, Monsignor Emmanuel Brincat, archpriest of Senglea, stands out in this work as he did in his life. He stayed with his diminishing flock as Senglea, a prime target on the shore of the Grand Harbour, was worn down to rubble and ruin. The lives and deaths of priests, some caught hearing confessions as the bombs fell and so risked their lives in the performance of their duties (as occurred at the Sacro Cuor [Sacred Heart] Parish in Sliema), and others who spurned the safety of the shelters so as to offer comfort to those dying above ground, are testament to the work of faith in action.

The final section of *The Santa Marija Convoy* builds up the tension in much the manner of a thriller. The desperation of an island on the brink of starvation with only weeks to go before surrender is an indisputably high-stakes situation. The drama increases as people begin a novena leading to the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary on August 15 and a large convoy leaves Britain with supplies to alleviate the crisis. These circumstances begin to come together on August 13, when the first merchant ships enter the Grand Harbour, and end with the August 15 arrival of the battered tanker *Ohio*, still carrying its crucial supply of oil in its hold. This turning point of the war in Malta brings together the courage and heroism of the service personnel, the people, and their prayers in a finale of truly dramatic proportions, written with a hand that sustains the tension and the wonder of such a convergence of events.

University of Malta CLARE VASSALLO

Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning. By Massimo Faggioli. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 199. $14.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8091-4750-2.)

Massimo Faggioli's intimate knowledge of the historiography of the Second Vatican Council comes to life in this densely packed work. Before his move to the United States, he belonged to the team at the (now styled) *Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII* at Bologna, led by the late Giuseppe Alberigo and then by Alberto Melloni, which produced, among many publications on the Council, the classic five-volume *History of Vatican II*. Thereby, and surely assisted by the very rich collection on the Council within the *Fondazione*'s library as well as by the numerous conferences on it that were sponsored there and elsewhere by Alberigo and Melloni, Faggioli has acquired remarkable knowledge of the primary and secondary sources relating to the Council as well as of the personalities who have been writing about it. He has already written extensively on the Council, so the present work may be considered the crown.

The book's concern is to appraise the various interpretations of the Council that took place during it and afterward. The year of publication (2012) marks the golden jubilee of the Council's beginning in 1962; so it is an appropriate time for these reflections. There have already been many publi-

cations and conferences marking the jubilee, and plenty more are planned for the next few years—so far with a variety of emphases regarding interpretation but all revealing the Council's continuing vitality and fascination. Within this context, Faggioli's work emphasizes the fierceness of the struggle within the Council, as the word *battle* in the title clearly indicates.

The six chapters approach this central theme of struggle in various ways. Chapter 1 provides a chronological approach, as the titles of the subsections indicate: "What Vatican II Said about Vatican II (1960–65)"; "Vatican II: Acknowledged, Received, Refused (1965–80)"; "Vatican II: Celebrated and Enforced (1980–90)"; "Vatican II: Historicized (1990–2000)"; and "Towards a New Fight over Vatican II?". The approach of the other five chapters is thematic, with one major theme treated in each chapter. Chapter 2, "Questioning the Legitimacy of Vatican II," examines the topic of legitimacy under the following subheadings: "Opposite Extremisms"; "Vatican II: A Reform Council"; "The Traditionalists: Opposition and Rejection of the Council"; "The Lefebvrian Schism and Vatican II"; and "Different Destinies for Vatican II's Fringe Groups." Attention to the smaller or "fringe" groups is welcome; too often the Council is interpreted only in terms of the simplified categories of "conservatives" and "progressives." On the other hand, there is the danger that the focus on "battle" obscures or minimizes areas of consensus among the Council participants, including consensus on some issues among participants who were divided on others: liturgy, missions, exemption (or non-exemption) of religious orders, and war, for example.

Chapter 3 looks beyond "Beyond Rome," with perceptive sections on "Vatican II and Its Ecumenical Appraisal"; the publications "*Concilium*, *Communio*, and Post-Vatican Theology"; "Liberation Theology and Feminist Theology"; and "Catholic Theology in New Places: Vatican II in Africa, Asia and Australasia." Chapter 4 looks at the differing Augustinian and Thomistic approaches to the Church and the world—an important, albeit somewhat hidden, underlying theme among the Council members and recently highlighted by Pope Benedict XVI's appreciation of St. Augustine. Chapter 5, "The Clash of Narratives," focuses principally on ecclesiology and liturgy. The final chapter surveys the broadest themes and looks to the future, as indicated in its title, "Macro-Issues of the Debate about Vatican II." An epilogue, extensive footnotes (pp. 145–85), and the well-arranged bibliography conclude this excellent and fascinating study.

Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome NORMAN TANNER, S.J.

American

Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church. By Timothy Matovina. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 312. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-691-13979-1.)

Timothy Matovina's *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church* follows in the footsteps of previous scholarly endeavors on Latinos and religion such as the three volumes edited by Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck (Notre Dame, 1994–97), *Recognizing the Latino Resurgence in U.S. Religions* by Ana María Díaz-Stevens and Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo (Boulder, CO, 1998), and *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church* by David A. Badillo (Baltimore, 2006), whose main thrust was to evaluate the Hispanics' role in the development of U. S. Catholicism while recognizing the Church's role in the "Americanization" process.

Matovina is true to the body of literature from Latino sources in adopting this perspective, although not always successful in expressing the dynamics in the church-state relationships after the U.S. takeover of Puerto Rico and the Southwest. He writes, "Mexico remains one of the most staunchly Catholic nations in terms of the preferred denominational allegiance of its population, while Puerto Rico . . . is among the most Protestant" (p. 31). Although factual, the comparison is problematic. Mexico is an independent and sovereign nation, whereas Puerto Rico is an American colony. To understand post-1898 religion in Puerto Rico, one must understand the nature of the private and public school systems, control of banks and newspapers, exploitation of natural resources by U.S. business, expulsion of the Spanish clergy and religious orders, and confiscation of Catholic Church property. Puerto Rico and New Mexico would make for a better comparison, particularly in terms of Catholicism's role in preserving language and cultural identity in the face of annexation leading to statehood (New Mexico) and the establishment of a colonial status (Puerto Rico). Puerto Rico's status as a colony explains why the birth control pill could be tested there and how the sterilization of an estimated 40 percent of all women of child-bearing age could be accomplished. This crucial issue led to political and ecclesiastical upheaval for Puerto Rican Catholics in the 1960s, yet it is not mentioned in this book.

Not surprisingly, Matovina privileges the Mexican American experience. Consideration is given to the Penitentes as preservers of pre-invasion Catholic identity in New Mexico but not to Los Hermanos Cheos, the Puerto Rican lay Catholic preachers who took initiative without episcopal approval to combat Protestant proselytizing on the island in the early 1900s and later accompanied the migration to Chicago. Mexican American youth movements are highlighted, but the youth apostolic groups of the Northeast that played decisive roles in the *Encuentros Nacionales* and the Eucharistic Congress of 1976 in Philadelphia are not.

Some of these gaps can be attributed to the author's decision to treat his topic thematically, rather than chronologically. Whereas the first chapter remaps the growing Latino presence within U.S. Catholicism, the following seven cover issues of integration, Hispanic ministry, parishes and apostolic movements, leadership, worship and devotion, public Catholicism, and passing on the faith. A six-page epilogue, bearing the name of the book's subtitle, summarizes how the Hispanic/Latinos remain loyal to the faith, emphasize issues of ministry (particularly local-level pastoral programs), and transform U.S. Catholicism without giving up their cultural values in the process.

Matovina uses multiple sources: national surveys, census data, church-related documents, monographs, personal contacts, and narratives. Unfortunately, citation of these sources is irregular. For instance, the National Survey of Leadership in Latino Parishes and Congregations (NSLLPC) is alternately referred to as the "PARAL report," "a 2002 report of the Program for the Analysis of Religion Among Latinos," or as a work listed under the name of the editor. Social science data resulting from survey analysis, however, is a type of information to be distinguished from a historian's private interpretation or a theologian's hopeful expectation. Bothersome, too, is the use of unreferenced citations. On page 42, Matovina writes: "One priest lauded his compatriots' 'simple yet strong piety and trust in God.'" This comment, he says, elicited a two-month dispute in the national Catholic weekly *America*; yet he seems to have felt it was not important to give the priest's name, the precise time of the dispute, or dates of publication. Rather than the primary source, Matovina gives a reference to his previous work. Further, on page 110, Matovina writes without references: ". . . an observer quipped, 'In the Puerto Rican community to be a *cursillista* . . . [a participant in the Cursillo movement] and a Catholic was almost one and the same.'" The word-for-word but unattributed citation is found in this reviewer's *Oxcart Catholicism on Fifth Avenue* (Notre Dame, 1993, p. 110) and is attributed to Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo. The observation was made after years of active ministry and scholarly analysis, thus representing—rather than a "quip"—a well-thought-out conclusion that was further explained in *Recognizing the Latino Resurgence* (pp. 133–37). Finally, the author seems more conversant with material written by non-Puerto Ricans more than forty years ago than with the more recent scholarly production of Puerto Ricans themselves.

These examples do not destroy the value of the book as a general overview of the Latino Catholic experience that can be useful to seminarians and students of religion. The annoying lack of precision about primary sources or systematic research, however, undermines the claim to have presented a comprehensive understanding of Latino presence in U.S. religion. Admittedly, in the limited space of a 312-page book (250 of text and 62 of footnotes, bibliography, and index), it is literally impossible to evenly cover more than twenty-one Hispanic subgroups, each with its own cultural particularities and history of contact with U.S. society.

Whatever its shortcomings, this volume advances the field of Catholic studies, undermining the notion that Hispanics are appendages to the Catholic faith in this country or simply clients to be served. A reader cannot help but conclude with the author that Latinos are active participants within U.S. Catholicism, bringing new vigor and a vision for the future.

Union Theological Seminary (Emerita) ANA MARÍA DÍAZ-STEVENS

The Reverend Jacob Bailey, Maine Loyalist: For God, King, Country, and for Self. By James S. Leamon. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2012. Pp. xx, 251. $80.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-55849-941-6; $28.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-55849-942-3.)

Jacob Bailey (1735–1808) was the first Anglican minister to serve a congregation (1760–79) in the District of Maine at Pownalborough (Dresden). A native of Rowley, Massachusetts, and a talented member of a poor Congregational Church family, he was supported by the local minister who aided his admission to Harvard College with the class of 1755. In common with other eighteenth-century Anglican ministers of the region educated at Harvard or Yale, he served as a schoolmaster before his conversion and voyage to London for ordination.

The circumstance surrounding Bailey's appointment as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Pownalborough rather than to a congregation in a town in Massachusetts or Connecticut is unclear. Perhaps Sylvester Gardiner—the prominent Boston physician, merchant, and lead investor of the Kennebeck Proprietors in Pownalborough and an active Anglican—had petitioned Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London, for the appointment of a minister to the young settlement. He had undertaken a similar request while a vestryman in 1748 at King's Chapel in Boston on behalf of the Reverend Charles Brockwell of Salem.

Two unyielding and personal controversies marked Bailey's nearly two-decade ministry on the eastern frontier, which were initiated by his Harvard classmates Charles Cushing (the local sheriff) and Jonathan Bowman (a judge). The first issue was the effort by the two men to establish a Congregational Church in the community. Perhaps they reasoned that because the Congregational Church was established in Massachusetts, it should be extended to Maine, which was a civil jurisdiction of the Bay Colony. But the issue also may be interpreted as a lingering and divisive popular link in the chain of criticism of the Anglican Church that was launched in New England by Increase Mather in the 1680s and continued in successive decades by such ecclesiastical leaders as his son Cotton, Jonathan Mayhew, and the radical politician Samuel Adams. Bailey's presence renewed the familiar objections to the presence of the Anglican Church, including the use of the Book of Common Prayer as merely the Roman missal in English, questions

regarding the essential purpose of the missionaries of the London-based Society, and the prospect of an appointment of an American bishop.

Pownalborough's parson was a visible representative of the old order that prompted New England settlers to flee England in the 1620s and 1630s. But the changed civil circumstances of the 1770s led to the second contentious issue in dispute. Because Bailey was a minister of the English Church, he was a target for disparagement by opponents of imperial policies. The members of the local Committee of Public Safety authorized by the First Continental Congress subjected him to examination to determine whether he was a patriot or Loyalist. Bailey's vulnerable position was shaped by a sense of moral duty. On the occasion of his ordination in London, he was required to swear an oath of loyalty to the supremacy of the Crown and parliament. In the drift of increasing civil protest, he could not and would not forfeit that obligation. The diligent parson's congregation loyally and firmly supported him during the turbulent proceedings, but finally in 1779 Bailey and his family sought political refuge in Nova Scotia.

More than two centuries after Bailey's death in Annapolis, Nova Scotia, an accomplished scholar of Maine's early history has deftly revisited Bailey's life and career. The foundation of this excellent work is an extraordinary and extensive cache of Bailey's personal papers, unpublished essays, and poems that are deposited in several libraries. It is at once an admirable first-class biography and an informative glimpse of the impact of disruptive affairs on the lives of individuals who embraced a minority view on civil issues. The book also is a strong, valuable, and engaging social history of a turbulent period in Anglo-American history.

Rothermere American Institute JAMES B. BELL
University of Oxford

Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797–1883. By Clifford Putney. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 218. $34.95. ISBN 978-1-55849-735-1.)

The nineteenth-century American Protestant mission to the Hawaiian Islands has been the subject of a wide range of histories seeking to shed light not only on this evangelical by-product of the Second Great Awakening but also on the social, political, and economic development of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Clifford Putney has added to this important discussion of transnational history a new work that offers a detailed look inside the lives of the missionary couple Peter and Fanny Gulick. The biography aims to offer significant information on these American evangelical agents and their influence within a foreign land, while addressing historiographical issues within the field of missiology that have created a problematic paradigm for the study of missionary families.

Putney explains the relevance of his book's subjects by writing, "Of all the reform-minded families in American history, few were more active than the Gulicks" (p. 1), and noting the broader family's 140-year service to foreign missions. Peter and Fanny, the founders of this evangelical clan, arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1828 as members of the third company of Protestant missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). In addition to the prolific record-keeping that often characterized these missions, the couple and their extended family produced and retained a vast collection of personal papers, making them, according to the author, "one of the best-documented middle-class families in American history" (p. 6). Putney accesses this material to bring the story of the Gulicks to the reader with detail, offering vivid description of their lives and their interactions with a people very foreign to these New Jersey and Connecticut natives. The book follows the couple through chapters that act as geographic markers of the differing mission stations where the Gulicks were assigned. This serves the overall narrative well, especially when the work allows for rich depictions of the *kuahiwi* (mountains), *kahawai* (rivers), and other natural features of these areas that were so prominent in the lives of their native inhabitants. Putney's significant knowledge concerning the ABCFM and the evangelical movements of the period lend context to the writing, especially in areas such as when offering background on the Calvinism that motivated Peter and Fanny.

The book's sourcing is one of its strengths, but it also raises questions that are at the fore of a leading, current historiographical issue in nineteenth-century Hawaiian history. The Gulicks lived and worked in a foreign nation amidst a native population that by the 1860s was nearly fully literate and who produced a prolific collection of writing about their lives, their land, and their *lāhui* (nation). During the nineteenth century, there were nearly 100 Hawaiian-language newspapers published in the islands; the first in 1834. This prolific collection, nearly 125,000 over-sized pages, makes up only a part of the varied native-language source material available today. Additionally, the local mission institution to which the Gulicks belonged after 1854, the ʻAhahui ʻEuanelio o Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian Evangelical Association), printed all reports and records in Hawaiian and in English. The English-language annual reports, produced for the ABCFM, regularly differed from the native-language versions, often substantially. Although histories on nineteenth-century Hawaiʻi sourced exclusively from English-language materials have added and will continue to add tremendously to our understanding of the islands of that period, any text that seeks to shed—as the book's publisher expresses it—"new light on the democratization of government, the spread of capitalism, and the privitization of land" without accessing the native-language archive must be clear about what voice it is offering and what has been left behind.

Putney raises his own important historiographical issue by pointing to the need for complex, balanced histories of the mission and missionaries that are neither hagiographic nor strictly condemnatory. In his text, the author does

not shy away from critiques of the Gulicks; admitting that "their religious zeal and cultural parochialism acted as blinders, preventing them from seeing much value in traditional Hawaiian society" (p. 157). Putney also makes note of the "racist (and now thoroughly discredited)" (p. 9) theory of social Darwinism to which many within the later mission subscribed. He manages, however, to portray the couple as complex characters, ones who had steadfastly committed their lives to a cause in which their sincere belief was unquestionable. Putney's biography of the Gulicks adds important knowledge about missionary lives in Hawai'i to previous understandings. Contextualized as a view of Hawai'i from English-language sources, it is a recommended read.

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa RONALD WILLIAMS JR.

Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters and the Captured Schools Crisis in New Mexico. By Kathleen Holscher. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 260. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-19-978173-7.)

Kathleen Holscher's book, *Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters and the Captured Schools Crisis in New Mexico*, although burdened with a bulky title, is a lucid and engaging presentation of a complex event. Hoslcher directs attention to a bitter New Mexico quarrel that flared between Catholics and Protestants over the public school employment of sisters garbed in religious habits. The author argues that in post–World War II society, Americans, with time to rethink their positions about the separation of church and state, created a watershed moment in long-standing tensions between Protestants and Catholics. In concert with other postwar cultural transformations, the New Mexico legal case influenced substantive alterations in national Catholic-Protestant relations that persist to modern times.

Drawing on a plethora of Catholic and Protestant primary sources, conducting personal interviews, examining newspapers, and delving deeply into legal records, trial transcripts, and constitutional law, Holscher crafted an impressive analytical narrative. Such an assortment of administrative and political detail with legal interpretations as a dominant theme, suggested a page-by-page challenge to the reader's attention. Instead, Holscher produced a fascinating legal history, weaving into the prose the poignant voices of the participants.

The six chapters include an explanation of how Catholic sisters came to be public school teachers in New Mexico villages populated by Hispano families, until an influx of Anglo-Protestants altered the demographics; the attitudes, positive and negative, toward the sisters, as Protestants and Catholics increased their mutual religious hostility; and a portrait of the curriculum and atmosphere inside a public classroom overseen by a Catholic sister. The book then discusses the organized Protestant resistance, led in Dixon, New Mexico, by Lydia Zellers and at the national level by an organization known commonly

as the POAU, which pushed the inflammatory phrase "captive schools" to convey its view of the Catholic threat in public education. The author details the POAU's national momentum and the Catholic response, the Protestant distaste for all religious habits, and the 1948 Zellers lawsuit that charged no separation of church and state existed in the Dixon public schools. As Holscher relates, the resulting painful trial brought students and sisters to the witness stand in what became in the main a debate on the religious habit, and the court decision convinced various women's congregations to close their New Mexico schools, withdraw from the state, and seek other mission opportunities. All of these events played out against a backdrop of national legal and pedagogical implications, multisided religious intolerance, and divisive community relationships.

Each of these subjects embraces significant Catholic concerns that apply directly to religious frictions in modern America. There are, however, two other reasons why this book is an important addition to Catholic history.

First, it firmly establishes that the western Church contributed some of the most critical elements in building American Catholicism. Hoslcher moves western Catholicism away from its "quaint" adobe mission images, placing it at the center of national debates about religious freedom. *Religious Lessons* demonstrates that from the remote Southwest emerged a Catholicism confronting riveting theological and legal questions, absorbing apparent losses, and regrouping through religious principles to build a stronger professional place in education.

Second, Catholic sisters appear as articulate advocates for the western Church and themselves. Conversant with American law, but adhering to their religious identity, they negotiated taxing relationships in many arenas. The results of congregational decisions on entire villages led to community void and personal loss when sisters closed their missions.

This is an outstanding book, one especially for those who doubt the pivotal role of the West in the American Catholic Church or discount the informed thoughtfulness with which sisters influenced local politics, even as they strengthened their congregational identity.

Utah State University (Emerita) ANNE M. BUTLER

Embattled Ecumenism: The National Council of Churches, the Vietnam War, and the Trials of the Protestant Left. By Jill K. Gill. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 551. $40.00. ISBN 978-0-87580-443-9.)

Jill K. Gill offers an exhaustively researched, well written, and important study about the National Council of Churches (NCC) and the fate of the ecu-

menical movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Focusing on its reaction to the war in Vietnam, Gill provides sharp analysis into the NCC's antiwar platform and how this and other theological stances led to a divide between the laity and leadership, as well as a diminishing of Protestant hegemony in America. Gill uses vivid and detailed language to illuminate this history. Much as a novelist brings characters to life in the reader's mind, Gill allows one to see the history through her careful telling of the story. Long and dense with examples, Gill's study rightfully places the NCC and ecumenism at the heart of post–1945 U.S. religious history.

Gill begins with a broad survey of ecumenism from 1908 to 1963, including the 1950 creation of the National Council of Churches. This background roots her study in the theological framework of ecumenical outreach and activism that defined the NCC throughout its first three decades. Gill's solid grasp of the theology behind the organization and its leaders reveals the fact that their faith drove their actions. She especially highlights their struggle against the erroneous assumption that ecumenism meant a gathering of two or more people from different denominations. As Gill describes:

> [ecumenism] emphasizes community over self-interest, peaceful discussion over violence, collaboration over competition, universalism over exclusivity, the prophetic role of the church to "speak truth to power" over affirming an oppressive status quo, benevolence over individual acquisition, preaching social justice over mere personal piety, and the separation of church and state. (p. 5)

This complex theology laid the groundwork for the NCC's antiwar initiatives during the American phase of the Vietnam War. Robert S. Bilheimer, the NCC's director of the Peace Program and International Affairs Commission, stated that he was not really "an anti-Vietnam War guy" (p. 145) but rather expressed his ecumenical witness through an antiwar theology. Gill thus uses the Vietnam War as a way to concentrate on the NCC's calling during this era. Through its vast network of national and international politicians and religious leaders, the NCC often gained firsthand government knowledge about or eyewitness accounts of the atrocities committed in Vietnam and the wayward turn of U.S. foreign policy as applied to this war. Such insider information spurred the NCC's stance, which pushed it theologically to oppose the war by attempting to unite Christians across the country to join its prophetic witness.

Yet this goal of unification brought about division within the very denominations that participated in the NCC, as Gill delineates in the NCC's tension with the lay/clergy divide. Denominational leaders voiced concern that their more conservative constituents criticized the NCC's liberal platforms. The threat of lost revenue kept even these more liberal leaders from always acting as the NCC hoped. Gill poignantly explains that this led to a diminished influ-

ence for the NCC in national affairs by the 1970s, along with Richard M. Nixon's courting of the evangelical vote and subsequent shunning of mainline Protestantism because it failed to support him.

Gill concludes with an insightful epilogue that summarizes her findings, interprets their meaning, and offers ideas for future ecumenism and theologians. Yet calling it an epilogue seems odd, given that it serves more as a conclusion that readers will not want to miss. The treatment of these vital thoughts as almost an afterthought or optional reading feels awkward. Nonetheless, Gill provides a new must-read to post–1945 American religious history that details the triumphs, frustrations, decline, and yet importance of the mainline, liberal, Protestant establishment in the 1960s and 1970s.

Concordia University Chicago DAVID E. SETTJE

Latin American

Las palabras del silencio de Santa Rosa de Lima o la poesía visual del Inefable. By Emilio Ricardo Báez Rivera. (Madrid: Universidad de Navarra-Iberoamericana; Frankfurt-am-Main: Vervuert. 2012. Pp. 196. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-84-8489-650-0 [Iberoamericana]; 978-3-86527-703-9 [Vervuert].)

When Isabel Flores de Oliva (1586–1617) was beatified in 1667 and canonized in 1671, she became America's first saint, preceding even the archbishop who confirmed her: Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538–1606), who was canonized in 1726. This distinction awarded to a reclusive woman who wore the habit of the Third Dominican Order created a wave of fervor and regional pride that reinforced the grip of Catholicism in the New World. Biographies in several languages began circulating in Europe in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, initiating a long list of books dedicated to eulogize and analyze this penitent figure that grew up and died so distant from the European Catholic Reformation. The popularity of her image never waned, and she still attracts countless religious and academic admirers.

St. Rosa de Lima did not write much apart from some now-forgotten verses. The essential femininity of Rosa defined the means to express her religious beliefs. She followed the most ascetic practices of the day, largely practiced by cloistered women: maceration of her body, prayers, fasting, and acts of charity. What was her most unusual expression of belief and the subject studied in this book was a collage she created: the symbolic statement of her faith expressed in paper and cloth. The themes were the fifteen mercies received from God, also stated as wounds of the soul ascending via a spiritual ladder. Two sheets of paper illustrated with the symbolic hearts and her personal calligraphic message were discovered in 1926 and, after thorough authentication, have become the object of study by several authors.

Emilio Ricardo Báez Rivera's work offers an intensive interpretation of the meaning of the emblematic hearts and their message. It is preceded by a thorough review of Rosa's life, the apostolic processes opened after her death, and the spiritual climate of the times in Lima and Spain. Rosa escaped the fate of many who were declared false mystics, possibly owing to her connections with ecclesiastical figures. She had visionary traits, like dozens of women in her time, and the author explains her mystic vein within the boundaries of her visionary experiences. Utilizing semiotic tools to interpret each one of the details in the collage-holograph, he gives us a meticulous study of each one of the figures. The morphology of the heart as the receptacle containing all emotions and venue for receiving and giving the love of God was central to female mysticism since the late-medieval period. Báez carefully examines the figures that, in his opinion, condensed the teachings of the Church and the feelings of a strong believer. Since the unique arrangement of each of the hearts visually explains the religious message, the author's task was to expand the symbolic meaning and context of the tiny figures. This he has done with a great deal of verve and imaginative prose that often calls on the Song of Songs to explain the meaning of wounds, lightning, arrow, flames, nails, and wings in the construction of the collage and the written message of the saint. By also explaining the use and meaning of emblematic messages in the late-medieval and early-modern periods, the author helps the reader understand the spiritual inheritance behind Rosa's emblems. He also makes a strong case for considering the plastic expression of intense faith a legitimate and innovative venue for the study of faith in periods of intense religious fervor. This is a well-balanced, appealing, and commendable book that will interest those studying female spirituality in the early-modern period.

Arizona State University (Emerita) ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro. By Mariza de Carvalho Soares. Translated by Jerry D. Metz. [Latin America in Translation.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 321. $84.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8223-5023-1; $23.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8223-5040-8.)

In 1994, Mariza de Carvalho Soares uncovered the "Statutes of the Congregation of the Minas Makii [Mahi] Blacks" in the Brazilian National Archives, an unusual manuscript that preserved details of the lives of freed and enslaved Afro-Brazilians in the mid-1700s. That document is at the center of this newly translated book, in which the historian Soares presents a contextualized analysis of the active "reinterpretation" of their African past undertaken by those residents of colonial slave society. Drawing on further studies into lay religious brotherhoods, Soares offers valuable insights into interpersonal relationships and identity formation for a small group of Africans in Brazil and argues for a reconceptualization of ethnicity through "provenience groups" based on their African origins.

In the introduction, Soares explains her discovery of the "Mahi Manuscript" and subsequent research into the brotherhoods formed within the African slave community. She relates her surprise that a group of "Mahis" from the so-called Mina Coast of Africa developed an independent understanding of their origins and identity through the Brotherhood of Santo Elesbão and Santa Efigênia and its subgroups. In Rio de Janeiro, which had a slave population that included mostly Bantu-speaking Africans from regions near present-day Angola, further records of the Mina-Mahi Africans were scarce; Soares scoured baptismal records, marriage records, obituaries, and even wills to glean evidence for her arguments on the meaning of terms designating ethnicity and origins. In this, she emphasizes the "importance of Catholicism in the new social configurations" adopted by "those living under slavery" (p. 13) in colonial Brazil.

In part 1, Soares summarizes the difficult history of the Atlantic slave trade as the Portuguese expanded their imperial reach down the west coast of Africa and repeatedly took captive "Minas" from the Bight of Benin. She uses baptismal records to confirm the growing historical evidence for Mina presence in Rio de Janeiro, but warns that labels used to identify slaves such as *nação* ("nation") and *terra* ("land of origin") do not signify a stable ethnicity or a fixed cultural heritage. Instead, she develops the concept of "provenience groups" to identify Africans from recognizable cultural regions whose own efforts both preserved and transformed their religious, social, and personal identities in their new circumstances.

In part 2, she narrows her focus to the history of Rio de Janeiro and the lay religious brotherhoods established in the Roman Catholic churches there for specific African communities. Using slave obituaries, she argues that "religious practice and affiliation" were crucial for both "self-determination" and "maintenance of provenience groups" (p. 131) among slaves. Founding documents for the Brotherhood of Santo Elesbão and Santa Efigênia and its "Mahi Congregation" subgroups suggest that their functions exceeded religious devotion, as members created alliances and kinship within those autonomous religious spaces. To this end, Soares claims that the Mahi Manuscript may be the "most important document" (p. 183) for understanding Afro-Brazilian lives in that era. She completes this book with a new "Postscript" explaining her conclusions and expanding her account with individual biographies of two men and one woman from three different Mina subgroups.

This book provides both detailed information on the struggles of the Minas in Rio de Janeiro and a historical and theoretical framework through which to understand them. Despite the clarity of the translation, some readers may find this book challenging because of the sheer density of information. That challenge notwithstanding, Soares has written a noteworthy contribution to the study of Africans in colonial slave society.

Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington CAROLE MYSCOFSKI

Indigenous Writings from the Convent: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico. By Mónica Díaz. [First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies.] (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2010. Pp xvi, 231. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-8165-2853-0.)

Colonial Latin American women's studies have experienced much attention in the last decades, with literary studies that have emphasized the relation of women with mainstream religious institutions (Catholic Church, Inquisition). Many scholars have provided glimpses into religious women's daily lives and expressions of resistance against power (usually male ecclesiastical authorities). This attention has resulted in a significant amount of studies of religious women's writings in the last thirty years, and new approaches are needed to expand the canon of this subgenre. In this scholarly context, Mónica Díaz's book offers new ways to read "conventual writing" at the same time that she reflects about theoretical notions that need reformulation within this genre in at least two directions in literary studies. First, Díaz approaches conventual writing considering both transatlantic and hemispheric studies that question traditional borders of twentieth-century academic knowledge. Second, Díaz's overall scholarship examines issues of ethnicity and the fluidity of key concepts such as *gender roles* and *identity*, while looking into the feminine perception of the world as well as the construction of sources of knowledge by female subjects.

The main focus of *Indigenous Writings* is the textual negotiations of indigenous women that had to sort out many difficulties to participate in the convent's life in colonial New Spain (Mexico). In spite of restrictions and prohibitions stemming from issues of gender, race, and ethnicity, the efforts of the indigenous nuns studied by Díaz succeeded with the foundation of convents for Indian women in eighteenth-century Mexico. In this way, one contribution of Díaz's book to the field of Latin American colonial women's studies is the access given to documents of unknown subjects and to hear their voices and the expression of their textual agency through their writings.

This book consists of six chapters in addition to an introduction and three appendixes of documents written in Spanish by Mexican Indian nuns and translated into English by the author. The six chapters are distributed in two distinct parts. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 examine the social, historical, and political context in which indigenous nobility of Mexico developed and negotiated their privileges and positions in Christian spaces during the colonial period. Chapter 1 studies the conditions that allowed the creation of convents for indigenous women, at first excluded from them because of their ethnicity. Chapter 2 examines what Díaz calls "the colonial ideology of difference" (p. 15) by which New Spain's religious discourses debated the creation of such space for indigenous women. Chapter 3 studies the 1724–62 textual production about the opening of the Convent of Corpus Christi. With the frame developed by these chapters, Díaz enters into the analysis of different textual genres: biographies and hagiogra-

phies of indigenous nuns (chapter 4), sermons addressed to indigenous women (chapter 5), and letters by indigenous nuns who questioned the admission of Spanish and criollo nuns in their convent (chapter 6).

In this way, this monograph proposes that indigenous peoples saw convents not as another form of colonial domination but as a way to support their ethnic autonomy. Díaz takes the notions of "colonial domination" and "colonial difference" to another level by proposing to look at the formation and transformation of indigenous identities in New Spain and by looking at other initiatives that did not flourish in the official establishment of institutions, but did reflect on the issues of who is an Indian and why an Indian could not participate in the formation and governance of institutions in colonial Mexico.

Michigan State University ROCÍO QUISPE-AGNOLI

Primitive Revolution: Restorationist Religion and the Idea of the Mexican Revolution, 1940–1968. By Jason H. Dormady. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 206. $28.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8263-4951-4.)

Primitive Revolution: Restorationist Religion and the Idea of the Mexican Revolution, 1940–1968, examines the histories of three religious communities founded in the aftermath of the Mexican revolution. The book follows the life of each community's founding patriarch from early in the century through the 1960s. The author argues that each community attempted its own restoration of an idealized Christianity, seen as a basic way of life for its members; in doing so, they charted out a particular and idealized form of modern citizenship in revolutionary Mexico. Through case studies, Dormady argues that community building in the context of weak or inconsistent rule of law can work in different ways: sometimes the victim of a centralizing state, but also capable of engaging the law, taking advantage of its uneven dominion, and molding it to fit particularist objectives or ideals.

The material is organized around three case studies and a final interpretive chapter. The central themes of these studies focus on the origins of each church; the problems confronted by founders in establishing community; relations with government and ecclesiastical authorities; and those resulting from the establishment of a religiously grounded community. Chapter 1 reconstructs the history of the Light of the World, an Evangelical Pentecostal church in Guadalajara. Its history follows the life story of its founding patriarch, Eusebio Joaquin Gonzalez, known to his faithful as Aaron. Chapter 2 examines the Mormon-based Fullness of the Kingdom of God Church, established in Mexico state. Margarito Bautista founded the church and, with it, a community known as New Jerusalem in the small market town of Ozumba. Chapter 3 follows the history of the Our Lady, Help of Christians colony, a Catholic community established in southern Baja California. Its founder, Salvador

Abascal, led a faction of the conservative lay-Catholic political group known as the National Synarchist Union and founded a short-lived religious community in the desert. The final chapter ties the three cases together through a series of overarching themes examining the stress points between local practice and the sphere of law; the absence of law and its effect on religious devotion and citizen's rights; and the tension between "informal" religious, corporate identity and "formal" secular identities (p. 131). The discussion echoes James C. Scott's scholarship on community resistance and work by Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent on state formation. It moves the discussion forward by placing religiosity in the center of local identities.

Gathering the sources used for this book was a difficult task. These communities were formed at the edge of civil society, resisted publicizing their inner workings, and left little written testimony. For the Light of the World church, Dormady made creative use of its official histories. He reconstructed the story of New Jerusalem through testimonial writing by several community members; his interpretation compared the writing of rival members, and complemented it with Bautista's own religious writings. The history of Our Lady, Help of Christians colony was limited by a paucity of sources. Abascal's own autobiography dominates the chapter, complemented to some extent by sources culled from Mexico's National Archive. Here, Dormady might have included histories of Abascal's rivals—Juan Ignacio Padilla and Antonio Santa Cruz—as well as Abascal's own vast writing. Furthermore, the intelligence community in Washington was familiar with Abascal due to his philo-fascist views, and it is surprising that Dormady did not follow this line of research.

Despite these minor criticisms, *Primitive Revolution* is a fascinating read for historians of Mexico, religion, and utopian societies. It will be popular in undergraduate classrooms, but scholars should also be interested in its case studies. The book argues successfully that postrevolutionary Mexico was a diverse society, and that this ostensibly Catholic nation was host to many devotions, each deeply invested in citizenship and the politics of revolution.

Universidad de Guadalajara ROBERT CURLEY

Far Eastern

The Memoirs of Jin Luxian, Vol. 1: *Learning and Relearning 1916–1982*. Translated by William Hanbury-Tenison. Introduced by Anthony E. Clark. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2012. Distrib. Columbia University Press. Pp. xxii, 296. $28.00 paperback. ISBN 978-988-8139-67-5.)

Bishop Aloysius Jin Luxian (1916–2013) is one of the most significant figures in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China. Yet his role in the struggles and the revival of the Church in China remains controversial. Abroad as well as in his home country, he has received

both strong criticism and praise. This first volume is in part an *Apologia pro Vita Sua* by which Jin hopes to dispel "accusations mischievously included" (p. 3) against him, thereby ceasing to be a sign of contention and turning instead into a beacon of hope and reconciliation for the Chinese Catholic Church.

The book is divided into five parts, each composed of several chapters that deal with the following subjects: Jin's youth and his family in the Shanghai area; his life as a seminarian and a young Jesuit from 1932 to 1947; his studies between 1947 and 1950; his ministry in Shanghai until his arrest in 1955; and finally the twenty-seven years spent in prisons and re-education camps until his return to the Diocese of Shanghai in 1982. This chronological order is sprinkled with many flashbacks and flashforwards as Jin ponders events and persons that influenced the course of his life.

Apart from his three-year study abroad, Jin's life was filled with hurtful experiences. Orphaned at a very young age and ignored by most of his relatives, he persevered in his calling to the priesthood. Subsequently, his obedience to his Jesuit superiors placed him several times in harm's way. The most painful blow came during his detention when he learned that his Jesuit confreres had vilified him and branded him a traitor. Yet in the face of all these adversities, his love for the Jesuit Order remained steadfast.

The last two sections of the book about his return to Shanghai in 1950 and his years in detention are certainly the most important and revealing. They shed a complementary and sometime different light on accounts written by two other Jesuits: Jean Lefeuvre's eyewitness account, *Les enfants dans la ville, chronique de la vie chrétienne à Shanghai 1949–1955* (Paris, 1956), and Paul Mariani's academic study, *Church Militant: Bishop Kung and Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA, 2011; reviewed *ante*, 98 [2012], 621–22). Jin writes of the "crimes" he confessed and how, in the recording that was made, he exhorted the people on the outside not to oppose the government. This confession, he writes, was not a betrayal of his loyalty to the Church but just one of the many choices he had to make in his life, all based on the Jesuit principle "To the greater glory of God." To which he adds: "As long as my actions served the greater glory of the Lord, I went ahead in confidence" (p. 2). It is on the basis of this same principle that he decided, in 1982, to resume pastoral duties in Shanghai. Time will tell if this explanation was enough to satisfy his detractors.

The image that emerges from these memoirs is that of a deeply spiritual clergyman whose faith never wavered. A remarkable thinker well grounded in his Chinese culture and tradition as well as in the Church doctrine, he finds complementarities rather than oppositions between the teachings of China's ancient sages and those of Christ. As such, he sees himself as walking in the footsteps of Matteo Ricci.

One cannot but be amazed by the many vignettes provided by Jin about significant religious personalities such as Celso Costantini, Teilhard de Chardin, Henri de Lubac, Hans Küng, Karl Rahner, Lou Tseng-Tsiang, and Albert Decourtray. The same applies to political figures in the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). But the bulk of Jin's insightful reminiscences concern the Catholic personalities with whom he lived in Shanghai, like the bishop Kung Pinmei, the Jesuits Yves Henry and Fernand Lacretelle, and the philanthropist Lo Pahong. Historians should value this trove of information, although the lack of a comprehensive name index renders the task difficult.

This book is a must-read for anyone interested in religion in China.

Beijing Center for Chinese Studies JEAN-PAUL WIEST

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

During its 93rd Annual Meeting held in New Orleans on January 3–6, 2013, the American Catholic Historical Association announced its academic/scholarly prizewinners at Antoine's restaurant in the French Quarter on Saturday, January 5. They included the recipients of the John Gilmary Shea Prize, the Howard R. Marraro Prize and the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award for 2012.

John Connelly (professor of history, University of California, Berkeley) was given the John Gilmary Shea Prize for his book *From Enemy to Brother: The Revolution in Catholic Teaching on the Jews, 1933–1965* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press). As the Shea committee noted, Connelly has made a unique contribution with his original and thoroughly researched study of how and why the Holocaust changed the attitude of the Catholic Church to the Jewish people and resulted in *Nostra Aetate*, the declaration of the Second Vatican Council in 1965 that revolutionized the relationship between Catholics and Jews. He has demonstrated that this change was due not only to popular revulsion at the horror of the Holocaust but also was rooted in the groundwork laid by Catholic scholars in 1930s who were pioneers in combating anti-Judaism within the Catholic Church. Connelly's book is noteworthy not only for the range and thoroughness of his research and the clarity of his presentation but also for his dispassionate and nonpolemical approach to a highly controversial topic.

Anne Jacobson Schutte (professor of history emerita, University of Virginia) was selected as the 2012 Marraro Prize recipient by the ACHA for her book *By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press). In announcing the award, the Marraro committee noted that

> [i]n a lively text marked by vivid examples, Anne Jacobson Schutte masterfully revises our picture of how religious houses fit into early modern family dynamics. Men as well as women were forced into vows, often through a violence shaped by strategy and circumstance that left deep scars. Schutte carefully lays out the institutional apparatus of the houses and the legal processes for release from vows, and offers a rich store of data for further examination.

Benjamin D. Reed (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) received the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award for "Devotion to Saint Philip Neri in

Colonial Mexico City." The committee members agreed that Reed's research on the Oratorians was of exceptional significance. The Oratorians, as he explained, contributed to "modernizing the role of priests" during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries at a time when modern Catholicism was experiencing major changes due to the Council of Trent, the Reformation movements, and the increasing European involvement in the Americas. According to the committee, his innovative work will provide

> the first in-depth history of [one of the] Congregations of the Oratory in the Spanish Empire. Mr. Reed's proposal demonstrated several strengths. His project is thoughtful and well-conceived. He has already completed a significant amount of research and he communicates his findings clearly and precisely. The project requires considerable methodological sophistication, which is reflected in work already completed. As historians begin to study the effects of Vatican II, Mr. Reed's study of an earlier reform movement will be of considerable interest.

The Reverend Marvin R. O'Connell (professor emeritus of history, University of Notre Dame) was selected for the Distinguished Scholar Award, in recognition of his achievements as a master historian of people, movements, and institutions stretching from Rome to St. Paul and from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century. He launched his scholarly career in 1964 when Yale University Press published his book *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*. Displaying the remarkable range and versatility that would be the hallmarks of his scholarly career, O'Connell turned next to *The Oxford Conspirators: A History of the Oxford Movement, 1833–1845* (New York, 1969). Five years later, he contributed *The Counter Reformation, 1559–1610* (New York, 1974) to the famous Rise of Modern Europe series. Turning next to the American Church and his own Minnesota, O'Connell published *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church* (St. Paul, MN, 1988). Returning to intellectual history and largely to European concerns, he next published *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington, DC, 1994) and *Blaise Pascal: Reasons of the Heart* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1997). In his retirement, O'Connell has published two manuscripts to date: a complete study of Notre Dame's founder Edward Sorin (*Edward Sorin*, Notre Dame, 2001) and *Pilgrims to the Northland: The Archdiocese of St. Paul, 1840–1962* (Notre Dame, 2009).

The Reverend Cyprian Davis, O.S.B. (professor of church history, St. Meinrad Seminary and School of Theology, as well as history instructor, Institute of Black Catholic Studies, Xavier University of Louisiana) was presented with the Distinguished Teaching Award. In nominating him for this teaching award, one of his students wrote that "[w]hat distinguishes Fr. Cyprian Davis's teaching technique is his unique ability to teach history through storytelling in a manner that invites students to enter into and experience the story." Another nominator echoed those sentiments, commenting

that "[w]hat remains etched in my memory and spirit is how he would place the class in the proper perspective each day," allowing students to focus on that which was important: God working in and through history and time. Yet another student summed up for the nominating committee the reason for selecting Davis for this honor: "His work has been sheer grace for our Catholic community."

Dr. Norman C. Francis (president, Xavier University of Louisiana) was given the Distinguished Service to Catholic Studies Award for his leadership in fostering the study of the history of Catholicism. This fall, Francis will mark his 45th year as Xavier University president, making him the longest serving president of a U.S. postsecondary institution. Since the mid-1970s Francis and members of the Xavier University community have made a significant contribution to the study of Roman Catholic history within the African American context with the founding and nurturing of the Institute for Black Catholic Studies (IBCS). For approximately forty years, the IBCS has been a center for the study of the black Catholic experience as well as the locus for preparing laymen and laywomen, religious, and members of the clergy for more meaningful and effective ministry within the black Catholic community. In 2006, Francis received the Medal of Freedom by then-President George W. Bush for his efforts in the rebuilding of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina.

At the ACHA Annual Business Meeting on Friday, January 4, Nelson H. Minnich (editor, *The Catholic Historical Review*) read the following report of Monsignor Robert Trisco (acting editor for 2012), who was unable to attend.

Report of the Editor

I had the honor of serving as acting editor of *The Catholic Historical Review* during the last academic year, while the editor, Professor Nelson H. Minnich, was enjoying a well-merited sabbatical leave from both his teaching and editing positions. This report, however, covers the calendar year 2012, which coincided with volume XCVIII of the journal. That volume contains 865 pages in Arabic numerals, thirty pages of preliminary material in Roman numerals, and twenty-six pages of the index, making a total of 921 pages. This volume is thirty-eight pages shorter than the previous volume. When the membership dues in the American Catholic Historical Association were paid by check or money order, many members added to their payments a contribution for the expansion of the journal. In this way, we received $11,772 in 2005, $4592 in 2006, $5682 in 2007, and $6317 in 2008 (the last year for which the amount was reported). This substantial support enabled the editors to add many pages, thus bringing more articles and book reviews to subscribers. Since the dues began to be collected online, this source of assistance has been eliminated. However, a few subscribers have continued to send in their contributions; sincere thanks are extended to Professor Paul F. Grendler (Chapel Hill, NC; University of Toronto emeritus); Dr. David M. Rooney

(Hofstra University); and the Most Reverend Walter James Endyvean (auxiliary bishop, Archdiocese of Boston) for their generous support. The editors welcome contributions of any size at any time and will use them exclusively for additional pages.

Published in these 865 pages were eleven articles; one autobiographical essay by an eminent scholar in the series Journeys in Church History; two "Forum Essays" with multiple reviewers of a single book; one review article dealing with four books; the reports from the ninety-second annual meeting of the Association, reviews of 261 books; fifteen brief notices; and the quarterly sections of "Notes and Comments," "Periodical Literature," and "Other Books Received."

Of the eleven articles, four are in medieval history (including the ACHA presidential address delivered in January 2012), two in early-modern European history, two in late-modern European, one in late-modern European and American history, one in American history, and one in American and Latin American history. The editor and acting editor remain interested in receiving more articles on American church history. Of the eleven article authors, five are Americans, three are Spaniards, one is Canadian, one is Belgian, and one is Italian.

The 257 book reviews (four of which covered two books) were divided into the following categories: twenty-three in general and miscellaneous, eighteen in ancient, seventy-seven in medieval, fifty-seven in early-modern European, thirty-seven in late-modern European, twenty-eight in American and Canadian, thirteen in Latin American, three in African, and five in Far Eastern history. By nationality, 179 of the reviewers were from the United States; thirty-nine from England; nine from Canada; four from Australia; three each from Israel, Italy, and Scotland; and one each from Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Northern Ireland, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, the People's Republic of China, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Ireland, Sweden, Taiwan, and Wales. In selecting reviewers, preference is given to qualified members of the Association and then to American historians, but in many cases it is necessary to turn to experts of other countries. Their collaboration makes the journal truly international in character.

This year, twenty-eight articles were received; the present status is shown in the following table:

TABLE 1.
Manuscript status

Area	Accepted	Rejected	Withdrawn	Under Revision	Pending	TOTAL
General					1	1
Medieval		2		1	1	4
Modern						
European		2	1	2	3	8
American	1	2		4	2	9
Canadian				1		1
Caribbean		1			1	2
Chinese				1	2	3
TOTAL	1	7	1	9	10	28

It is expected that many of the articles still under consideration or in the process of revision will eventually be accepted.

The Catholic Historical Review will reach its centenary in April 2015. The editor is planning a special issue to mark this milestone; he has invited distinguished scholars to prepare articles evaluating the journal's contributions in their respective fields over the past 100 years. In the meantime, the journal will continue to serve the members of the Association and the entire community of church historians with the material of the highest quality.

ROBERT TRISCO
Acting Editor, Volume XCVIII

Vatican Library

Monsignor Cesare Pasini, prefect of the Apostolic Vatican Library, announced the availability of the first 256 manuscripts now digitized and accessible through the Digitized Materials link on the library's Web site.

Center for Migration Studies Moves to More Accessible Location in Manhattan

The Center for Migration Studies (CMS) has announced its move from Staten Island to 27 Carmine Street, New York, NY 10014. Its new address in Greenwich Village is more easily accessible to researchers. As CMS is a mission of the Society of Saint Charles-Scalabrinians, a congregation of priests and brothers dedicated to the care of immigrants, the archive is committed to documenting the immigrant experience. Its collections cover two broad areas. Many contain personal papers, institutional records, publications, and photographs generated by settled immigrants (mostly Italian Americans) in various

areas of the United States. However, CMS is unique in its documentation of the experience of migration; several collections were created by agencies offering care to immigrants passing through Ellis Island or traveling across the El Paso-Mexico border, or by advocacy groups lobbying Congress on behalf of immigrants. Since the founding of CMS in 1964, researchers have found endless use for these records. Space at the new location is available for researchers, with room for computer and scanner use. A project is underway to post CMS finding guides on the Internet to facilitate planning. Researchers can reach CMS by email at cms@cmsny.org.

Conferences

The sixth triennial meeting of the Redemptorist History Conference will take place September 30–October 4, 2013, at the Notre Dame Retreat House in Canandaigua, New York. Sponsored by the Institute for Redemptorist Historical Studies of North America, the conference is open to all. Presentations will highlight Redemptorist preachers, professors, and promoters of healing in the United States and Canada. Among the subjects will be the priests Francis J. Connell, Louis Hartman, Joseph Manton, Matthew Meehan, and Francis X. Murphy. Additionally, sessions on the shrines of Quebec's Ste. Anne-de-Beaupré and Boston's Mission Church will be included. Kathleen Sprows-Cummings (Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame) will provide a keynote on St. John Neumann. Further information may be obtained by visiting http://www.redemptorists.com/redemptorist-historical-institute.html.

On November 8, 2013, Georgetown University will host the one-day conference "Trent and Its Impact" to celebrate the 450th anniversary of the close of the Council of Trent. The speakers are Kenneth Appold (Princeton Theological Seminary); Laura Benedetti (Georgetown); Tracy Cooper (Temple University); Simon Ditchfield (York University, UK); Marcia Hall (Temple); Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America); John O'Malley, S.J. (Georgetown); and Jared Wicks, S.J. (Pontifical College Josephinum, Columbus, OH). The conference will open on November 7 at 4:30 p.m. with a performance of Palestrina's "Mass of Pope Marcellus." The conference is free and open to the public. Further details will be available on the Georgetown Web site.

On November 14–15, 2013, the workshop "Christian Democratic Ideology and Programmatic Development, 1945–2000" will be held in Leuven, Belgium, with sponsorship by three institutes: KADOC–KU Leuven (Leuven, Belgium), the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Sankt Augustin-Berlin), and the Istituto Luigi Sturzo (Rome). Those who wish to present a paper at the conference should contact Luc Schokkaert at Luc.Schokkaert@kadoc.kuleuven.be.

Publications

The Internationale Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung held a symposium in Esztergom, Hungary, on September 16–20, 2010, on the theme "Akten, Dekrete und Tagebücher als Konzilsquellen." The papers read at that meeting have recently been published in two issues of the *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* for 2010 (vol. 42). In Heft 1, Ralf van Bühren provides an introduction (pp. 1–6). The other authors and their contributions are Thomas Graumann, "Protokollierung, Aktenerstellung und Dokumentation am Beispiel des Konzils von Ephesus (431)" (pp. 7–34); Manuel Mira, "Valoraciones recientes del Sínodo Lateranense del 649" (pp. 35–50); Richard Price, "Aspects of the composition of the Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649" (pp. 51–58); Heinz Ohme, "Die Quellen des Concilium Quinisextum (691/2)" (pp. 59–74); Peter Bruns, "Der Melkit Theoodor Abû Qurra und die Ökumenischen Konzilien" (pp. 75–92); Nelson H. Minnich, "The Implementation of Lateran V by the Milanese Councils of San Carlo Borromeo" (pp. 93–102); Gabriel Adriányi, "Die letzte ungarische Nationalsynode von 1822 und die Protestanten" (pp. 103–18); and Carlo Pioppi, "Due fonti di storia ecclesiastica a cavallo tra '800 e '900: il Concilio Neogranadino del 1868 e quello di Cartagena del 1902 di fronte alle sfide della modernità" (pp. 119–44). In Heft 2 are the following contributions: Péter Kardinal Erdö, "Die Diözesansynoden in Ungarn nach der Wende von 1989–1990" (pp. 373–78); Ansgar Frenken, "Darstellende Quellen zum Konstanzer Konzil: kritische Anmerkungen zum Genus der 'Tagebücher Fillastres, Cerretanis und Turres' und ihres spezifischen Quellenwerts" (pp. 379–402); Johannes Grohe, "Der Traktat De concilio provinciali (1565) des Felice Peretti (Sixtus V.)" (pp. 403–12); and Ralf van Bühren, "Die Rezeption kirchlicher Überlieferung durch das Zweite Vatikanum am Beispiel der Konzilsaussagen über Kunst und Künstler" (pp. 413–30).

The 450th anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563) is celebrated in six articles published in *Evangelische Theologie* (vol. 72, no. 6, 2012). Among them are Jan Stievermann, "Der Heidelberger Katechismus in Nordamerika: Von der Kolonialzeit bis zum Bürgerkrieg" (pp. 432–43) and Daniel Silliman, "Der Heidelberger Katechismus in Nordamerika: Von Bürgerkrieg bis heute" (pp. 445–57).

Efemérides Mexicana has devoted its entire issue for May–August 2012 (vol. 30, no. 89) to Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. It consists of the following eight articles: José Rubén Romero Galván, "Juan de Palafox y los indígenas novohispanos" (pp. 145–56); Gregorio Bartolomé Martínez, "Política e Iglesia en tiempo de necesarias reformas" (pp. 157–83); Montserrat Galí Boadella, "La cathedral palafoxiana: arte, liturgia y política en la cathedral de Puebla (1649)" (pp. 185–213); Raquel Gutiérrez Estupiñán, "«Por las callejuelas de lo cotidiano». Palafox, anotador de las Cartas de Santa Teresa" (pp. 215–30); Nelly Sigaut, "El Obispo y sus retratos: La iconografía de don Juan Palafox y

Mendoza" (pp. 231–52); Francisco De Icaza Dufour, "La obra jurídica de Juan de Palafox" (pp. 253–71); Juan Carlos Casas García, "La visita del Obispo Palafox a la Universidad novohispana (1644–1645)" (pp. 273–83); and Ildefonso Moriones, "Íter del Proceso de Beatificación de Juan de Palafox" (pp. 285–324).

In anticipation of the bicentenary of the birth of St. John Bosco, *Itinerarium: Rivista Multidisciplinare dell'Istituto Teologico "San Tommaso"–Messina* (vol. 20, nos. 50–51, 2012) has published five articles edited by Antonino Romano under the heading "Don Bosco Maestro di speranza per i giovani di tutti i tempi: Saggi in occasione del Bicentenario della Nascita di San Giovanni Bosco (1815–2015)." Following a "Presentazione" by Gianni Mazzali (p. 17) are "Gli ultimi giorni di Don Bosco, la sua malatia e la morte santa dai racconti dei testimoni" by Arthur J. Lenti (p. 19–76; previously published in English in the *Journal of Salesian Studies*, 5 [Autumn, 2004]); "Don Bosco: promozione sociale e santità per i figli del popolo" by Aldo Giraudo (pp. 77–87); "Don Bosco e la Bibbia. Una «lectio divina» salesiana" by Morand Wirth (pp. 89–113); "Il dialogo tra Don Bosco e il Ministro Urbano Rattazzi nel progettare la Società Salesiana" by Bruno Bordignon (pp. 115–36); and "Le idee pedagogiche del Risorgimento italiano e l'azione educativa di Giovanni Bosco" by Dario De Salvo (pp. 143–61).

A conference on "La Congregazione Sublacense: Inizi, ideali e attività missionaria" was held in the Abbey of St. Scholastica at Subiaco on October 4–6, 2011. The proceedings of the conference have been published in the first fascicule for 2012 (vol. 54) of *Studia Monastica* as follows: Francesco G. B. Trolese, O.S.B., "Introduzione" (pp. 7–12); Giuseppe Croce, "Cenni sulla politica missionaria del papato tra Gregorio XVI e Leone XIII (1831–1903)" (pp. 13–27); Gianpaolo Romanato, "Il fenomeno monastico tra soppressioni, espansione missionaria e colonialismo" (pp. 29–41); Giovanni Spinelli, "Il papato e la centralizzazione monastica nel sec. XIX" (pp. 43–54); Giovanni Lunardi, O.S.B., "Lo spirito missionario dell'abate Pietro Casaretto e l'istituzione del collegio missionario di Sant'Ambrogio" (pp. 55–66); Ambrose Flavell, O.S.B., "Subiaco Congregation Missionaries and the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century" (pp. 67–93); Josep Massot Muntaner, " La experiencia monástica de la provincia española frente al problema misionero: el caso de Nueva Nursia" (pp. 95–113); Cyrill Schäfer, "Ideale monastico e missionarietà dei monaci benedettini tedeschi nel secolo XIX" (pp. 115–29); Ugo Paoli, O.S.B., "Tentativo di un progetto missionario in comune tra silvestrini e sublacensi in Sri Lanka" (pp. 131–64); Michele Sciò, "Pieto Casaretto e i monasteri di Subiaco" (pp. 165–78); F. Trolese, "Confronti tra l'ideale monastico di Ludovico Barbo e quello di Pietro Casaretto" (pp. 179–97); Jean-Louis Verstrepen, "Dom Guéranger et le Père Muard: Leurs projets monastiques, ressemblances et divergences" (pp. 199–219); and Ghislain Lafont, "La riforma di Pietro Casaretto in prospettiva odierna" (pp. 221–29). Abbot Bruno Marin, O.S.B., the president of the Congregation, has contributed a "Conclusione del convegno" (pp. 231–33).

Part II of the *U.S. Catholic Historian's* commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Second Vatican Council (see *ante* [January, 2013], p. 199) appears in the issue for summer 2012 (vol. 30, no. 3), comprising five articles: Robert F. Trisco, "The U.S. Bishops' Press Panel at the Second Vatican Council" (pp. 1–20); Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., "Ecumenism, Civil Rights, and the Second Vatican Council: The American Experience" (pp. 21–49); Tricia T. Pyne, "The Archives of the Second Vatican Council Fathers Project: A Report from the United States" (pp. 51–63); François Weiser, "The Periti of the United States and the Second Vatican Council: Prosopography of a Group of Theologians" (pp. 65–91); and Seth Smith, "Implementing Vatican II in Two Rural, Southern Parishes" (pp. 93–114).

Among the other periodicals that have commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Second Vatican Council is *Catholica* (vol. 66, no. 3, 2012), with contributions by Athanasios Vletsis, "Das II. Vatikanum und die Orthodoxie: ein Beispeil zur Nachahmung?" (pp. 161–79); Friederike Nüssel, "'… nicht nur Anpassung, sondern Aufbruch'? Notizen zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil aus evangelischer Sicht im Abstand von fünfzig Jahren" (pp. 180–92); and Markus Iff, "Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil in freikirchlicher Sicht" (pp. 193–212). Another is *Theologia, Rivista della Facoltà teologica dell'Italia Settentrionale* (vol. XXXVII, no. 32, September, 2012), with contributions by Franco Giulio Brambilla, "La ricerca faticosa di una via per il concilio: Giovanni XXIII e Montini-Paolo VI" (pp. 335–60); Giuseppe Angelini, "L'aggiornamento: suggestioni e problemi di una formula fortunata" (pp. 361–82); Bruno Seveso, "Vaticano II. L'indole pastorale" (pp. 383–414); and Giovanni Rota, "Il Concilio Vaticano II e la Tradizione: I punti nodali di un dibattito" (pp. 415–49).

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