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Negotiated Sanctity: Incorruption, Community, and Medical Expertise

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The incorruption of a saint's body became a key miracle for Counter-Reformation saints, as it signaled their connection to God and therefore the correctness of the Catholic faith. Most canonized and many prospective saints in the seventeenth century were subjected to a posthumous medical examination. Competing local factors affected the process, including popular support for the prospective saint, the involvement of ecclesiastical and secular authorities, and the strength of the medical community. In the end, the attempt to make the miracle of incorruption a matter of medical opinion resulted in a negotiated truth about the state of the body.

Keywords: saint; medicine; incorruption; miracle; Zacchia, Paolo

In 1625 the apostolic phase of the canonization process for Pope Gregory X, who had been dead nearly 350 years, opened in Arezzo, Italy. Among the purported miracles to be considered in deciding whether he qualified as a saint was the fact that his body was said to have lain, since 1276, "incorrupt and whole . . . [and] emitting a sweet odor."[1] The Church

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1. Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Congregazione dei Riti Processus (RP) 2155, fol. 22r: "Item ponit & quod corpus ipsius Beati Gregorii Decimi post lapsem 346 [sic] annorum ab eius obitu integrum et incorruptem inspicitur, et suis pontificiis vestibus

had recognized such bodily incorruption as a conventional sign of sanctity since medieval times. Prior to the seventeenth century, however, popular acclamation decided whether the body of the deceased had miraculously resisted rot.[2] Now, when it came to determining whether or not Gregory's body was incorrupt, the judges in this case called not on popular but on expert opinion: they summoned several physicians to testify about the state of Gregory's corpse.[3] Gregory's case was not unusual: in the hundred years after papal canonizations resumed following the Reformation, nearly every saint with a reputation for bodily holiness was examined posthumously by a medical practitioner, sometimes undergoing a full autopsy.[4]

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ornatum in marmoreo eminenti sepulchro suavem emittens odorem, quod in die testificatis eiusdem omnibus fidelibus patet, quod fuit, et est verum publicum et notorium palam." For a discussion of the phases of Gregory's trial and its context, see Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 60 (1992), 379–422.

2. André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* trans. Jean Birrell (New York, 1997) pp. 427–33. Vauchez observes that a pleasant smelling, incorrupt body was a key element of sanctity in the Middle Ages. For a broader work on bodily incorruption in popular culture, see Piero Camporesi, *The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore*, trans. Tania Croft-Murray (New York, 1988).

3. On medical testimony about the holy body in canonization proceedings more generally and the pressures placed on physicians during such trials, see Bradford Bouley, "Contested Cases: Medical Evidence, Popular Opinion, and the Miraculous Body," in *Médecine et religion: Collaborations, compétitions, conflits (XII^e–XX^e siècles),* ed. Maria Pia Donato, Luc Berlivet, Sara Cabibbo, Raimondo Michetti, and Marilyn Nicoud (Rome, 2013), pp. 139–62. That study touches on some of the same material discussed here, but subsequent research indicates that incorruption is of such importance that it should be treated separately from other ideas about bodily holiness. On a separate note, the term *physician* designated university-trained medical practitioners; such professionals testified in Gregory's case. However, a wide variety of medical practitioners existed in the early-modern period and testified in canonization proceedings. The preference of canonization judges seems to have been for physicians. This was likely due to the fact that their university training allowed them to apply a philosophical framework to their interpretations of what was found in the human body. On medical diversity in this period, see Gianna Pomata, *Contracting a Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna* (Baltimore, 1998), pp. 56–94; and David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (New York, 1998), pp. 1–28.

4. An examination of records at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, where most of the apostolic canonization processes from this period are housed, reveals that at least eighteen of twenty-six saints canonized between 1588 and 1700 were examined by a medical practitioner. These include Diego of Alcalá, Carlo Borromeo, Filippo Neri, Ignatius of Loyola, Isidro Labrador, Teresa of Ávila, Francis Xavier, Isabel of Portugal, Andrea Corsini, Thomas of Villanuova, Francis de Sales, Maria Magdalene de Pazzis, Pedro de' Alcantara, Rose of Lima, Luis Bertrán, Ferdinando III of Castile, Lorenzo Giustiniani, and Paschal Baylon. In the eight cases of canonized saints from this period who were not subjected to a posthumous medical examination, three were early and so declared incorrupt prior to the institution of routine medical examinations (Hyancith, Francesca Romana, and Raymond Penafort); two

This innovation signaled a turning point in the process of saint-making. The field of medicine had adopted many new techniques in the sixteenth century. Most significantly, numerous physicians and other medical practitioners used direct anatomical observation to understand better how to treat and know the human body.[5] Canonization officials valued this ability to use discrete observations to draw conclusions about the natural world. Physicians thus became the experts who judged, using a combination of practical experience and theoretical knowledge, whether the state of a body was beyond the range of what they considered normal.

Nevertheless, the medical professionals examining Gregory's corpse had trouble determining if its level of incorruption exceeded the realm of the natural.[6] The doctors asserted that Gregory's body had been known at one time to have been incorrupt, but they now noted that the body had decayed in recent years. One of these physicians, Francesco di Sant Gossari, expressed the following generally held opinion: "for some time the body has not seemed to me to be as complete as I remembered it to be."[7] Another physician, Gaspare Maltachini, stated that he had seen the body many times in the last fifty years but that "it is no longer at present as

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lacked sufficient remains for there to be an examination that would confirm or deny incorruption (Filippo Benizzi and Gaetano Thiene); one did not enjoy a reputation of being incorrupt (Francisco Borgia); and the last two (John of God and John of Sahagun) seem likely to have been examined given a few references found, but a medical report was not uncovered. Thus, the tally did not include the last two. In addition to these saints canonized in this period, many other prospective saints were similarly examined but not elected.

5. On debates surrounding the introduction of new methods in medicine and reactions to them see Nancy Siraisi, "Giovanni Argenterio, Medical Innovation, Princely Patronage, and Academic Controversy," in *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250–1600* (Boston, 2001), pp. 328–55; Anita Guerrini, "Experiments, Causation, and the Uses of Vivisection in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the History of Biology*, 46 (2013), 227–54; Roger French, *Dissection and Vivisection in the European Renaissance* (Brookfield, VT, 1999), pp. 162–92, 230–73; and Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning,* trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago, 1999), pp. 1–8, 194–212. On the connection between anatomical observation and new methods in medicine, see Gianna Pomata, "Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre, 1500–1650," in *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago, 2011), pp. 45–80.

6. On the divisions of nature, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998), pp. 120–28; and Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," *Critical Inquiry,* 18, (1991), 93–124.

7. ASV, RP 2155, fol. 90v: "Io ho veduto più volte quando ero giovanetto il corpo di questo Beato Pontefice integro e incorrotto con li suoi habiti Pontificii entro il sepolchro marmoreo che sopra ho deposto il quale da poco tempo in qua non mi par cosi integro come ho memoria d'haverlo veduto prima. . ."

whole and solid as it was before." Reasoning further, Maltachini suggested that the rotting of the body in recent years might be due to the decaying of the wooden casket that held Gregory's corpse and to the heat emitted by the numerous lamps lit near his tomb.[8]

Gregory was, in fact, never canonized. This failure was not due to the medical testimony alone. As Simon Ditchfield notes in his study of saint-making, Gregory's candidacy was hindered by a lack of patronage and was really only pushed forward through the efforts of one Piacentine hagiographer, Pietro Maria Campi.[9] The lack of patronage also affected how the medical practitioners in Arezzo interpreted the state of Gregory's corpse. Campi cajoled testimony in Arezzo, where Gregory was buried, but was unable to engineer an official medical inspection of the body.[10] As such an inspection had become commonplace in cases involving bodily incorruption, the failure of such a visit to occur is noteworthy.[11] In judging Gregory's body, then, the doctors were forced to rely on memory or casual visits to the tomb. In addition, Campi—perhaps seen as a meddlesome outsider—likely pressured these medical professionals to testify favorably about Gregory's corpse. The medical testimony should therefore be understood as a reaction to these circumstances. Simply put, Gregory's body no longer seemed so "miraculous" after Campi began to interfere with local veneration of the deceased pontiff.

As this case suggests, the incorruption of a corpse was never unambiguous: local opinion, ecclesiastical authority, political pressures, medical expertise, and theological concerns all contributed to the attempt to define the boundary of the natural when it came to a rotting human body. As Aviad Kleinberg has noted for the cases of medieval saints, "the status of saint was conferred upon a person in a gradual process that involved disagreement and negotiation, as well as collaboration and even collusion."[12] This is equally true for miracles in the early-modern period. When it came

8. ASV, RP 2155, fol. 59r: "Io l'ho visto molte volte da cinquant'anni in dietro nel qual tempo detto corpo era molto più intiero, che non è di p[rese]nte o che ciò sia nato per essersi per corto del tempo corrosa la cassa di legno e tavola dove sia posato d[etto] corpo, o perché sia stato toccato con corone, et altro da fedeli come sopra ho deposto, o che il caldo de[i] lumi de quali si sono tenuti le persone che hanno voluto vedere detto corpo o della lampada, che dentro si soleva tenervi accesa, o per altro accidente non per più di presente cosi intiero e solido come prima."

9. Ditchfield. "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," pp. 419–22.

10. *Ibid.,* pp. 394–95.

11. See the discussion later in the article.

12. Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country* (Chicago, 1992), p. 4.

to sanctity, even medical knowledge of a human body was negotiated. When a doctor looked into a potentially holy cadaver, he understood it both as a possible locus for sanctity and as a subject of medical knowledge. How he interpreted what he found therein was not a strict reporting of the facts—if that ever is possible—but rather an observation conditioned by a variety of competing factors.[13]

Importance and Theology of Incorruption

Although incorruption was an important and popular miracle in the Middle Ages, it became even more crucial to the Catholic faith after the Reformation.[14] Early Protestants rejected the possibility of this miracle and had mocked the idea that the human body could act as a conduit for the divine.[15] The numerous attacks in which relics were either defamed or destroyed in the 1520s were well-known displays of the antipathy felt by Protestants for what they viewed as a manifestation of clerical deceit and corruption.[16] Therefore, belief in the possibility of incorruption became a badge of Catholic identity and a miracle that was thought to prove the veracity of the faith.[17] Its importance is illustrated by the seventeenth-century canonization of Catherine of Bologna. As historian Gianna Pomata argues, the incorruption of Catherine's body was considered one of her key miracles and therefore also one that was hotly debated.[18]

Given its importance, this miracle of incorruption posed additional problems for canonization officials. Although it aroused enthusiasm in the populace, which was certainly to be encouraged, such zeal could also be misdirected toward unworthy individuals whose bodies somehow appeared

13. For a recent consideration of the possibility and history of "objective" knowledge, see Lorraine Daston and Peter Gallison, *Objectivity* (New York, 2007).

14. John Gager, "Body Symbols and Social Reality: Resurrection, Incarnation and Asceticism in Early Christianity," *Religion*, 12 (1982), 345–64; and Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* pp. 427–28.

15. Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols* (New York, 1986), pp. 1–2, 312.

16. See, for example, Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), pp. 71–102; and Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg and Basel* (New York, 1999).

17. Peter Dear, "Miracles, Experiments, and the Ordinary Course of Nature," *Isis,* 81, (1990), 663–83. Dear observes in this article that, especially in the period after Trent, miracles became key demonstrations of the Catholic faith. Indeed, he argues that they served a purpose as analogous experiments for the later English Royal Society. That is, just as an experiment could confirm a theoretical assertion, so, too, could a miracle confirm Catholic doctrine.

18. Gianna Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body: Medical Experts and Miraculous Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Studies,* 21 (2007), 568–86, here 568–71.

incorrupt.[19] Incorruption was a sign of sanctity that was potentially too independent of official church authority—it was subjective and therefore open to interpretation. Thus, members of the Rota Tribunal and the Congregation of Rites—the two bodies that oversaw canonization proceedings from 1588 onward—sought methods whereby to verify this miracle but make it independent of popular opinion.

When a canonization proceeding moved from its local or diocesan phase to its apostolic or papal phase, the Rota Tribunal issued letters nominating new local judges to conduct the inquiry and including instructions on what questions to ask witnesses and how other miracles should be confirmed.[20] By the early-seventeenth century, such instructions began to specify that the tomb of the purportedly holy individual must be surveyed and the body unearthed. These letters did not necessarily specify that medical practitioners be used in confirming the incorruption of the corpse. However, following exhumation, medical professionals almost always examined the corpse immediately, implying that the recourse to experts was mandatory.[21]

The understanding that medical verification was required may have come from the fact that canonization manuals had codified both the importance of incorruption and the role of medicine in its confirmation by this period. Felice Contelori, a principal legal adviser to Pope Urban VIII (1623–44), stressed its importance in his authoritative 1634 manual on canonization, *Tractatus et praxis de canonizatione*.[22] In this work, he cited the incorruption of a corpse after death and its emission of a sweet-

19. See, for example, several cases brought before the Roman Inquisition in which the discovery of an incorrupt body sparked unapproved venerations, in at least one case even of an unknown individual. Vatican City, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF), Stanza Storica (St. St.) B-4-B, fasc. 14; B-4-F, fasc. 1, fasc. 9; B-4-P, fasc. 3, fasc. 13.

20. For the role of the Rota and the Congregation of Rites in canonization and the various stages in a canonization process, see Miguel Gotor, *Chiesa e santità nell'Italia moderna* (Rome, 2004), pp. 39–40; idem, "La canonizzazione dei santi spagnoli nella Roma barocca," in *Roma y España: un crisol de la cultura europea en la edad moderna*, ed. Carlos José and Hernando Sánchez (Madrid, 2007), pp. 621–39, here pp. 623–25; Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of the Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia, vol. 6 (New York, 2007), pp. 201–24, here pp. 208–12.

21. See, for example, the processes for Isidro Labrador, ASV, RP 3192, fol. 648r; Andrea Corsini, ASV, RP 762, fols. 147r–47v; and Isabel of Portugal, ASV, RP 501, fols. 40v–41r.

22. On Contelori, see Giovanni Camillo Peresio, *Vita di Monsig. Felice Contelori* (Rome, 1684).

smelling odor as the first two miracles that he said could count for canonization, thereby giving them precedence.[23] Furthermore, he specifically asserted that physicians and surgeons held authority as expert witnesses, claiming that they were allowed to interpret evidence—even if they had not been present when the supposed miracle had occurred.[24]

What Contelori left unsaid, however, was exactly what standards should be applied by medical professionals when determining whether the body of a deceased holy person could be considered incorrupt. It was, in fact, extremely difficult in practice to say whether a miracle had occurred, because Catholic theology on incorruption left quite a bit of room for interpretation in judging this miracle.

Theologians asserted that a holy body was allowed to have rotted a little and still be considered miraculous because the Catholic theory of incorruption depended on ideas about resurrection at the end of time. Catholic theology states that during the Last Judgment, the entire flesh of a deceased individual would be brought together and reanimated.[25] Before that event, the bodies of deceased saints, which were thought to enjoy a direct connection with God, might demonstrate signs of their election by foreshadowing this reanimation. The incorrupt corpse provided a glimpse of the resurrection and the victory over death and decay that the elect would enjoy.[26] But, even incorrupt corpses, by virtue of existing in this transient world, would show some sign of the passage of time.[27] Saintly bodies reflected a double promise: both that the world will end and that the elect will be saved. Thus, saintly bodies could still be counted as miracu-

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23. Felice Contelori, *Tractatus et Praxis de Canonizatione* (Lyons, 1634), pp. 144–45.

24. *Ibid*., p. 209. The question arises, however, as to whether or not the Church actually preferred firsthand medical testimony, since, if it did, this would imply that canonization officials gave special weight to sensory experience as a means with which to discern the holy. In nearly all the cases considered here the medical practitioners did indeed inspect the corpse themselves before they testified about it. However, there are a few cases—such as Francis Xavier or Rose of Lima—in which medical testimony given far away by a less prestigious medical practitioner was reinterpreted in Rome. On balance, it seems that canonization officials preferred that the most prestigious witnesses possible examine the body firsthand before giving evidence. However, barring that, it favored secondhand testimony from more eminent practitioners rather than firsthand observations from non-elite *medici*.

25. Caroline Bynum, "Material Continuity, Personal Survival and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion of Its Medieval and Modern Contexts," in "The Body," spec. issue, *History of Religions,* 30, No. 1, (1990), 51–85, here 52; idem, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), pp. 154–55; idem, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), pp. 187–92.

26. Bynum, *The Resurrection,* p. 200.

lously incorrupt even if a cadaver had degraded to some extent in respect to how it had appeared in life.

Furthermore, it was believed that holy bodies might begin to show some signs of rot in this world as an indication of their status in heaven. Resurrection of the body implied a scheme of punishments and rewards. The body that had either sinned or worked great piety on Earth would be brought back together to answer for its actions. The elect would be sorted based on moral achievements, gender, and ecclesiastical status.[28] The bodily remains that bore evidence of a saint's elect status on Earth would also signify his or her position in heaven. In sum, then, from a theological point of view, the resistance of a human body to rot over a long period of time was a difficult matter to measure.[29] Theology left open specifics such as how much rot was allowed for a body to still be considered miraculously incorrupt. It was partially owing to this difficulty that canonization officials turned to the experts on the body, medical professionals, in an attempt to identify where the boundary of the miraculous lay in the human body.

Medicine and the Church

From at least the thirteenth century, doctors regularly verified healing miracles during a canonization process.[30] Following the Reformation, however, as David Gentilcore and Fernando Vidal argue, positive medical testimony became an absolute requirement for the acceptance of a healing miracle during a canonization proceeding. Such expert testimony differed from the observations of a layperson: it was characterized both by references to medical experience and philosophical training.[31] Earlier canonizations had not required this level of detail—a mere affirmation sufficed that the healing was medically inexplicable.[32]

Although the alliance between the Church and medical professionals had long been established, the increasing reliance of canonization officials on medical experts to judge incorruption in a human body represented a

27. *Ibid.,* p. 210.

28. *Ibid.,* p. 110.

29. Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body," pp. 578–82.

30. Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine,* 12 (1999), 191–225.

31. Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing,* pp. 187–98; and Fernando Vidal, "Miracles, Science and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making," *Science in Context*, 20 (2007), 481–508.

32. Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints," p. 220.

significant change in this relationship. Previously, the body of a prospective saint had only rarely been a subject of medical inquiry and, in those few cases in which it was scrutinized, the evidence seems not to have been brought forth in the canonization attempt. Furthermore, there was a difference in the type of evidence in the earlier cases: medical practitioners who opened medieval holy women—and it was always women—found objects such as implements of the passion or figured stones and took these, rather than anatomical details, as the sign of holiness in the cadavers.[33] In contrast, during the early-modern period, medical professionals gave evidence in nearly every case involving a claim of bodily wondrousness for a prospective saint and relied on anatomical and philosophical specifics—that is, details requiring expertise—when making their decisions.

The reason for this shifting role of physicians lies in the fact that just as the Catholic faith was experiencing a period of profound change and renovation, so, too, was the medical profession. Although still rooted in classical medical authorities such as Galen and Hippocrates, medicine by the early-sixteenth century was undergoing what has been termed a "Renaissance" in its understanding of the human body.[34] This was fueled by the increasing availability of old texts and a circulation of some new texts from the ancient world.[35]

During the sixteenth century, the medical profession increasingly emphasized firsthand experience of anatomy as a guide to understanding the human body. Although the annual practice of dissection in the famous medical schools of Bologna and Padua dated to at least the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively, the goal behind these demonstrations was to serve as a visual aid to the text.[36] By the early-sixteenth century, though, a few physicians, including Alessandro Benedetti, Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, and Niccolò Massa, had begun dissecting bodies as a way of uncovering new knowledge about the workings of human anatomy.[37]

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33. Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994), 1–33; idem, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York, 2006), pp. 47–52, 169–80.

34. Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Project of the Ancients* (Brookfield, VT, 1997); and Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: A Guide to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 190–93.

35. Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY, 1973), p. 125.

36. Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body,* pp. 1–2; and Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine,* pp. 73–77.

37. Carlino, *Books of the Body,* p. 2; and French, *Dissection and Vivisection,* p. 96.

Real change in attitudes toward dissection is apparent in the 1543 publication of Andreas Vesalius's *On the Fabric of the Human Body*. Despite his reliance on Galen in some respects, Vesalius also argued forcefully for the utility of firsthand knowledge of dissection.[38] A number of anatomists, including Realdo Colombo and Charles Estienne, were quick to add their own arguments about the structure of the human body based on firsthand, empirical observation.[39] By the seventeenth century, Vesalian methods of dissection, according to historian Roy Porter, "had become the golden method for anatomical investigation."[40]

Thus, by the early-seventeenth century, medicine was a discipline well known for making sense of the workings of the human body by using unusual details found therein to prove broader assertions.[41] Many believed anatomy was uniquely able to yield details about the life of a deceased individual that otherwise would not have been known.[42] In consequence, an unusually large number of case studies of individual anatomies came out in this period, resulting in what Jonathan Sawday calls a "culture of dissection."[43] In the search to know the true nature of an individual, anatomy might quite literally reveal the inner person.

It was this ability to interpret particular details in the human body that made medicine useful to Catholic canonization officials. The importance

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38. Numerous authors have written about the importance of Vesalius and debated the place of his 1543 work as a turning point. See Carlino, *Books of the Body,* pp. 1, 44; French, *Dissection and Vivisection,* pp. 163–79; and Charles O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514–1564* (Berkeley, 1964).

39. Realdo Columbo, *De re anatomica libri XV* (Venice, 1559); and Charles Estienne, *De dissectione partium corporis humani libri III* (Paris, 1545).

40. Roy Porter, "Medical Science," in *The Cambridge History of Medicine,* ed. Roy Porter (New York, 2006), pp. 136–75, here p. 138. On the increasingly important role of anatomy in medical education, see Cynthia Klestinec, "Practical Experience in Anatomy," in *The Body as Object and Instrument of Knowledge: Embodied Empiricism in Early Modern Science,* ed. Charles T. Wolfe and Ofer Gal (New York, 2010), pp. 33–57.

41. Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi, *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 1–21; Gianna Pomata, "*Praxis Historialis:* The Uses of *Historia* in Early Modern Medicine," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 105–46; and Nancy Siraisi, "Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*," in *Medicine and the Italian Universities,* pp. 287–327.

42. Nancy Siraisi, "Signs and Evidence: Autopsy and Sanctity in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Medicine and the Italian Universities,* pp. 356–80, here pp. 358–61.

43. Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York, 1995), p. 3.

FIGURE 1. Portrait of Paolo Zacchia, n.d. Wellcome Library, London.

of medicine in distinguishing the supernatural was noted by papal physician and "father" of forensic anatomy Paolo Zacchia (see figure 1):

> . . . so as to pursue full and undoubted truth, in examining some miracles the [Tribunal of the] Sacred Roman Rota sometimes orders doctors to be sent for . . . Since we, who incessantly pursue the works of nature, can recognize easily those things, which deviate from its normal operation, and those which excel the power of its operations.[44]

According to Zacchia, physicians were now recognized by church authorities for their ability to delineate the boundaries between natural and supernatural—that is, miraculous—phenomena.

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44. Paolo Zacchia, *Quaestionum Medico-Legalium Tomi Tres Editio Nova, a Variis Mendis Purgata, Passimque Interpolata, et Novis Recentiorum Authorum Inventis ac Observationis aucta,* 4.1.1 (Frankfurt, 1666), p. 282: "In nonullis ergo miraculis examinandis sacra Rota Romana, ut plenam, & indubitatam veritatem assequatur Medicos interdum accersi iubet, eorumque sententiam exposcit, . . . Nos enim, qui Naturae operibus indesinenter insistimus, facile ea, quae ab eius operibus desciscunt, eiusque operandi potentiam exuperant, cognoscere possimus."

Medicine and Incorruption

Zacchia's writing about the supernatural drew upon what was commonplace knowledge for the medical community. Stemming from Scholastic debates and particularly the work of St. Thomas Aquinas, early-modern natural philosophers and theologians had established three general categories into which phenomena occurring in the natural world could be divided: natural, preternatural, and supernatural.[45] Natural occurrences were those that were brought about by the normal workings of nature. Preternatural events were unusual but were created through natural means. It required an expert such as a trained physician to decipher how nature brought about a preternatural phenomenon. In contrast, a supernatural event was divinely inspired and therefore impossible through the regular workings of nature.[46] The failure of a body to rot after a lengthy period in the ground was a "supernatural" event.

In determining whether the level of rot found in a human body was natural, preternatural, or supernatural, seventeenth-century physicians drew heavily on their new practical experience with human anatomy. In many cases this involved an empirical testing of the corpse, sometimes including dissection. The physicians examining potential saints Giacomo della Marca and Andrea Corsini, for example, opened the chest cavities of the deceased to inspect the effects of previous embalming efforts on the body. In della Marca's case, one physician even noted that he and his colleagues had checked "by hand" the interior of the holy man's corpse. This detail underlines the importance of careful, firsthand examination that doctors undertook in verifying the incorruption of a body.[47] A doctor who examined Isabel of Portugal in 1612 was careful to point out that he tested her flesh in multiple places to ensure that her bodily integrity stretched throughout her frame. He stated that he "did not only look but also touched by hand from the right shoulder down the whole arm to the hand."[48] In the case of Teresa of Ávila, the physician Ludovico Vazquez felt her abdomen in sev-

45. Zacchia and Contelori assert these divisions but add further subdivisions to the category of supernatural. Zacchia, *Quaestionum Medico-Legalium,* 4.1.2, pp. 283–84; and Contelori, *Tractatus,* pp. 166–77.

46. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature,* pp. 120–28.

47. ASV, RP 2009 (Giacomo della Marca), fol. 446r. "Thoracem sine visceribus invenimus albo mundoque go[s]sipio . . . repletum , gos[s]ipium extricavimus, totumque Thoracem manibus satis iudicavimus, sed praeter illud nihil in ipso invenimus": ASV, RP 762 (Andrea Corsini), fol. 149r.

48. ASV, RP 501, fol. 596r: " . . . et non solum vidi, sed etiam illud manu tetigi ab humero dextro per totum brachium usque ad manum."

eral locations to check for rot. Finding that the skin seemed smooth and lifelike, he repeated this tactile examination on numerous occasions, returning at different times of day and in different weather conditions to determine if the flesh had changed.[49] Vasquez relied on his own, personal experience in testing the corpse at different times and in different atmospheric conditions—a procedure akin to experimentation—to help him decide whether the preservation of Teresa's body should be counted as supernatural. In another, similar case, doctors repeatedly manipulated the body of Luis Bertrán in an attempt to ascertain its level of preservation. In the words of the notary, they looked "at every part [of his body], touching it frequently."[50] This examination included a partial dissection, from which they noted that they found the body to be without any previous signs of corruption "not just in the internal parts and extremities, but also in the head, chest, and abdomen."[51] Thus, when physicians examined the bodies of potentially holy individuals, they engaged in observation, testing, and even dissection of the corpse in an attempt to isolate signs that would indicate whether miraculous incorruption was present or not. These skills were a product of the recent emphasis on anatomical knowledge and the importance attached to firsthand investigation of the body. The Vesalian revolution thus also changed the ways in which holiness was now understood.

In trying to measure the boundary of the natural in this way, physicians relied on medical theory as well as practical experience. Until the early part of the seventeenth century, the main text employed was Aristotle's *Meteorology,* which discussed the theory behind how quickly and why things decay.[52] By

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49. ASV, RP 3156, unfoliated, estimated fol. 712: "Ludovicus Vasquez medicus Civitatis Abulem . . . qui de praedictis testatur, et q[uod]d[ictu]m corpus non fuerat apertum nec unctum balsamo, quia tetigit eius ventrem plenum cum suis intestinis, et cum tanta carne in illis partibus, prout in vita extare poterat et declarat super incorruptione, odore, et liquore, et quia naturali, nisi miraculosa, illud esse non poterat, et q[uod] pro maiori confirmatione praedictorum diversis vicibus, et horis sine praeventione monialium ingressus fuit monast[eriu]m pro visitandis infirmis, et petiit, et obtinuit sibi ostendi dictum corpus, et praecipue quando maximus calor vigebat, et semper illud vidit eodem modo quo a principio, et erat valde leve, et indicavit illud pondus carnis sanctificatae."

50. ASV, RP 3361, fols. 1516r–16v: ". . . inspexerunt corpus praefati Beati Ludovici, conspicientes super ab omni parte, et saepius tangentes, viderunt quod totus corpus erat integru[m], et articulatu[m], et quod solum ei deficiebant tres digiti manu sinistri."

51. *Ibid.,* fols. 1517r–17v: "et quod corpus praefati Beati Ludovico manet, et continuo servatum fuit Integrum absque aliqua putrefactione, et absque aliquo signo praecedentis corruptionis no[n] solum in partibus internis et extremis, sed etia[m] in capite, pectore, abdomine . . ."

52. Craig Martin, "Interpretation and Utility: The Renaissance Commentary Tradition on Aristotle's Meteorologica IV" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002), p. 148. Martin

the 1630s, however, Zacchia had produced an authoritative guide, *Quaestiones Medico-Legales*, for doctors who would be called upon to testify before church authorities. He enjoyed a close relationship with the Tribunal of the Rota, which regularly asked him to testify about a number of matters, including whether or not the bodies of prospective saints should be considered holy. In fact, about forty of his expert testimonies before the Rota still survive.[53] During the papacy of Urban VIII—that is, the 1620s through the 1640s—Zacchia outlined the lessons from his experiences in his *Quaestiones*.[54] In this work, he explained in careful detail the differences among natural, preternatural, and supernatural phenomena when found in the body.

In his guide, Zacchia warns his readers to beware of embalming efforts or desiccation as they can make a normal body appear at times to be incorrupt.[55] He advises potential testators that a body can only be considered miraculously incorrupt if it is preserved not just in the "harder and drier" parts but also those that are "softer and wetter."[56] That is, Zacchia encouraged his readers to focus on fatty tissue as the true measure of how much rot the body has endured. Through his manual, then, Zacchia told his readers where to look within the human body for incorruption and how to test it. Physicians who sought to demarcate the boundaries of the supernatural for the Church now had a practical guide to accompany their broader theological understanding of incorruption.[57]

Nevertheless, despite his specificity, Zacchia warned his readers that a doctor must also consider more than just his initial observations because factors such as weight, gender, and cause of death can all affect the length

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argues that, from the late-sixteenth to the early-eighteenth centuries, book 4 of the *Meteorology* came to be considered a central medical text and the key work on how bodies decay.

53. Paolo Zacchia, *Quaestionum Medico-Legalium Tomus Posterior Quo Continentur Liber Nonus et Decimus Necnon Decisiones Sacrae Rotae Romanae ad Praedictas Materias Spectantes, ad Lanfranco Zacchia Collectae* (Lyons, 1661).

54. On Zacchia, see Silvia De Renzi, "Per una biografia di Paolo Zacchia: nuovi documenti e ipotesi di ricerca," in *Paolo Zacchia: Alle origini della medicina legale, 1584–1659,* ed. Alessandro Pastore and Giovanni Rossi (Milan, 2008), pp. 50–73, here p. 53.

55. Zacchia, *Quaestionum Medico-Legalium*, 4.1.10, pp. 318–21.

56. *Ibid.,* p. 321: "Cum vero, ut notum est, naturaliter omnia cadavera corrumpantur & putrefiant, sciendum est ad majorem miraculi evidentiam, ut superius dixi, cadaver ex miraculo incorruptum servatum, debere non solum secundum solidiores & sicciores partes tale conservari, sed etiam secundum moliores & humidiores, & secundum eas, quae magis sunt putrefactioni obnoxiae: & hae quidem ab omni genere putrefactionis immunes sint, oportet."

57. On the importance of Zacchia's work and its wide circulation in the seventeenth century, see Maria Gigliola and Renzo Villata, "Paolo Zacchia, la medicina come sapere globale e la 'sfida' al diritto," in *Paolo Zacchia alle origini della medicina legale 1584–1659,* pp. 9–49.

of time that a body can remain without rot.[58] Thus, even as a standard guide and set of techniques began to be employed by medical professionals, incorruption was still considered something that required an understanding of more than just what could be observed at the tomb.

Negotiating Incorruption

By the early-seventeenth century, the demand and the skills to turn a popular element of sanctity—the incorrupt corpse—into a matter of expert opinion were all in place. Medical professionals had developed a set of empirical tools and even had a practical guide through which they could identify the boundaries of the natural within the human body. Still, the evaluations of the bodies of deceased holy men and women did not resemble any ideal of "disinterested" medical science; rather, they represented a negotiation in which personal belief, local opinion, and church authority could all affect how the evidence at hand was read. A few examples will illustrate this point.

The failed canonization process of Francisco Jerónimo Simón, a parish priest from Valencia, demonstrates the ways in which the understanding of a holy body, even in the eyes of medical experts, was conditioned by various competing local interests. Shortly after Simón died in April 1612, many of the faithful from within his parish, Sant'Andrés, began venerating him as a holy individual and declared his corpse to be incorrupt through a miracle.[59] This local enthusiasm was soon accompanied by wider support throughout the city. During his sermons, the famous Franciscan preacher Antonio Sobrino lauded Simón's asceticism and works of piety. Stirred up by Sobrino, large sections of Valencia's populace began to venerate the dead priest. Sick individuals experienced healings and other miracles at Simón's tomb.[60] Several eminent personages, including Cardinal Gaspar Borja and Francisco Gómez de Sandoval (the Duke of Lerma and King Philip III's favorite), began to support Simon's canonization.[61] An ambitious priest and metropolitan canon, Balthazar Borja, opened the cause for Simon's canonization.[62] Borja, although ordinarily without such authority,

58. Zacchia, *Quaestionum Medico-Legalium,* 4.1.10, p. 320.

59. ACDF, St. St. C-1-D, b. 1, fol. 20r.

60. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna: Diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti* (Rome, 2010), pp. 243–44. Visceglia discusses Simon's case as an example of how Spanish interests played out in the Roman Curia.

61. *Ibid.,* p. 242.

62. *Ibid.*

was allowed to proceed because the archbishop's seat was temporarily empty.[63]

As had become commonplace in canonization proceedings, Borja solicited medical practitioners in the city of Valencia to attest to the miraculous incorruption of Simón's body.[64] One physician, José Pérez, claimed that Simón's body exuded an "odor of sanctity" and that after his death, "the Divine Goodness began to show hidden [signs of] sanctity" via the cadaver, including his failure to rot.[65] Two other doctors further testified that the corpse had a range of wondrous abnormalities that could only be divinely inspired.[66] These physicians gave unambiguous testimony about the holiness of Simón's body.

Yet, within the space of a few years, the same doctors reversed their statements. After the canonization process had been sent to Rome, Spanish priest Pedro Cabezas journeyed to the Holy City to denounce Simón.[67] Among his accusations, Cabezas claimed that Simón's holy body had been faked, with saint-like qualities produced by washing the corpse in sweet-smelling water and displaying it in favorable lighting.[68] Pope Paul V immediately called upon the Spanish Inquisition to investigate these charges.[69] The Inquisition had, in fact, already taken some interest in the case due to claims that the veneration surrounding the body was excessive

63. ACDF, St. ST., C-1-A, fols. 1v–2r.

64. The fact that Borja ordered an examination of Simón's body before the apostolic phase of the process began might mean that he knew that medical evaluation was becoming a key requirement for canonization and therefore sought to obtain verification early in the process. Further indication that local promoters of an individual's sainthood were aware of the new medical and anatomical criteria for holiness emerges in the case of Lorenzo Giustiniani, discussed later, in which it seems that an earlier effort had attempted to fix Giustiniani's corpse by sewing it back together to make it appear to be incorrupt. See ASV, RP 3528, fol. 101r.

65. ACDF, St. St., C-1-C, 1118r–18v, 1122r: "nel medesimo giorno di San Marco, in cui morì il Servo di Dio Don Simo, incominciò la Divina Bontà a manifestare la di lui nascosta santità"; "l'odore della di lui santità [sic]."

66. *Ibid*., fol. 1471r; ASV, RP 4235, fol. 908r. The doctors were Paolo Giuseppe Leonart and Michele Tudela, who were both listed as "Medicinae Doctor." Leonart is also described as being a professor at the University of Valencia (St. St., C-1-C, fols. 1469v–70r).

67. ACDF, St. St. C-1-D, b. 10, fols. 16r: "Pietro Cabesas Spagnuolo . . . venne in Roma a contradire la Causa della Canonizatione del P[adr]e Don Francesco Geronimo Simón."

68. ACDF, St. St. C-1-C, fols. 493r–93v: "havevano portato alla Chiesa, lavatolo con acque di molti odori, colocassero il cadavero dirimpetto ad una finestra, nella quale vi erano le vetrate, con tal disposizione che il Sole riverberasse nella di lui faccia, talche pareva, che gli uscissero li splendori, quandoche non erano altro, che il riflesso del sole. . ."

69. *Ibid.,* fol. 5r.

and unapproved.[70] With encouragement from Rome, inquisitors re-interviewed many testators, including some physicians involved in the case. Tudela, who had testified about Simón's saintly corpse, changed his statement and asserted that he had never seen holy signs in the man's body.[71] He was subsequently accused of lying in the earlier process so as to "please the people" of the city of Valencia.[72]

Although in Simón's case it might appear that medical opinions swayed easily with the changing political and religious winds, the situation was more complex. In the years between 1612, when the process was opened, and 1619, when the process was initially halted, a number of conflicts broke out in the city over Simón's canonization, and a competing canonization attempt for the previous archbishop had even been started.[73] The conflict that his canonization had stirred up possibly conditioned examiners to interpret the evidence of Simón's corpse less favorably than before. Furthermore, no truly detailed medical testimony survives in the documents for Simón's canonization, so it is impossible to determine the actual extent of the bodily evidence. In such a context, it is easy to believe that evidence that might at first have seemed convincing slowly began to appear somewhat less so to the medical testators.

The pressures exerted by the local community in Simón's example were not unique. After Andrea Castaldi died on May 16, 1629, the citizens of Naples immediately hailed his corpse as miraculously incorrupt. Members of the Roman Inquisition deemed such veneration premature and ordered a local agent to remove the body from its exalted position in a church to a group tomb. A Neapolitan mob then asserted that it would stone anyone who attempted to do so.[74] Thus, physicians who testified about the holiness of certain prominent figures did so in a setting characterized by violent public opinion and possible threats to their lives.

Nevertheless, medical professionals were not mere mouthpieces of public opinion and at times issued verdicts on the holiness of the body that

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70. Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna,* pp. 242–52.

71. ACDF, St. St. C-1-D, busta 10, fol. 9v: "che il D[otto]r Tudela gli disse, che in salute, et in infirmità haveva visitato il P[adre] Simone, ma già mai haveva trovato in lui segni di santo, prova la falsità di questo Testim[oni]o, perche interrogato il D[otto]r Tudela avanti il vescovo dice il Contrario . . ."

72. ACDF, St. St. C-1-B, 233r: ". . . che uno delli maggiori banditori della di lui santità è stato il d[ett]o Dottor Tudela per compiacere il Popolo."

73. Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna,* p. 242.

74. ACDF, St. St., B-4-C, fasc. 12, fols. 32r–32v.

opposed local enthusiasm and ecclesiastical wishes. During the apostolic phase of the canonization of Lorenzo Giustiniani, for example, a physician and a surgeon refused to give a positive verdict about the state of the holy man's corpse. Indeed, when the fifteenth-century Venetian patriarch's corpse was exhumed in 1624, the two medical practitioners stated that they found a "very decayed skeleton."[75] The physician performing the examination, Alberto Colombo, stated that an earlier embalming effort had actually made the corpse worse as it was now "totally put together with silver threads, and in part with cloth and glue, but with little knowledge of the art [of anatomy]. Due to this, there was created in the skeleton a rather large deformity."[76]

The negative judgment of these medical practitioners about Giustiniani's body is somewhat surprising, given the immense desire of powerful individuals to produce a positive verdict. The Doge of Venice had specifically called upon the papacy to open the process of canonization for the saint.[77] The Venetian ambassador in Rome (possibly Raniero Zeni) and Pietro Campori, bishop of Cremona, repeatedly requested that the papacy move the process forward.[78] The current patriarch of Venice, Giovanni Tiepolo, was deeply involved with the promotion of Giustiniani's sanctity.[79] Finally, the church in which the examination of Giustiniani's cadaver took place was ordered closed during the procedure, so that a crowd of people would not gather.[80] That a crowd might assemble implied that there was widespread popular devotion to the deceased patriarch. So, when Colombo and the surgeon, Paulo Giulio, came to look at the body, they were already undoubtedly aware of what high-ranking religious officials as well as local believers wanted to hear. How, then, did they come to produce a negative verdict?

A growing sense of professionalism in the medical profession might be one reason why Colombo, in particular, chose to pronounce a negative verdict in this case. Medical testators were usually paid by the promoters of an

75. ASV, RP 3528, fol. 106v: "Questo corpo . . . è un scheletro molto consumato."

76. *Ibid.,* fol. 107r: "Tutto questo Corpo scheletro è stato messo insieme et alligato parte con filo d'argento, et parte con tela et colla, ma con puoco [sic] giudizio dell'arte; Dal ch' ne nasce una deformità dello scheletro assai grande."

77. Gio. Battista Maffei, *Vita di S. Lorenzo Giustiniano Primo Patriarca di Venetia* (Rome, 1690), p. 57.

78. *Ibid*., p. 58.

79. See, for example, Tiepolo's efforts surrounding the incorruption of Giustiniani's corpse: ASV, RP 3528, fols. 105r–07v.

80. *Ibid*., fol. 105v.

individual's sanctity during a canonization proceeding. Judging from later documents, a normal payment might be about ten *scudi*, a respectable sum.[81] However, as Gianna Pomata has argued in her study of medical practice in Bologna, already by the first half of the seventeenth century physicians were beginning to see themselves as an elite professional group. With increasing frequency, they were not paid for specific cures and successful outcomes. In this way, they distinguished themselves from lesser practitioners such as surgeons and apothecaries.[82] Colombo likely did not want to seem as if his opinion was purchased—like a base surgeon—by merely telling the canonization officials what they wanted to hear. Furthermore, since he practiced medicine in Venice, Colombo was very near the prestigious medical school at the University of Padua. He, therefore, would have been part of or at least aware of an eminent medical community both in and around Venice. This would have exerted additional pressure on Colombo to testify according to how a strict medical evaluation would have judged Giustiniani's corpse: as succumbing to decay. After all, given the enthusiasm for Giustiniani's canonization, everyone—including other medical practitioners—would have known the circumstances surrounding his testimony. In this context, safeguarding his professional reputation may have outweighed communal or religious obligations.

The examination of the corpse of Gregorio Barbarigo by the two eminent Italian physicians Antonio Vallisneri and Giovan Battista Morgagni

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81. Pope Benedict XIV, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione liber tertius* (Bologna, 1737), pp. 426, 588. Silvia de Renzi has noted that the physician Giulio Mancini only received nine scudi for three months' salary at one point in his career. However, a physician at the Santo Spirito Hospital in Rome would earn a salary of 100 scudi per year in the seventeenth century. Silvia de Renzi, "Medical Competence, Anatomy and the Polity in Seventeenth-Century Rome," *Renaissance Studies,* 21 (2007), 551–67, here 558; idem, "'A Fountain for the Thirsty' and a Bank for the Pope: Charity, Conflicts, and Medical Careers at the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Seventeenth-Century Rome," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe,* ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (New York, 1999), pp. 99–130, here p. 110.

82. Pomata, *Contracting a Cure,* pp. 140–71. Physicians also distinguished themselves from surgeons, apothecaries, and other medical practitioners by the philosophical sophistication of their answers to a variety of questions. Almost all witnesses were, for example, asked if they knew the difference between grace and a miracle. Physicians routinely provided complex and theologically sound answers to this question, whereas surgeons did not. See, for example, Leonart's thorough definition of miracle in the proceedings for Francisco Simón: ACDF St. St. C-1-C, fols. 1472v–74r. For a series of physician and surgeon commentaries on the subject in one volume, see ASV, RP 3474, fols. 4179r, 4210v–11r, 4226v, 4709r. On another note, canonization officials occasionally asked physicians to assess the credibility of a surgeon, whereas the reverse never seems to have happened. See, for example, ASV, RP 2009, fol. 496v.

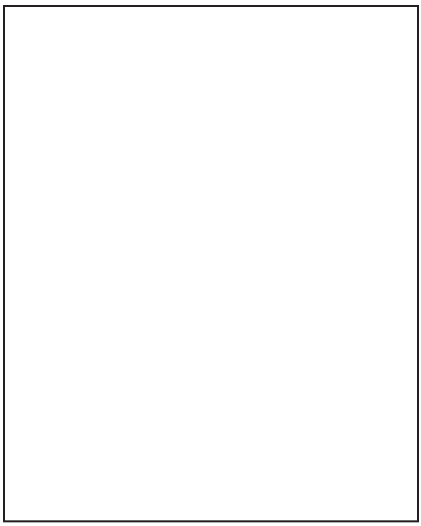

FIGURE 2. Engraving of Giovan Battista Morgagni by Nathaniel Dance-Holland, n.d. Wellcome Library, London.

(see figure 2) provides a final, albeit late, case that demonstrates most clearly the conflict among local opinion, ecclesiastical authority, and medical professionalism when it came to understanding the holy body.[83] Vallisneri was the chair of practical and then of theoretical medicine at the University of Padua from 1700 until his death in 1730.[84] Morgagni was another equally famous physician. Dubbed the father of modern anatomical pathology, Morgagni helped explain the effect of disease on human organs.[85] Thus, the team sent to look at Barbarigo's body represented the finest medical minds in the Italian peninsula.

On December 18, 1727, Vallinsieri, Morgagni, and the surgeons Antonio Masieri and Agostin Danieli examined Barbarigo's cadaver, which had been exhumed as part of the apostolic process of his canoniza-

83. For a longer consideration of this case, see Bouley, "Contested Cases."

84. On Vallisneri, see Dario Generali, ed., *Antonio Vallisneri: La figura, il contesto, le immagini storiografiche* (Florence, 2008); idem, *Antonio Vallisneri: Gli anni della formazione e le prime ricerche* (Florence, 2007); and Ivano Lombardi, *Un nume del Settecento: Antonio Vallisneri* (Lucca, 1998).

85. On Morgagni, see Valentina Gazzaniga and Elio de Angelis., eds., *Giovan Battista Morgagni, Perizie medico-legali* (Rome, 2000).

tion.[86] When interviewed as to their opinion of the corpse's state, all four medical practitioners asked for time to reflect about what they had seen.[87] Canonization officials gave them two days to submit a written report in which they were specifically required to declare whether or not Barbarigo's physical state was miraculous.[88]

On December 19, 1727, the day after the exhumation of the corpse, Vallisneri wrote about the situation to his friend and regular correspondent, the priest Ludovico Antonio Muratori. In this letter, Vallisneri stated, "to tell the truth, we did not find him [Barbarigo] in such a good state." This placed Vallisneri in an awkward situation, since, he told Muratori, he did not feel that he could lie, having sworn on the Sacred Scriptures. However, at the same time, Vallisneri indicated that he could not describe the body as it really was, presumably because that would dash the hopes for the prospective saint's canonization.[89] In his response, Muratori observed that Vallisneri was stuck in a

> bad situation . . . for it is necessary to say the truth, but the already printed *avvisi* from Mantua state that you and Signor Morgagni were authentic testators to [Barbarigo's] supernatural incorruptibility, and to say otherwise would be terrible.

In this instance, public opinion had strongly asserted already how Vallisneri and Morgagni were supposed to testify. As Muratori observed, Vallis-

86. ASV, RP 3478, fols. 619r–29r.

87. ASV, RP 3478, fols. 619v–20r.

88. *Ibid*., fol. 620r: "Et statim DD[icti] Judices quemlibet ex dictis Peritis separatim monuerunt, ut infra triduum, nempe die sabbati, quae erit 20 me[n]s[is] Decembris curren[tis] facta per eos magis matura reflexione, et ponderatione referant, et unusquisque eorum referat in scriptis quid sibi videatur de statu dicti ven[erabi]lis Corporis, et in specie an dici possit incorruptum, et in statu miraculoso. Qui Periti se promptos, ac paratos exhibaerunt satisfaciendum infra tempus praedictum omne sibi imposito, et referendum suam opinionem in scriptis."

89. Vallisneri to Muratori, Padova, December 19, 1727, in *Carteggi con Ubaldini. . . . Vannoni, Nazionale del Carteggio di L.A. Muratori*, ed. Michela L. Nichetti Spanio, vol. 44 (Florence, 1978), Letter 225, p. 311: "A me toccò dare il duro giudizio, perché erano preoccupati dal miracolo, ma per dire il vero non lo trovammo in troppo buono stato, onde mi riserbai di porre il mio parere in iscritto, in cui anderò cautissimo e fedele, perché mi fecero giurare colle mani sopra l'Evangelo di dire la verità, altrimenti, come spergiuro sarei scomunicato, non potendomi assolvere se non il Pontefice, o un penitenziere in articulo mortis, onde immaginate se voglio dir menzonge adulatrici. Non è mica menzogna, né sarà mai s'io dico che sono . . ." The author thanks Paula Findlen for bringing this collection of letters to his attention.

neri and his colleagues were stuck in a "labyrinth" with only their own wits to guide them out of their predicament.[90]

In his report to the Congregation of Rites, submitted two days after the initial survey of the body, on December 20, 1727, Vallisneri recounted in thorough detail the exhumation of the corpse and his careful examination of it. He then addressed six points in discussing whether the body was miraculously incorrupt, employing a combination of observations and empirical testing of the corpse.[91] From these details, Vallisneri concluded that the body was a "wondrous" thing. However, he declined to comment on whether or not a miracle had actually occurred, stating that "whether this thing qualifies as a miracle intervening above the order of nature it is not in my talents or in my ability to define."[92]

In his final letter to Muratori on the subject, Vallisneri added, "in the end, it seems to me that I succeeded in liberating myself from the difficulty with dexterity. His eminence [Cardinal Giovan Francesco Barbarigo, Gregorio's nephew] was satisfied, and that is enough for me."[93] He then reflected that neither he nor Morgagni actually said the body was miraculously incorrupt but rather "wondrous, which is within the confines of a miracle, but not actually a miracle."[94] Vallisneri exploited the fact that his

90. Muratori to Vallisneri, Modena, January 2, 1728, in *ibid.,* Letter 226, p. 312: "Brutto cimento che è quello a cui vi veggo esposto (e n'ho dispiacere) per la ricognizione del cadavere del fu venerabile card. Barbarigo; perché dire la verità è necessario' e pure gli avvisi di Mantova già stampati mettono voi, e il sig. Morgagni come autentici testimoni della sopranaturale incorruttibilità, e il dire diversamente sarà odioso costì. A me è noto che la spezieria aiutò. In sì fatto labirinto starò a vedere come saprete condurvi." Although Muratori is writing back to Vallisneri after Vallisneri had already submitted his report, it seems likely that the *avvisi* were circulating before Vallisneri gave his final verdict on Barbarigo. After all, Vallisneri initially wrote to Muratori on December 19, and Muratori wrote back on January 2. In the period between many printers would have closed for various Christmas holidays. Also, Muratori was not in Mantua and so would have only seen the *avvisi* after they had been in circulation for at least a few days. It may be hypothesized, therefore, that for Muratori to have seen the *avvisi* and write about them by January 2, they must have been printed at about the same time or before Vallisneri visited Barbarigo's tomb.

91. ASV, RP 3478, fols. 624v–25v.

92. *Ibid*., fol. 625v: "Haec omnia mihi diligenter, ac singillatim perpendenti admiranda sane visa sunt. Utrum tamen ad haec prestanda miraculum supra naturae ordinem intercesserit, nec ingenii, nec facultatis meae est definire."

93. Vallisneri to Muratori, Padova, January 17, 1728, in *ibid.,* letter 227, p. 313: "Sono stato al certo in pensiero molto, ma finalmente parmi d'essermi riuscito di liberarmi dagli imbrogli con destrezza. Sua Eminenza è restato sodisfatto, e tanto a me basto."

94. *Ibid*.: "Né io, né il sig. Morgagni abbiamo mai detto della sopranaturale incorruttibilità, ma solo dicemmo che vi era del *mirabile,* ch'è ne'confini del miracolo, ma non è miracolo, a chi ben intende."

expert knowledge allowed him to argue subtly that the body's state was just below the defining boundary for a miracle. He used the murky line between preternatural and supernatural to render the most diplomatic answer.

Vallisneri's reasons for equivocating are fairly clear. Both ecclesiastical authority and popular opinion—stretching all the way to the *avvisi* issued in Mantua—strongly dictated how he should view the body. Yet Vallisneri's own personal and professional beliefs refused to allow him to be positive unambiguously in his verdict. In another letter to Muratori, he stated that he was bothered by those who enthusiastically advertised Barbarigo's incorruption without sufficient proof of it, because it "gives cause to the heretics, who make fun of and joke about the lives and miracles of our saints."[95] Vallisneri was deeply concerned about the reputation of Italian intellectual culture, and he had worried in another, much earlier letter to the Roman physician Giovanni Maria Lancisi that the French, in particular, "little esteem us Italians."[96] Vallisneri, then, seemed concerned both with defending the faith and defending the reputation of Italian intellectuals—including himself—when testifying about the wondrous body of Barbarigo. He therefore had to walk a tightrope between declaring outright that the body was saintly and sticking to his professional opinion that the body had somewhat decayed. Vallisneri's concerns very much mirrored those of his predecessors.

Incorruption as Medical or Religious Truth?

In his *Quaestiones Medico-Legales,* Zacchia himself seems to have indicated that the truth in certain cases was not an absolute matter. He concludes, when discussing honor, a key trait to have in a reliable witness, "that honor is the exhibition of respect in the witnessing of virtue: or we say that honor is a certain outward sign of excellent virtue through civic

95. Antonio Vallisneri to Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Padova, May 6, 1726, in *Carteggi,* Letter 200, pp. 289–90: "Una cosa sola mi dispiace, che può far dire gli eretici de'quali ne sono continuamente in Padova, ed è che tutti, o quasi tutti, per farlo veder santo, alludono all'incorruttibilità del corpo . . . quando nella spezieria dello Scarella mostrano la ricetta de'balsami co'quali fu imbalsamato, e vi è gente ancor viva che era presente quando l'imbalsamarono, e tutta Padova il confessa, e lo dice. Questo è pure un manifestamente imporre, e dar campo agli eretici che si burlino, e si faccian beffe delle vite, e de'miracoli de' nostri Santi . . ."

96. Rome, Biblioteca Lancisiana, Fondo Lancisi, MS. 262, p. 632: ". . . mando a V[ostro] S[ignore] Ill[ustrissi]mo il mio Libricciuolo . . . vi troverà da per tutto seminato un libero, e filosofico ardimento particolarmento contro i Franzesi [sic], che si poco stimano noi altri Italiani."

action."[97] Such a notion of honor as connected to civic action might include testifying favorably about the evidence of a prospective saint's miracles if such testimony could either support or quash the beliefs of his local community. After all, incorruption was a matter not of absolute but of degrees. It was therefore subjective. Faith, honor, and concern for his community might lead a doctor to interpret physical evidence liberally if at all possible. Furthermore, such favorable testimony may not have even been a conscious choice but rather an outcome of a physician's cultural milieu that conditioned how he even experienced the viewing of holy cadavers. It may be speculated that the dilemma experienced by Vallisneri was actually unusual, and many medical testators saw no conflict among their professional, communal, and religious obligations. In many ways, then, the medical examination of saintly cadavers mirrors Steven Harris's characterization of Jesuit science, which sought "to spread and strengthen the Catholic faith wherever it was found to be weak, unknown, or under attack."[98]

Zacchia's definition of honor makes an interesting contrast with the case of the Royal Society, which Steven Shapin has studied and which has been taken up by other scholars. Shapin argues that the entire basis for knowledge production in Restoration England was the idea that gentlemen were honorable and would therefore tell the truth about what they observed in nature. The status of a gentleman in early-modern England was achieved by economic, social, and biological circumstances that left the individual largely unswayed by monetary or patronage inducements.[99] Zacchia's definition, in contrast, highlighted civic virtue and respect toward one's community as marks of honor. These very different criteria necessarily affected what could be considered fact and truth in two contemporary societies. In the view of early-modern Catholic intellectuals, the interpretation of natural phenomena could not be disinterested because such conclusions deeply affected communal bonds and the strength of the renewed faith after the Reformation. As Peter Dear has argued, the existence of continued miracles provided both clear evidence for the truth of Catholi-

97. Zacchia, *Quaestionum Medico-Legalium,* 6.3.1, p. 496: ". . . dicamus cum Aristotele, honorem esse exhibitionem reverentiae in virtutis testimonium: vel dicamus quod honor est significatio quaedam excellentiae virtutis per actus civiles."

98. Steven J. Harris, "Confession-Building, Long-Distance Networks, and the Organization of Jesuit Science," *Early Science and Medicine,* 1 (1996), 287–318, here 288.

99. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1985), pp. 42–63.

cism and worked to evangelize those who might be lackluster or wavering in their faith.[100]

Thus, in the body of Catholic saints medical practitioners found what might be called a double knowledge.[101] There was, on the one hand, the physical evidence that the increasingly accomplished study of anatomy made more and more easily read by expert physicians. Yet, on the other hand, the body was not at any point in this period viewed solely as a medical specimen. It was, especially for Catholics, connected intimately with the divine that could suddenly become imminent in this world through the bodies of saints. Thus, judging a prospective corpse during a canonization proceeding was not a simple act where the evidence at hand was easily reduced to a comprehensible category. Rather, it was a process of negotiation in which the various demands of the community, the faith, and the practice of medicine conditioned the ways in which the truth of the saintly body was understood.

100. Dear, "Miracles, Experiments, and the Ordinary Course of Nature," pp. 663–83. On the power of the saints to evangelize in this period, see Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993).

101. Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body," p. 585. Pomata makes a similar observation, stating that the physicians in the case she examined must have had a sort of "double vision" in which they saw the body in both a spiritual and a medical light.

Murder in the Refectory: The Death of António de Andrade, S.J.

Michael J. Sweet*

The poisoning of António de Andrade—rector of New St. Paul's College, deputy of the Goa Inquisition, former Provincial of Goa, and the founder of the Jesuit mission in Tibet—presents a possibly unique documented instance of a prominent Jesuit murdered by his own subordinates in the Society of Jesus. After the event, a narrative developed that portrayed Andrade as a martyr whose zealous work for the Inquisition resulted in his assassination by a New Christian. The transcript of the Goa Inquisition's inquiry into this matter provides persuasive evidence that the motive for the murder was personal animosity and that the perpetrators were disgruntled priests and brothers at the college. The author examines the evidence of the inquiry and traces the development of the hagiographic narrative of his death.

Keywords: Andrade, António de, S.J.; Noronha, Miguel de, Count of Linhares; New Christians; Goa Inquisition; Goa Jesuits; Poisoning

In the more than two centuries between the founding of the Society of Jesus and its suppression in 1773, opponents of its work murdered many of its missionaries. Such deaths were considered martyrdoms, and some of the victims were beatified or canonized. The assassination of António de Andrade, the rector of New St. Paul's College and a deputy of the Goa Inquisition, was quite another matter. He died on March 19, 1634, a fortnight after he ingested poison that had been mixed into his drinking water. Within a decade, Andrade's death had given rise to a narrative ascribing the poisoning to a crypto-Jewish assassin employed by a New Christian merchant; the motive was said to be Andrade's role in the Inquisition's persecution of the merchant's family. Yet an Inquisition inquiry (*devassa*) into Andrade's death

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that was brought to light in the 1990s[1] suggests a very different story: that the crime was committed by a handful of Jesuit malcontents, each of whom had been punished by Andrade for their infractions of Jesuit rules of deportment. Discussed will be the evidence supporting their guilt found in the inquiry and the development of the narrative of Andrade's death that held sway from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-twentieth centuries.

Andrade's Life

Born in 1580 at Oleiros in central Portugal, Andrade entered the Society of Jesus in 1596 at the College of Coimbra and in 1597 was sent with other novices to found a new novitiate in Lisbon.[2] In 1600 he arrived in Goa, completing his education at Old St. Paul's College.[3] After ordination,

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1. "The *Inquiry instituted by this Holy Office into the death of Fr. António de Andrade, religious of the Society of Jesus and its Representative*" [*Devassa que se criou neste Santo Oficio da morte do padre António de Andrade religioso da Companhia de Jesus e Deputado dele*]; original in the Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Portuguese Inquisition Pro.13942, fols. 1ª–38a (hereafter referred to as *Devassa*). Giuseppe Toscano, who knew of its existence, was unable to procure a copy; see *Alla Scoperta del Tibet*: *Relazioni dei Missionari del Sec. XVII* (Bologna, 1977), pp. 404–05, n3. Nor is it cited in Hughes Didier's *Os Portugueses no Tibete: Os primeiros relatos dos jesuítas (1624–1625)* (Lisbon, 2000). It was first discussed and quoted in Célia Cristina da Silva Tavares, *Jesuítas e inquisidores. A cristianidade insular (1540–1682*) (Lisboa, 1994), pp. 229–33. The inquiry was instituted on March 29, 1624 (*Devassa*, fol.1a), ten days after Andrade's death date of March 19, as reported in Phillipe Alegambe, *Mortes Illustres et gesta eorum de Societate Jesu, qui in odium fidei pietatis, etc. ab Ethnicis, Haereticis, etc. sunt occisi, aerumnisuè confecti*, 2:442 and accepted by later writers such as Cornelis Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (The Hague, 1924), p. 82 and Toscano, *Scoperta*, p. 404. In this article, quotations from the *Devassa* follow the practice of many contemporary Portuguese scholars, with the text in modernized orthography.

2. The fullest account of Andrade's life is found in Giuseppe M. Toscano, *Scoperta*, pp. 75–77. A useful English source remains Wessels's *Jesuit Travellers*, p. 46 et seq. Most of the details in these accounts are taken from earlier Jesuit biographical collections that will be discussed at length later; for example, Alegambe, *Mortes Illustres*, 1:438–42.

3. São Paulo *o velho*, originally founded as a Franciscan seminary in 1521, became a Jesuit college after the arrival of St. Francis Xavier and his companions in Goa in 1542. It was the largest and most prestigious Jesuit educational institution in the Portuguese empire, as was its successor; owing to its insalubrious location, it was replaced by New St. Paul's (São Paulo *o novo*) in 1610. Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond* (Stanford, CA, 1996), pp. 44–45, Cristina Osswald, "Jesuit Art in Goa between 1542 and 1655: From Modo Nostro to Modo Goano," in *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds*, ed. Stefan C. A. Halikowski Smith (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), pp. 255–86, here pp. 257–58, 262. All subsequent references to the College will be to New St. Paul's, which has not survived. The buildings were abandoned after the Jesuits' expulsion from Goa in 1759; see Liam Matthew Brockey, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), p. 441.

he performed missionary work at the Salsete peninsula south of Goa city and was put in charge of the Jesuit College in Rachol, the administrative center for the Jesuit parishes in Salsete, where a respected Jesuit seminary was located.[4] Subsequently he was appointed rector of New St. Paul's College. By 1621, Andrade was serving as Superior of the Jesuit mission in the Mughal Empire, headquartered at the residence in Agra.

The Mughal Empire was then at the height of its power in South Asia, and Andrade dealt directly with the emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27) and his chief ministers at the courts in Agra and Lahore. The Jesuits had initially believed that Jahangir was favorably disposed toward Christianity and would eventually be baptized. Although he maintained Akbar's policy of toleration, allowing the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries to preach, build churches, and make converts, the emperor remained a Muslim, and by 1623 Andrade had conceded that the Jesuits' missionary work in the Mughal domains had not met with much success.[5] On March 20, 1624, Andrade boldly embarked on an exploratory mission to Tibet, then a little-known area "beyond the mountains"; it was rumored to host kingdoms of lost schismatic Christians or their descendants.[6] After a strenuous winter crossing of the Himalayas with his companion, the coadjutor brother Manuel Marques[7] (the first known Europeans to do so), Andrade arrived in Tsaparang, capital of the Western Tibetan kingdom of Guge, where the Buddhist king Tri Tashi Dakpa[8] extended a warm welcome to him. After a brief stay Andrade returned to India, where he obtained formal permission and support for the mission from his superiors at Goa: the Visitor André Palmeiro and the Provincial Francisco Vergara.[9] Andrade then returned to

4. Alden, *Enterprise*, p. 46.

5. Brockey, *The Visitor*, p. 464.

6. The first notice of Tibet by the Jesuits was in 1582, although at that time the Tibetans were believed to be pagans; see John Correia-Alfonso, *Letters from the Mughal Court* (Bombay, 1980), p. 103. Later reports from Kashmiri Muslim merchants and others stated that the Tibetans were Christians, with churches and a celibate clergy: Wessels, *Jesuit Travellers*, pp. 11–13; Toscano, *Scoperta*, pp. 66–69.

7. On Marques (1596–after 1641), see Wessels, *Jesuit Travellers*, pp. 47, 62–63, 86–88.

8. In Tibetan spelling, Khri Bkra shis grags pa; he was the last king of independent Guge; see Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh C. 950–1852 A.D.* (Rome, 1977), p. 107.

9. Vergara (1550–1634) served as Provincial from 1624–26, directing a Jesuit province that included Mozambique, Ethiopia, Gujarat, and Agra, Lahore, and Delhi in the Mughal Empire, as well as Goa and other Portuguese territories on the west Indian coast. The Visitor Palmeiro was displeased with Andrade for undertaking the journey to Tibet without seeking permission, with enthusiasm supplanting ecclesiastical procedure (Brockey, *The Visitor*, pp. 158–59).

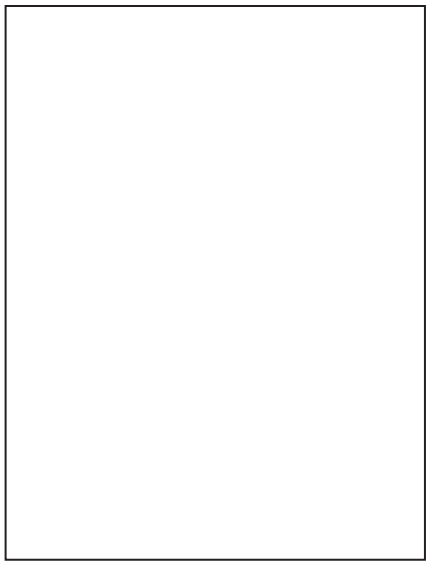

FIGURE 1. Portrait of António de Andrade, *c.* 1634. Lisbon, Academy of Science. Unknown artist, Goa. Image courtesy of Wikipedia Creative Commons.

Tsaparang, where he founded an active and for a time promising mission; the Jesuits forged a strong alliance with the king, who supported their building a church, allowed them to proselytize freely, and suppressed their Buddhist monastic opponents.[10] Andrade's reputation rests on his work in Tibet: he has been honored in his homeland as "the first explorer and founder of the mission to Tibet,"[11] and his writings have been influential in the construction of Western views on Tibet and its religion.

Returning to Goa around 1629, Andrade was to serve as Provincial (1630–33) and then again as rector of St. Paul's (1633–34); he also functioned as a deputy of the Goa Inquisition (1632–34), responsible for preparing cases to be prosecuted by the tribunal (see figure 1).[12]

10. See Wessels, *Early Travellers*, pp. 69–75 and Andrade's own account in Didier, *Os Portugueses,* pp. 96–100, 121–146 et seq.

11. *"Missionis Tibethensis Primus Explorator et Fundator"* is the inscription on Andrade's portrait (see figure 1) found in the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; see Toscano, *Scoperta*, p. 403; Didier, *Os Portugueses*, p. 25.

12. Toscano, *Scoperta*, p. 404.

It has often been stated that Andrade was about to return to Tibet at the time of his death.[13] However, in a letter to the Superior General dated February 4, 1633, Andrade reported on the conquest of the kingdom of Guge by its longstanding enemy, Ladakh; he recognized that this meant the probable end of the mission, and he recalled the missionaries who were scheduled to travel there.[14] Moreover, only a month earlier, he had been nominated to the powerful position of Visitor (*Visitator*) to the Jesuit provinces of China and Japan,[15] although he could not have known this at the time. His death from poisoning, possibly the unique documented instance of a Jesuit Superior murdered by his own subordinates,[16] gave rise to conflicting accounts.

Contention in Goa

During his term as Provincial, Andrade had significant interactions with Miguel de Noronha, the viceroy and the 4th Count of Linhares (1585–1647, r. 1629–35). Noronha came from the highest level of the Portuguese aristocracy and had acted with notable success as governor and captain-general of Tangier (1624) before his posting to Goa as its viceroy.[17] He served directly under Phillip IV, the Habsburg ruler of the united crowns of Spain and Portugal, and his authority extended throughout the Portuguese Indies, a widely scattered coastal mercantile realm headquartered at Goa that included outposts in East Africa, the Moluccas, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and the Malabar Coast. By the time of his appointment, Portuguese military and economic power was in decline in India and elsewhere in the Indies,[18] and Noronha was expected to defend the

13. See, for example, Angel Santos, *Las Missiones Bajo el Patronato Portugues* (Madrid, 1977), pp. 473–74; Bernard Calloc'h, "La Mission Portuguese de Tibet," in *Missionação Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas: Actas do Congresso Internacional de História* (Braga, Portugal, 1993), p. 119, and Richard F. Sherburne, "António de Andrade," in *Diccionário Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* (*DHCJ*), ed. Charles O'Neill and Joaquín Domínguez, 4 vols. (Madrid, 2001), 1:161.

14. The unpublished text of this letter dated Feb. 4, 1633, from Andrade to Muzio Vitelleschi, the Superior General of the Society, is found in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (ARSI), Goa 73, fols. 93a–94b.

15. Didier, *Os Portugueses*, p. 25. A Jesuit Visitor was an inspector sent to a province or subprovince with plenipotentiary decision-making powers, responsible only to the Superior General in Rome.

16. A literature search and discussions with specialists in this field have turned up no comparable instance.

17. Anthony R. Disney, "The Viceroy Count of Linhares at Goa, 1629–1635," in *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa. Actas*, ed. Luis de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro (Lisbon, 1985), pp. 303–15, here p. 305.

18. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700*: *A Political and Economic History,* 2 vols. (London, 1993), 1:151–58, 165–69; Anthony Disney, *A History of*

remaining Portuguese settlements and their trading privileges from further encroachment by the rival Dutch, English, and Indian powers. Besides his civil and military responsibilities, Noronha had his own substantial commercial interests: the viceroyalty of Goa was considered a lucrative appointment, and the count brought back a fortune upon his return to Europe.[19] As a matter of course, his financial interests involved him in mutually profitable dealings with New Christian (*Cristãos-Novos*) merchants in Goa and elsewhere in the Mughal realm. These New Christians were the descendants of Jewish families who had remained in Portugal after the conversion edict of 1496 and were compelled to convert to Christianity.[20] They included prominent merchant families who participated in an extensive and successful global trading network.[21] From 1632–36, they were subject to a new wave of persecution in Goa, although some escaped arrest by the Inquisition owing to the viceroy's protection.[22] Noronha was critical of certain Goan clerics for their alleged misconduct, corruption, and cupidity. As he wrote, most religious (of all orders as well as secular priests) believed that "what belongs to the king can be stolen and hidden with a perfectly clear conscience."[23] Although he acknowledged the honesty and other moral and intellectual virtues of the Jesuits,[24] and trusted Andrade to the point of sending him on a diplomatic mission in 1630 to an important ruler in Gujarat,[25] the viceroy was often annoyed with the

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Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: *From Beginnings to 1807*, 2 vols. (New York, 2009), 2:168–69; James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. xiii–xiv, 184, 220.

19. Disney, "Linhares," pp. 305, 314.

20. Renée Levine Melammed, *A Question of Identity: Iberian Conversos in Historical Perspective* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 53–62. Many were wealthy merchants who periodically had assets seized by the Inquisition and others who extorted or expropriated large sums of money and other valuables from them (Subrahmanyam, *Empire in Asia*, pp. 117–22). On the financial motives of the Goa Inquisition, see Paulo Arana, "Early Modern Asian Catholicism and European Colonialism: Dominance, Hegemony, and Native Agency in the Portuguese Estado da Índia," in *Polycentric Structures in the History of World* Christianity, ed. Klaus Koscherke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 285–306, here pp. 303–04.

21. They were part of a "substantial network of New Christian trade, embracing Nagasaki, Manila, Macau, Cochin and Goa . . . extending beyond the limits of the Estado into Agra, Bijapur and inland south India"; see Subrahmanyam, *Empire in Asia*, 1:120–21. See also Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, p. xiv.

22. Subrahmanyam, *Empire in Asia* 1:120–21, Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, pp. 179–83.

23. From the unpublished portion of Noronha's diary, cited in Disney, "Noronha," p. 311.

24. Charles E. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion* (London, 1978), p. 69.

25. He negotiated a treaty in 1631 between the viceroy and Mirmuza, the Nawab of Surat, Cambay (now Khambhat) and Bharuch, which were all important trading centers at the time; see Fernando Castelo-Branco, "Aspectos da Vida e da Obra do Explorador do Tibete, Padre António de Andrade," in *II Seminário*, pp. 503–11, here pp. 507–09.

Jesuits, as he believed they "wanted everywhere to be superior in everything" [26] and challenged the authority of the vice-regal government.[27]

The Poisoning and Its Aftermath

Although Andrade lived in the midst of a highly contentious environment marked by disputes among merchants, officials of the vice-regal government, representatives of the Inquisition, and rival ecclesiastics, these factions typically fought each other nonviolently through legal, commercial, and political strategies.[28] Thus, despite the lurid reputation of Portuguese Goa in the popular imagination, Andrade's murder is anomalous and shocking. Sources have until recently differed on the details of this case, but all are agreed on the essential facts: his poisoning on March 3, 1634, the night before he was to preach a sermon at an auto-da-fe of the Goa Inquisition, and his death, following much suffering, on the generally agreed-upon date of March 19. The perpetrators and motives for this act have been matters of speculation, until the discovery in the 1990s of the Inquisition pre-indictment inquiry into the matter of Andrade's death.[29] With this document, based on sworn testimony by eyewitnesses, a more coherent account of his poisoning and its aftermath can be assembled. The panel of inquiry, headed by António de Faria Machado (Goa Inquisitor from 1630 until 1635), began hearing testimony in Goa on March 29, 1634. Machado was assisted in the investigation by the deputy Jerónimo de Paixão, who was Vicar General of the Dominicans in Goa.[30] The Inquisi-

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26. "*Em toda a parte queriam ser superiores em tudo*": Miguel de Noronha, *Diario do 3o Conde de Linhares, Vice-Rei da Índia*, 2 vols. (Lisboa, 1937–43), 2:186.

27. For example, the commander, the chief magistrate, and the chief of customs at Chaul (60 km south of Mumbai) complained to Noronha about a Jesuit, Bartolomeu Freire, who was refusing to comply with official demands (Noronha, *Diario*, 2:186). The viceroy was displeased about the power of the Jesuits in Salsete and their defiance of governmental authority in Tuticorin in Malabar, where they had even set up their own customs post; see Disney, "Linhares," p. 312.

28. For example, in the protracted, unsuccessful struggle of the Augustinians to limit the expansion of the New College of St. Paul's, described in Brockey, *The Visitor*, pp. 167–69, and the controversy begun in 1630 between the viceroy and the inquisitor of Goa, João Delgado da Figueira, over his right to be carried in a palanquin (Tavares, *Jesuítas e inquisidores*, pp. 226–27). Figueira later was the subject of an inquiry about irregularities in his conduct in office, carried out by the Visitor to the Goa Inquisition, António de Vasconcelos, with Andrade acting as his secretary; see Tavares, *Jesuítas e inquisidores*, pp. 171–74 and Francísco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*: *A Global History, 1478–1834* (Cambridge, UK, 2009), pp. 218–19.

29. See *Devassa*; Tavares, *Jesuítas e inquisidores,* pp. 229–33.

30. Baião, *Inquisição de Goa*, 1:216–23; Tavares, *Jesuítas e inquisidores,* p. 164; Noronha, *Diario*, 2:310.

tion considered itself the relevant authority to pursue this investigation, as Andrade's death initially was believed to be connected with his service to the tribunal. There were no significant differences among the witnesses regarding the circumstances of the rector's demise. The statement given by the theology instructor Tomás de Barros, resident at St. Paul's College, was the longest and most detailed. According to his testimony and that of Diogo de Santa Maria, an Augustinian brother and physician who was called in some days later, Andrade was taking his Lenten dinner at the second meal service (*a segunda mesa*)[31] in the refectory of the college on Saturday, March 3, 1634, the day before he was to preach the sermon at an auto-da-fé. He poured some water from a clay pitcher in front of him into his china cup. After drinking three mouthfuls, he spat out what was in his mouth and cried out to his companions, "Help me! I've been poisoned!"[32] He then immediately rose from the table and went to the pantry, where he drank a large quantity of Portuguese olive oil as an emetic, and was then brought to the infirmary, where he began vomiting copiously. It was noted that the places on the floor where he vomited appeared blackened.[33]

Three of the witnesses were medical professionals; the first to testify was the previously mentioned Santa Maria, who held a degree from the University of Coimbra. He cited the strong stench pervading Andrade's rooms[34]—as well as the patient's symptoms of urinary retention for six days, a flow of blood from his mouth, and intermittent pulse during the last three days of his life—as clear signs that the cause of death was a distilled poison.[35] Santa Maria was first called to attend Andrade, accompa-

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31. *A segunda mesa* is the second dinner service, provided at Jesuit establishments at 5, 7, or 8 p.m.; see María Cristina Osswald, "Everyday Life of Catholic Missionaries in India," in *East and West. Exploring Cultural Manifestations*, ed. Kala Acharya (n.p., 2010), pp. 151–56, here p. 158. There were two servings of each meal (lunch and dinner), and most of the residents were accommodated at the first service (*a primeira mesa*); see María Cristina Osswald, "Interiores Jesuítas em Portugal por Altura da Supressão: Excertos por a Reconstrução dum Quotidiano," in Luis Machado de Abreu and José Eduardo Franco, *Para a história das Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Portugal, na Europa e no Mundo*. 2 vols. (Prior Velho, Portugal, 2014), 1:839–53, here p. 844.

32. "*Ajuda me, deram me peçonha*." *Devassa* 2a. If the principal poison was mercury bichloride, such an immediate reaction to its painful effects was inevitable. An early-twentieth-century victim of mercury bichloride poisoning was similarly reported to have immediately exclaimed, "O my god, I've been poisoned." Deborah Blum, *The Poisoner's Handbook* (New York, 2010), p. 107.

33. *Devassa,* fol. 2a. Witness: Santa Maria.

34. *Achou o dito padre em suas câmeras que lhe mostravam muito fedorentas*": *Devassa*, fol. 2a.

35. *Peçonha refinada; Devassa,* fol.1b.

nied by Manuel Reis Pinto, the chief physician (*fisico-mor*) of Goa, on Wednesday, March 8, five days after the incident. However, Andrade received immediate and ongoing medical attention from the college's infirmarian,[36] the sixty-three-year-old Italian brother Giuseppi de Mezanha, who had many years of experience in the diagnosis and treatment of illness, including poisoning.[37] Mezenha concurred with the diagnoses of the other medical professionals.[38] Barros cited the observations of another resident at the college, Alberto de Polonia, who is described in the *Devassa* as someone "knowledgeable about medicine" (*sabe de medicina*). Polonia observed that Andrade suffered from bloody diarrhea, an inflamed mouth, high fever, itching, and boils all over his body, and that he spat clotted blood.[39]

Which poison induced these awful symptoms? In addition to observing the patient, the medical men sought an answer through several experiments. Mezanha took the courageous step of testing the water by dipping his fingertip into it and then touching his tongue, which "remained scorched for many days."[40] A less hazardous test involved putting a silver spoon into some of the suspect liquid and finding that all parts of the spoon that touched the water turned black. Finally, they gave some of the water to a dog and noted its effects: vomiting, dysentery, and indications of fear. The animal was then killed, and an examination noted that its intestines were swollen and blood was present in the stomach.[41]

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36. On this institution, see Society of Jesus, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. and ed. George E. Ganss (St. Louis, 1996), pp. 22–28 (nos. 302–04), and Borges, *Goa Jesuits*, pp. 27–28, 113. The Jesuit order did not include medicine in its curriculum, as ordained priests were banned by canon law from practicing as physicians; however, many Jesuit temporal coadjutor brothers were highly skilled in pharmacy and general medical practice, and Jesuits in India were prominent as hospital administrators. See Ines G. Županov, "Conversion, Illness and Possession: Catholic Missionary Healing in Early Modern South Asia," in *Divine Remedies: Medicine and Religion in South Asia*, ed. Ines G. Županov and Caterina Guenzi (Paris, 2008), pp. 263–99, here pp. 263–69. New St. Paul's College was known for its large infirmary and well-stocked pharmacy; see Manoel José Gabriel Saldanha, *História de Goa*, 3 vols. (Panaji, 1979), 1:60.

37. "*Disse que sabidamente a sua morte foi causada de peçonha que lhe deram o que ele testemunha saber por saber da arte de medicina, e haver ia muitos anos que a exercita…*": *Devassa*, fols. 28a–b.

38. *Devassa,* fol. 29a.

39. "*…lhe arrebentou a boca toda, e se fez negra…e lançava por ela gotas de sangue….Era grande borbulha e coceira por todo o corpo e o grandíssimo ardor interior…*": *Devassa,* fols. 4a–b.

40. "*…tocando ele com a ponto de dedo na dita água e levando-o á lingua, lhe ficou escaldada por muitas dias*": *Devassa,* fol. 29a.

41. "*….matando-se logo ali o cachorro par aver o que tinha nas entranhas … abrindo-o acharam as tripas inchadas e o estômago com algum sangue…*": *Devassa,* fol. 4a. Witness: Barros.

These results point to mercury bichloride as the principal ingredient of the poison given to Andrade. Like Santa Maria, several other witnesses described the poison as distilled (*refinada*), and Mezanha also calls it a sublimate (*solimão*)—that is, corrosive sublimate, the common earlier term for mercury bichloride. This deadly poison was known in Europe by the Middle Ages[42] and was part of the poisoners' *armamentarium* in the early-seventeenth century.[43] Its most common effects are vomiting, bloody diarrhea, a weak pulse, and urinary retention (due to the severe kidney damage it causes), as well as inflammation of the mouth, all of which were observed in Andrade's case. However, the vice-rector of the college, Manuel de Sousa, summarized the opinions of the medical witnesses that the poison was not one substance but rather a mixture of various poisons,[44] possibly including white arsenic[45] and other active and inactive substances, as was the common practice among professional poisoners of the time.[46]

The witnesses testified about the possible perpetrators of the crime. Rumors had circulated at the college that the assassin was one of the two sons of João Rodrigues, a Portuguese New Christian businessman resident in Goa who was accused of Judaizing by the Inquisition and was the subject of a case in preparation by Andrade. However, since neither of the sons had access to the refectory and may not even have been near the college on the day of the poisoning, the witnesses dismissed these rumors.[47] They were unanimous in their belief that the perpetrators were Jesuits. The three chief suspects were António Rodrigues Jr.,[48] a priest of the Professed

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42. John Emsley, *The Elements of Murder: A History of Poison* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 3–4.

43. This was seen in the well-known case of the English poet and courtier Thomas Overbury. See Emsley, *Elements*, pp. 74–89.

44. "*Disse mais que os médicos assetaram que a peçonha não só foi está todo, mas que poderia ter mistura de outros . . .*": *Devassa,* fol. 17b.

45. White arsenic (arsenic trioxide) was also a poison known from antiquity and widely used throughout the ages; see Emsley, *Elements*, pp. 141–49; Blum, *Poisoner's Handbook*, pp. 78–80.

46. For example, in the Overbury case, the list of poisons to be used included mercury bichloride and arsenic, as well as diamond powder and ground spiders; see Emsley, *Elements,* p. 80.

47. Barros declared that the boys had been called away by their employer and were not present at the college (*Devassa,* fol. 4b). Another witness, Bento Ferreira, also exculpated the two sons, whose names he gave as João Rodrigues and Ignacio de Souza, giving a different reason for their innocence. According to Ferreira, the young men were at the college on the day of the poisoning, but they were there quite openly to visit their friends in supervised public spaces and would have had no access to the refectory or other private areas; see *Devassa,* fols. 20b–21a.

48. In *Devassa* 5b he is first referred to as António Rodrigues Júnior and subsequently as Rodrigues or Rodrigues júnior (lowercase). It is therefore more likely that here *juniór* is not the surname but used to designate "the younger."

House portrayed as the ringleader of the anti-Andrade conspiracy; his "great friend" (*grande amico*) and subordinate (*dependente*), Brother António Salvador,[49] a resident at the College named as the actual poisoner; and Diogo de Areda, a priest resident at the Professed House and the purported procurer of the poison. As the method of murder was a complex, "custom-made" (*estilada*)[50] poison that required a long time to prepare, the witnesses were unanimous that it could not have been manufactured at the college, where such an unusual activity would have been detected easily.

The three principal actors in the poisoning appear to have been motivated wholly by their personal animosity toward Andrade, who had already caused them major problems and threatened their continued presence in the order. Andrade had dismissed Rodrigues from his important post as head (*Propósito*) of the Professed House and had punished him in other unspecified ways.[51] Andrade also had disciplined Salvador and Areda for their violations of Jesuit rules: Salvador had been barred from his studies and placed on kitchen duty—a particularly humiliating penalty—and he and Areda had been threatened with dismissal from the Society.[52] All three were rumored to be New Christians;[53] had their

49. *Devassa*, fol. 11a. Witness: Caló.

50. *Devassa,* fol. 31b. Witness: João da Souza.

51. "*o haver privado do oficio de Propósito da casa essa....e o ter castigado e haver entres eles outros pejados desgostos nascido do governo* [*de Andrade*]": *Devassa,* fol. 21b (Witness: Bento Ferreira). The large building of the Professed House was the residence for fully ordained Jesuit priests, situated next to the church of the Bom Jesus; see Alden, *Enterprise,* p. 45, and Osswald, "Jesuit Art," p. 266. Punishments for infractions of rules included public reprimand, a requirement to eat kneeling at a separate table, and assignment to menial labor; see Osswald, "Everyday Life," p. 159, and Alden, *Enterprise*, pp. 282–97.

52. *Devassa*, fols. 11a, 24a. Their exact infractions were not listed, although Barros (*Devassa,* fol. 6a) refers to "matters of affection and friendship, transgressions which cause great anguish in the Society" (*coisas de afeição e amizades, faltas que na Companhia se sentam muito*); this suggests possible, off-limits fraternization or offenses against chastity. The Professed House, where both Areda and Rodrigues lived, was known for its luxurious style of life and was "from the beginning an object of scandal, including within the order itself." Robert Schrimph, "Le Diable et le goupillon," in *Goa 1510–1685. L'inde portugaise, apostolique et commercial,* ed. Michel Chandeigne (Paris, 1996), pp. 115–34, here pp. 131–32.

53. Caló (*Devassa*, fol. 16a) reported the widespread belief at the college that Andrade had sent to Portugal to investigate Salvador's suspected impurity of blood and that the latter was aware of this. Men known to have Jewish or Muslim ancestry were barred from membership in the Society of Jesus from 1593 until 1946; see José Eduardo Franco and Célia Cristina da Silva Tavares, *Jesuítas, e Inquisição. Cumplicidades e Confrontações* (Lisboa, 2012), pp. 31–37. Nevertheless, some exceptions were made; on Jesuits of Jewish origin and Jesuit opposition to purity of blood laws, see Robert Aleksander Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 159–213.

Jewish ancestry been proven, they would have been expelled from the Society. Areda held a highly influential position as the viceroy's confessor,[54] and as such he had easy entrée to the vice-regal palace and other residences in the city. Both mercury bichloride and white arsenic had many legitimate medical uses[55] and would have been readily available to a physician. The vice-rector named two possible medical sources for the poison: António Ferreira, a priest who was Areda's close confident at the Royal Hospital[56] and also suffered embarrassment because of Andrade, and Dom Fernando (no surname provided), the viceroy's personal physician, who was ironically described by an earlier witness as possessing "many and very refined poisons for the good purposes that the viceroy had for them."[57] The vice-rector and other witnesses strongly implied that the likeliest source was the viceroy's household. Areda was identified as the supplier of the poison not only by the powerful adherents of the late rector but also by Brother Fernando da Fonseca, a first-year scholastic known to be a close friend of Salvador and punished and perhaps even incarcerated by Andrade.[58]

In his detailed testimony the theology instructor Tomás de Barros presented many particulars against Salvador. He reported that "[o]n the day of the poisoning the said Brother Salvador did not eat at the proper [first] meal, serving as was his custom and duty,"[59] but he was present at the second meal serving when the incident took place and exclaimed, "Jesus, what a calamity!"[60] However, after the meal a terror-stricken Brother Manuel Rodrigues went to inform Brother Miguel de Almeida of the incident, and he met Salvador, who was with Fr. João da Costa. Salvador feigned ignorance of the matter, saying, "What's this, is the Father Rector unwell or ill?"[61] The priest and college administrator (*minister*) Cristóvão de Atouguia told Barros that he had overheard Salvador conjecture that the poisoner sought only to prevent the rector from preaching at

54. *Devassa,* fol. 12b. Witness: Flamínio Caló.

55. Emsley, *Elements*, pp. 104–09.

56. The Jesuits administered the Royal Hospital at Goa (Hospital del-Rey); see Županov, "Conversion, Illness and Possession," pp. 263, 270.

57. "*muitas e muito finas peçonhas para os bons intentos que o Príncipe nisso teria*": *Devassa*, fol. 6b. Witness: Barros.

58. *Devassa*, fols. 23b–24a.

59. "*Não ir o dito irmão Salvador comer o dia da peçonha á própria mesa sendo costume e obrigação ir a ela*": *Devassa*, fol. 7a.

60. "*Achando-se o dito irmão Salvador na segunda mesa quando o caso aconteceu e dizendo:"Jesus que desastre*!": *Devassa*, fol. 7b.

61. "…*que é isso, está o padre Reitor mal ou está doente*?": *Devassa*, fol. 7b.

the auto-da-fé and did not intend to kill him.[62] Moreover, for three or four days after the incident, Salvador was observed to be very pale, upset, and halting in his speech,[63] and on the day that Andrade was to be interred, Salvador went to incense the body, although he had not received orders from his superior to do so.[64] Barros ascribed this action to Salvador's wish to divert suspicion from himself.[65] Other witnesses confirmed Barros's observations.

The priest Flamínio Caló gave additional and damning eyewitness testimony. He stated that he saw Salvador hide in the water storage room next to the refectory, which had a window overlooking the rector's customary table. The refectory, water storage room, and kitchen would have been on the ground floor of the college—a large, impressive, and beautifully decorated four-story cruciform building.[66] Caló inferred that before mealtime, when the priests and brothers would be in their cells for the preprandial examination of conscience,[67] Salvador had entered the refectory through the water room and placed the poison in Andrade's water pitcher. A later witness, the young student brother Pero da Costa, confirmed this supposition, declaring that he saw Salvador emerging from the water storage room and entering the refectory—such activity, he noted, was something out of the ordinary.[68] Caló testified that he had reported his suspicions to the vice-rector. Caló also speculated about the motivation for the crime, mentioning Salvador's hostility toward Andrade since the rector had attempted to dismiss Salvador from the Society during his term as Provincial. Caló and others emphasized the strong friendship that existed between Salvador and his co-conspirator (and possible relative) Rodrigues (Jr.), who had traveled with him from Portugal to Goa.[69]

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62. "*...pode ser que quem lhe deu a peçonha, não pretendeu matá-lo, senão impedir-lhe que não pregasse no cadafalso*": Devassa, fol. 7b.

63. "*…ele dito irmão Salvador andou aquela dia depois do caso três ou quatro a ele próximos, muito descorado e como perturbado e no falar embaraçado*": *Devassa* 7b–8a.

64. "*…o dito irmão Salvador o dia em que se enterrou o dito padre Andrade, se foi meter a incensar seu corpo, sem ser para isso mandado pelo ministro da dito colégio*": *Devassa*, fol. 8b.

65. "*… per dar satisfação de se e tirar alguma suspeita que dele poderia haver*": *Devassa*, fol. 8b.

66. Saldanha, *História de Goa*, 1:56–57.

67. The examination of conscience was scheduled at 4 p.m.; see Osswald, "Everyday Life," p. 158. The rooms of the priests and brothers would have been some distance from the refectory, likely on the upper floors.

68. "*…viu sair o dito irmão [Salvador] pera a refeitório da casa da água que está contigua com o refeitório, coisa desacostumada*": *Devassa,* fol. 34b.

69. *Devassa,* fols. 11a (Witness: Caló), 32b (Witness: Atouguia).

Caló identified another antagonist of Andrade's: the Jesuit João da Rocha, the titular bishop of Hierapolis, who was listed along with Rodrigues and Areda as among the "great friends of Br. Salvador and enemies of Fr. Andrade." The bishop was a powerful figure in Goa and a member of the governing council; when he first arrived in Goa in 1624, his ostentatious conduct and pretentions were a source of embarrassment to his superiors.[70] Caló and other Jesuits who were questioned found it somewhat suspicious that, at a time when Andrade seemed to be improving and his recovery seemed possible, Antão de Moraes, a priest and the bishop's favorite servant,[71] visited the college and assured the community that Andrade's illness would end with his death.

Finally, there was the rather implausible hearsay testimony of Ferreira, a senior priest and a lecturer at the college who stated that Andrade had spoken to him and Sousa several months previously of the enmity of Rodrigues and the others and predicted not only that they would poison him but also that if they did so, the poison would be placed in the water pitcher in the refectory.[72] He also said that during Andrade's final illness, he had fingered Rodrigues as the probable culprit and that for some time, the rector had been so frightened of poisoning that whenever he had or imagined a twinge, "he immediately returned to his room to take an antidote."[73]

A Crime Without Punishment

As can be seen, there was a great deal of testimony suggesting Salvador's culpability in Andrade's demise. Much of it was hearsay or inference, but there was Caló's persuasive eyewitness testimony about Salvador hiding in the water storage room. Had Salvador been remanded for an actual trial, he would likely have been convicted.[74] The summing up of the investigating

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70. Noronha, *Diario*, 1:33; on Rocha's early career in Goa, see Brockey, *The Visitor*, pp. 184–85.

71. "*criado e mimoso*": *Devassa* fols. 13a–b.

72. "*…padre Andrade lhe dissera falando-lhe nas malquerenças destes padres de que tem dito: Olhe padre, que me hão de dar peçonha….que se dessem peçonha havia de ser na gorgoleta no refeitório…*": *Devassa,* fols. 24a–b.

73. "*o dito padre Andrade, estando nesta sua doença da peçonha, disse: Forte António Rodrigues foi este que tanto me custa….E tanto se arreçava o ditto padre António de Andrade de lhe haveram de dar peçonha que qualquer pontada ou acha que tinha, logo se recolhia a seu cubículo a tomorar contrapeçonha*": *Devassa*, fol. 27b.

74. The vast majority of those who were tried by the Holy Office in Portugal and its empire were found guilty, in a process that often relied on anonymous denunciations and confessions extracted by intimidation and torture; see Bethencourt, *Inquisition,* p. 6. For a

attorney (*promotor*) requested that Salvador be arrested and imprisoned by the Inquisition for "being generally considered to be a New Christian, among whom are found the greatest hostility toward the ministers of the Holy Office"[75] and that he should be "examined concerning this crime."

In fact, the board of inquiry of the Holy Office found against arresting Salvador, ruling on July 18 that

> . . . although there are legitimate suspicions against him to warrant his being imprisoned, since this type of crime is difficult to prove it is not within the jurisdiction of this Tribunal of the Holy Office to affirm from this inquiry that the death of Fr. António de Andrade was plotted and schemed by the said Br[other]. Salvador because of private enmities that he and other persons interviewed about this matter may have had . . .[76]

This decision not to charge anyone in Andrade's death was upheld by the Inquisitor General in Lisbon on February 29, 1636. Likely based on this decision, no charges were filed by the civil (crown) authorities of Goa.

The failure to prosecute the murder of a person of Andrade's status strongly suggests that the crime was covered up, perhaps to protect the reputation of the Jesuit order or that of Noronha and his associates. The testimony does suggest that Noronha may have been complicit in some manner, given that the viceroy's physician was the most likely source of the poison. After Noronha left Goa for Madrid, anonymous posters in Goa accused him of culpability in Andrade's death,[77] which suggests that information from the secret Inquisition inquiry may been leaked by one of the viceroy's enemies.

As far as the Goa Jesuits were concerned, they were known for their discretion concerning internal dissension[78] and would have had a powerful

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detailed account of the judicial use of torture by the Inquisition in Goa, see Anant K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 150–60.

75. *"tido geralmente por cristão-novo, nos quais se acha mais propensão contra os ministros do Santo Oficio"*: *Devassa,* fol. 36a.

76. "*ainda que contra ele resultavam indícios legítimos para ser preso, vista a qualidade do crime ser de dificultosa prova que não pertinência a conhecimento dele ao Tribunal do Santo Oficio por constar da mesma devassa que a morte do P. António de Andrade foi maquinada, e traçada em razão de inimizades particulares que come ele tinham o dito irmão Salvador e mais pessoas que se tem que nisto entreveram*": *Devassa*, fols. 30b–31a.

77. Subramanyam, *Portuguese Empire*, 1:172. There is no mention of Andrade's death in the viceroy's diary for this time period.

78. Even a rumormonger like Manucci, who had close contacts with the Society, had to admit his ignorance of their internal conflicts: "If among them any difference arises, it is

incentive to avoid the scandal that would have been provoked by revealing the murder of a Superior by his own subordinates or by placing a member of the order on trial. For that reason, they were careful to have always a Jesuit as part of the Goa Inquisition;[79] at the time of Andrade's death, the Goa Provincial Álvaro Tavares (1575–1637) was a deputy of the Inquisition[80] and so would have had influence in suppressing any further investigation.

Andrade certainly had his share of enemies among the Goa Jesuits; Ferreira testified to the existence of an anti-Andrade faction. After first naming Rodrigues (Jr.) as the head of the conspiracy, he reveals that this priest did not act alone: "there being among us many Fathers and Religious of the party of Fr. António Rodrigues who thought that they could never be free of the authority of Fr. Andrade unless they gave him [poison] and caused his death."[81]

Witnesses dismissed the claim that Andrade was poisoned to prevent him from preaching the Inquisition sermon on the following day, as they asserted that "the poison was given to the Father not as the Deputy of the Holy Office, but rather as the Superior of the order"[82]—that is, because of his role in disciplining and punishing errant Jesuits. The Inquisition motive was a red herring spread by Salvador, who was reported to have said on the day of the poisoning that "this was doubtlessly done by the Jews to prevent the Fr. Deputy from preaching at the place of execution."[83] As the eyewitness de Almeida testified: "It appeared to the witness that the brother said this in order to dissimulate, wanting to place the blame on the New Christians."[84] Moreover, nothing would have been gained by preventing Andrade from preaching at the auto-da-fé, which proceeded the next day on schedule, with another priest delivering the sermon.[85]

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kept such a secret that no one hears of it." See Nicolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogbul India* 1653–1708, trans. William Irvine (London, 1907), p. 166.

79. Brockey, *The Visitor*, p. 436.

80. Devassa, fol. 10r.

81. "*Se ter entre nós muitos padres e religiosos que este da facção do dito padre António [22a] Rodrigues acharam que não poderiam ver livres nunca do governo do padre Andrade senão dando-lhe e causando-lhe a morte*": *Devassa,* fols. 21b–22b.

82. "*a peçonha seria dada ao padre não como o Deputado de Santo Oficio, senão como o Prelado da Religião*": *Devassa*, fol. 31a.

83. "*Sem falta isto feriam judeus pera que o padre Deputado não pregasse no cadafalso*": *Devassa,* fol. 28a.

84. "*O que ele testemunha lhe parece disso o dito irmão por dissimulação e querer pôr a culpa aos cristãos-novos*": *Devassa*, fol. 28a.

85. Noronha, *Diario*, 1:17.

From Murder Victim to Martyr

Increasing persecution of New Christians in Goa and in other regions of the Portuguese empire occurred from 1633 to the mid-1640s.[86] Given this resurgence of antisemitism, it is not surprising that Andrade's assassination soon was recast as a tale of martyrdom at the hands of treacherous crypto-Jews. Despite the unlikeliness of New Christian merchants daring to provoke the Inquisition further by taking violent action against one of its officials, they were politically the safest target; as automatic suspects, they could be accused without any fear of retaliation.

The earliest printed sources for the hagiographic narrative surrounding Andrade's death are the Jesuit biographies written by Philippe Alegambe and Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, published in 1643 and 1645 respectively.[87] Both contain accounts of the Virgin Mary's appearance to Andrade during the agony of his dying and her consoling words, "Soon, my son, you shall suffer no more (*Iam, fili, nihil dolebit amplius*)."[88] Further development of the story can be seen in Alegambe's second account (1657–59) in which he more accurately reports that the poisoning took place at the college[89] and not at the auto-da-fé as he had stated earlier.[90] However, Alegambe, who does not cite his sources, did not identify the chief suspect as Salvador but rather pointed to an unnamed son of the New Christian merchant João Rodrigues.[91] Alegambe states that Rodrigues first tried to suborn Andrade with bribes and, when that failed, plotted the rector's death, sending his son who was a coadjutor brother or a servant at the college to poison Andrade.[92] It is worth recollecting that a version of this story was cited and dismissed as improbable by the Jesuit witnesses at the Inquisition hearing.

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86. Subrahmanyam, *Portuguese Empire,* 1:112. Boyajian (*Portuguese Trade,* p. 184) attributes this persecution to the increased competition at this time for a share of the dwindling Portuguese trade in Asia.

87. Philippe Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu … et illustrium elogiis adornata* (Antwerp, 1643), p. 34; Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Honor del Gran Patriarcha San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1645), p. 411.

88. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum,* p. 34, repeated in Nieremberg, *Gran Patriarcha,* p. 411.

89. Alegambe, *Mortes Illustres*, 2:442.

90. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum*, p. 34, echoed by Nieremberg, *Gran Patriarcha*, p. 411.

91. Alegambe (*Mortes Illustres*, 2:442) described Rodrigues as being of "tainted descent" (*infecti generis*).

92. Alegambe, *Mortes Illustres*, 2:442, translated in Toscano, *Scoperta*, pp. 405–06. It is improbable that the son of a prosperous merchant would have been employed as a servant.

The claim that Andrade was poisoned for his zeal in the service of the Inquisition and the account of the Virgin Mary's appearance and consoling words at the moment of his death transforms the missionary from the victim of a sordid crime of personal vindictiveness into a potential martyr. Martyrdom via the agency of perfidious Jews employing poison was already a theme in Catholic hagiography.[93] Alegambe's characterization of Andrade as a martyr for the faith was elaborated upon by the early-eighteenth-century Jesuit hagiographer António Franco, who wrote that Andrade was killed because of his diligence as a deputy of the Inquisition, ". . . out of hatred for which, and because of the exertions he made for the Holy Office, a Jew gave him poison, of which the Father died."[94]

A number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit writers repeated the story of the Virgin's appearance to Andrade, with minor variations;[95] an engraving of this scene in Mathias Tanner's martyrology[96] shows a goblet with a serpent (symbolizing poison) on a table; the dying Andrade sits at the table gazing at a vision of the Virgin and Child (see figure 2).[97] There were also accounts of unusual events associated with Andrade's death; Alegambe tells us that although the body ". . . had been packed in lime, and marble placed on the sarcophagus, they said that, a rare wonder, a likeness of the Father appeared on it, as clear as if he were alive."[98] He also writes that a Polish priest and future martyr was cured of a severe fever after invoking Andrade at his tomb and that a woman was delivered from a difficult childbirth through his intercession.[99] This narrative of Andrade's martyrdom has been repeated well into the twentieth century.[100]

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93. For example, in the case of the priest Luis Alvares (1539–90), see António Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da Campanhia de Jesu na Corte de Lisbon* (Coimbra, 1717), pp. 223–34.

94. "*...em odio dele e das dilegências que fazia por parte do Santo-Oficio, um judeo lhe deu veneno de que o Padre morreu*": António Franco, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* (1730; rpt. Porto, 1931), p. 152.

95. Besides the versions in Alegambe and Nieremberg, this story appears, with variations, in accounts of 1657, 1665, 1675, and 1717; see Toscano, *Scoperta,* p. 406n6.

96. *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis & vitae profusionem militans . . . qui ex Societatis Jesu in causa Fidei, & virtutis propugnatae, violenta morte toto orbe sublati sunt* (Prague, 1675).

97. In Tanner, *Societas Jesu*, p. 372.

98. "*... calce quoque unidue stipatus est;& marmor impositum tumulo, in quo, aiunt, raro prodigio, Patris ad vivum expressam effigiem exstitisse*": Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum*, p. 35. Similar in Nieremberg, *Gran Patriarcha*, p. 411 and Diôgo Barbosa Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca Lusitana Histórica, Crítica e Chronológica,* 4 vols. (1741; repr. Lisboa, 1930–35), 1:198–99.

99. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum,* p. 35.

100. See Toscano, *Scoperta*, p. 40n2.

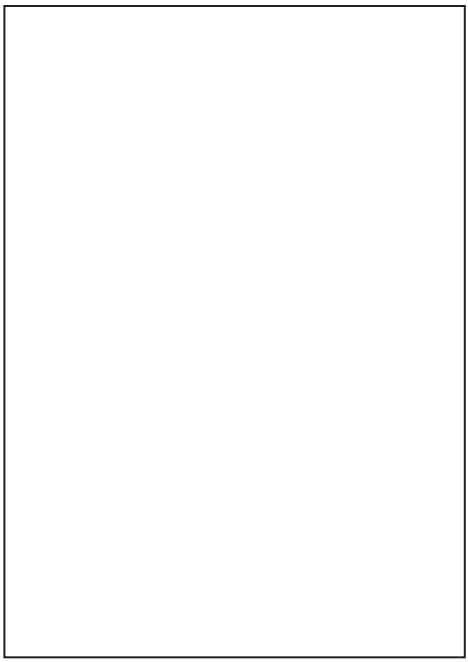

FIGURE 2. Allegorical representation of the dying Andrade, with his vision of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus. From Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis & vitae profusionem militans…qui ex Societatis Jesu in causa Fidei, & virtutis propugnatae, violenta morte toto orbe sublati sunt*. Prague, 1675. Digital scan courtesy of the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Libraries.

Conclusions

The Inquisition inquiry provides a clear picture of the contentious factionalism within the Jesuit community of Goa. Based on the testimony of witnesses who were at the scene, there is a reasonable certainty that Salvador carried out Andrade's poisoning, motivated by personal dislike stemming from past chastisement and the fear of future punishment or expulsion. He had accomplices among the anti-Andrade faction at the college, including Rodrigues and Areda; the latter may have been aided by the complicity of the viceroy's physician. Although the New Christians may well have hated Andrade because of his role as an officer of the Inquisition, there is no credible testimony that they were involved in the crime.

The Inquisition *Devassa*, as a private judicial record of testimony given under oath shortly after the events, is the most reliable document bearing on this case that exists, despite its unfortunate lack of any testimony by those who were actually accused of the crime. It depicts Andrade's murder as a sordid deed perpetrated by men who feared and hated him, out of concern for their own status and livelihood and to avenge past wrongs. It appears that Andrade's scrupulousness in punishing clerical laxity led to his death. The later published accounts of his final days, produced for the consumption of the general public, appear less reliable.[101] They present a conventionally edifying narrative that granted Andrade the blessed end of a martyr and erased the embarrassing participation of fellow Jesuits in his assassination. Instead, the poisoning was blamed on Jewish or New Christian enemies of the Inquisition, reflecting the increased harassment of New Christian merchants in Portuguese Asia and pandering to the antisemitic prejudice that was prevalent in Portugal and Spain during this period.

101. On the relative unreliability of published accounts meant for the general public see John Correia-Alfonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Bombay, 1969), pp. 8–9.

Ecclesial Dissent in Italy in the Sixties

Daniela Saresella*

In the wake of the Second Vatican Council, Italian bishops influenced by the teachings of the Council believed the Church should be involved more actively in the plight of the poor. Similarly, some Catholic organizations in Italy decided to withdraw their electoral support from the Democrazia Cristiana, thus making a religious choice. The reactions to these changes were neither few nor slow in coming, as was shown by the positions of some cardinals and the rise of movements committed to defending tradition.

Keywords: Crisis of Christendom; Italian Catholic Church; Second Vatican Council

Catholic scholars, like Catholics in general, continue to be profoundly divided by the events of the 1960s—especially by the Second Vatican Council. Some conservative Catholics blame the Council for the decline in church attendance since the 1960s; others blame not the Council itself, but its misinterpretation by many believers. Giuseppe Alberigo and others regarded the new pontificate of John XXIII and the Council as a positive watershed within Catholic culture.[1] After the long pontificate of Pius XII and its weighty legacy, the community of the faithful started to approach the problems of the contemporary world with the open-minded, sharing the spirit embraced by the new pontificate of John.[2]

Although space precludes an extensive analysis here of the effects of the Second Vatican Council or reference to the broad academic literature

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1. Giuseppe Alberigo, *Transizione epocale. Studi sul Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2009), pp. 765–849. See also Giuseppe Ruggeri, "Ricezione e interpretazioni del Vaticano II. Le ragioni di un dibattito," in *Chi ha paura del Vaticano II?*, ed. Alberto Melloni and Giuseppe Ruggieri (Rome, 2009), pp. 17–44.

2. See Marco Roncalli, *Giovanni XXIII. Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, una vita nella storia* (Milan, 2006); Alberto Melloni, *Papa Giovanni. Un cristiano al Concilio* (Turin, 2009).

on the subject,[3] it is nonetheless important to recall that the eschatological tension endemic in Christianity since its origins finally seemed to have become incorporated into the thinking of that period, so much so that the Council itself has been viewed by some scholars as the "accomplishment of the prophets' dream." On this issue Giuseppe Dossetti wrote that "a certain ecclesiology was brought into the Council, and it was the effect of firsthand experience and of the necessity to keep the Church above worldly matters, and away from, politically and ecclesiologically, debatable political situations."[4]

The changes experienced by the Church in the 1950s meant transformations for the political sphere as well. As Pietro Scoppola pointed out, there can be no "real democracy if there is no religious reform first, a way to interpret religious life in accordance with the responsibilities democracy requires."[5] It is no coincidence, then, that the political dialogue between the Catholic Democratic Party (DC) and the Socialist Party (PSI) occurred at that time.

John XXIII did not intervene in the dispute directly but, despite the prevailing opinions within the Roman Curia, he encouraged Christian Democrat representatives (such as Amintore Fanfani and Aldo Moro) who

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3. See Jared Wicks, "More Light on Vatican II," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 94 (2008), 75–101; Massimo Faggioli, "Council Vatican II: Bibliographical Overview 2007–2010," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 32 (2011), 755–91. See also Daniela Saresella, "La Chiesa contemporanea tra modernità e tradizione," *Passato e presente*, 87 (2012), 139–53.

4. "si portò nel Concilio una certa ecclesiologia che era riflesso anche dell'esperienza fatta e della necessità di non impegnare la Chiesa nelle cose mondane, la Chiesa in quanto tale, e di non camuffare, politicamente e ecclesiologicamente, realtà politiche opinabili": *A colloquio con Dossetti e Lazzati*, interview by Leopoldo Elia and Pietro Scoppola (Bologna, 2003), p. 106. Dossetti (1913–96) was an exponent of the left wing of the DC who abandoned politics in 1951. After becoming a monk, he founded the Piccola famiglia dell'Annunziata. See Enrico Galavotti, *Il giovane Dossetti: gli anni della formazione, 1913–1939* (Bologna, 2006); idem, *Il professorino: Giuseppe Dossetti tra crisi del fascismo e costruzione della democrazia 1940–1948* (Bologna, 2013); Paolo Pombeni, *Giuseppe Dossetti: l'avventura politica di un riformatore cristiano* (Bologna, 2013); Alberto Melloni, *Dossetti l'indicibile. Il quaderno scomparso di "Cronache sociali": i cattolici per un nuovo partito a sinistra della Dc* (Rome, 2013).

5. "una vera democrazia se non c'è prima riforma religiosa, un modo di intendere la vita religiosa adeguato alle responsabilità che la democrazia richiede": Pietro Scoppola, *Un cattolico a modo suo* (Brescia, 2008), p. 63. Scoppola (1926–2007) was an exponent of democratic Catholicism and an important historian of the twentieth-century Italian Catholic world. See Agostino Giovagnoli, *Chiesa e democrazia. La lezione di Pietro Scoppola* (Bologna, 2011); Giordano Frosini, *Pietro Scoppola. Un cristiano del nostro tempo* (Bologna, 2012).

had turned to him for advice to pursue their efforts in the direction of an opening to the PSI.[6]

Clergy

Numerous attempts were made in the years following the Council to change the whole Italian ecclesial community, and the appointment of bishops by John XXIII sometimes expressed this need for change.[7] Two such cases were Msgr. Emilio Guano, a longtime activist in the Azione Cattolica Movement (AC)[8] who was appointed bishop of Livorno in 1962, and Msgr. Michele Pellegrino,[9] a professor of philology and Christian literature who was to serve as cardinal archbishop of Turin until 1977 (see figure 1). Another notable example was that of Giacomo Lercaro[10]—archbishop of Ravenna and Cervia before his appointment as archbishop of Bologna by Pius XII and subsequent elevation to cardinal. His important contribution to the Council was followed by his efforts to infuse the instructions and principles of the Council into his diocese.

In the sixties, the tendency to regain contacts with the theological currents of Northern Europe became widespread in the Italian Church and in theology still bound to the neo-Scholastic tradition, even though traditional principles were hardly ever called into question, either in the

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6. Agostino Giovagnoli, *Il partito italiano. La Democrazia cristiana dal 1942 al 1994* (Rome-Bari, 1996), pp. 100–07. See also Augusto D'Angelo, *Moro, i Vescovi e l'apertura a sinistra* (Rome, 2005); Michele Marchi, "Aldo Moro segretario della Democrazia cristiana. Una leadership politica in azione (1959–1964)," *Mondo contemporaneo*, 2 (2010), 105–36.

7. See Andrea Riccardi, "Dalla Chiesa di Pio XII alla Chiesa giovannea," in *Papa Giovanni*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Rome-Bari, 1987), pp. 133–73; Alberto Monticone, "L'episcopato italiano dall'Unità al Concilio Vaticano II," in *Clero e società nell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. Mario Rosa (Rome-Bari, 1992), pp. 327–30; Bartolo Gariglio, "I Vescovi," in *La nazione cattolica. Chiesa e società in Italia dal 1958 ad oggi*, ed. Marco Impagliazzo (Milan, 2004), pp. 91–116.

8. The Azione Cattolica movement, founded in the late-nineteenth century, is the oldest and most widespread of the Catholic lay associations in Italy. See Ernesto Preziosi, *Piccola storia di una grande associazione* (Rome, 2013).

9. See *Convegno su Michele Pellegrino a dieci anni dalla morte* (Turin, 1997); *Una città e il suo vescovo: Torino negli anni dell'episcopato di Michele Pellegrino,* ed. Franco Bolgiani (Bologna, 2003); Alessandro Parola, *Michele Pellegrino: gli anni giovanili* (Cuneo, 2003).

10. See *Giacomo Lercaro vescovo della Chiesa di Dio (1891–1976)*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Genoa, 1991); *L'eredità pastorale di Giacomo Lercaro. Studi e testimonianze* (Bologna, 1992); Giuseppe Battelli, "I vescovi italiani e la dialettica pace-guerra. Giacomo Lercaro (1947–1968)," *Studi storici*, 45 (2004), 367–417; idem, "Pace e guerra nella Bologna di Lercaro e Dossetti. Considerazioni sintetiche," in *Chiesa e guerra. Dalla «benedizione delle armi» alla «Pacem in terris»*, ed. Mimmo Franzinelli and Riccardo Bottoni (Bologna, 2005), pp. 539–59.

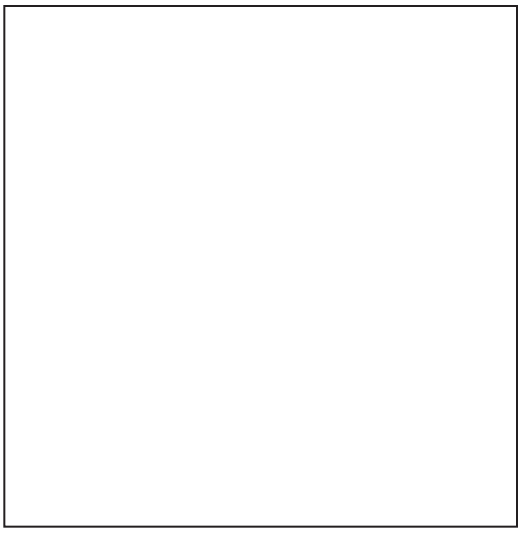

FIGURE 1. Cardinal Michele Pellegrino of Turin on Radio Vaticana, n.d. Photo courtesy of Wikipedia Commons.

field of dogma or in that of morals. On the whole, as the historian Guido Verucci noted, "caution and respect for ecclesiastic teachings" prevailed in Italy.[11] It is true that, in the fifties, those members of the Catholic world most interested in the ideas of Jacques Maritain or Emmanuel Mounier were opposed by a hierarchy hostile to any attempt to "update" Catholicism so that the influence of the contemporary world was reflected.[12]

Among the effects of the Council was the reorganization of the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI) that had been active since 1952 but enacted a new statute in December 1965. The following year, Blessed Pope Paul VI appointed Cardinal Giovanni Urbani, patriarch of Venice, as its president. More regular meetings of the CEI were to take place after this, starting with the first general assembly of Italian bishops held in June 1966. Urbani died in 1969 and was replaced by Cardinal Antonio Poma, arch-

11. Guido Verucci, "La Chiesa postconciliare," in *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana*, vol. II, *La trasformazione dell'Italia: sviluppo e squilibri*. 2. *Istituzioni, movimenti, culture* (Turin, 1995), pp. 301–67; here pp. 311–12.

12. See Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Western European liberation theology. The first wave (1924–1959)* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 139–65.

bishop of Bologna, who would hold office for a decade until Cardinal Anastasio Ballestrero, archbishop of Turin, assumed the presidency.[13]

In addition to internal mutations in the Church, during the sixties a deep and irreversible transformation came about in lay society in Italy, thanks to an acknowledgment of the Church's role, as promoted by the Council's teachings. The faithful eventually took on larger responsibilities: a moral turn sanctioned during the Third World Congress for the Apostolate of the Laity held in Rome in October 1967 and centered on the theme "Il Popolo di Dio nel cammino dell'umanità" (God's People on the Path of Humanity).

The demand for "democratic participation" in church life found its first response in the proliferation of consultancy committees for laypeople in local churches. Accordingly, the apostolic letter *Ecclesiae sanctae* of August 6, 1966 (issued "Motu proprio") contained norms for implementing some of the decrees of the Council; it allowed, amongst other things, every diocese to establish a presbyteral council and a pastoral council. The aim of such councils was to examine and suggest the most appropriate guidelines for the local churches. A few months later, a similar letter established the *Consilium* of laypeople whose goal was to promote and coordinate their apostolate.[14] Such innovations nurtured the development of diocesan and parochial pastoral councils in the wake of the recently resumed tradition of the first Christian communities. They expanded greatly, despite their uneven distribution in the Italian State. After the initial euphoria surrounding such initiatives, there was a significant decrease in the participation of the faithful in collective ecclesial organizations.

Lay Catholic Organizations

In those years, even the Italian AC—an organization devoted to the duties of the apostolate, which boasted 3.6 million members in 1962—underwent major changes. The first signs of the crisis of the AC can actually be traced back to the years prior to the Council, when the "political" stance of Luigi Gedda[15]—one in accordance with the DC—faced demands

13. Francesco Sportelli, *La Conferenza Episcopale Italiana (1952–1972)* (Galatina, 1994); idem, "Vescovi: la CEI e la collegialità italiana," in *Cristiani d'Italia. Chiese, società, Stato (1861–2011)*, ed. Alberto Melloni (Rome, 2011), pp. 841–52. See also *Enchiridion CEI* (Bologna, 1999).

14. See Maurilio Guasco, *Chiesa e Cattolicesimo in Italia (1945–2000)* (Bologna, 2001), pp. 89–97.

15. Gedda (1902–2000) was an exponent of Catholic Action; he served as president of the organization from 1952 to 1959. Gedda is well known as the founder, in 1948, of the

for religious regeneration from the youth movement. Responding to such demands in 1959, John XXIII appointed Agostino Maltarello—a close associate of Gedda—as president but also appointed a vice-president, Vittorio Bachelet, who came from the association's "intellectual" area (see figure 2). In 1964, Paul VI, with the help of Msgr. Franco Costa, signaled a leadership shift by appointing Bachelet as president. Costa and Bachelet guided the association toward a profound reform that was finally sanctioned by the 1969 statute.[16] The four distinct and ultimately autonomous branches were thus replaced with a truly unified association divided into two sections (adult and youth groups).

But the actions taken by Costa and Bachelet were intended to curb support for the DC and end any form of interference in Italian political life.[17] Thus, a large number of Catholics in the sixties demanded the end of the Church's political and electoral support for the Catholic Party, support that had started at the beginning of the cold war.[18]

These were also years of great turmoil among the association's youth groups, as the Congress of Verona made clear in August 1960. On that occasion, the majority of university students belonging to the Italian Catholic Federation of University Students (FUCI)[19] voted on a motion asking for separation of the religious and secular fields, the end of political

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"Civic Committees," a propaganda organization aiming to contain communism in Italy. However, not everyone within AC shared this political line. Many—for example Mario Rossi, president of the Youth Association of AC—wanted AC to deal with religious matters instead. Rossi resigned from AC in 1954. See Michele Marchi, "Politica e religione dal centrismo al centro-sinistra. Luigi Gedda, i Comitati Civici e l'Azione Cattolica," *Mondo contemporaneo*, 1 (2013), 43–89; *Luigi Gedda nella storia della Chiesa e del Paese*, ed. Ernesto Preziosi (Rome, 2013).

16. Angelo Bertani and Luca Diliberto, *Vittorio Bachelet. Un uomo uscì a seminare* (Rome, 1994), pp. 41–63; Mario Casella, "Introduzione," in Vittorio Bachelet, *Il servizio è la gioia. Scritti associativi ed ecclesiali (1959–1973)* (Rome, 1992), pp. 11–18. Bachelet (1926–80), professor of public law, was elected in 1976 as vice-president of the Superior Council of the Judiciary. He was killed by the terrorist organization Brigate Rosse.

17. See Guido Formigoni, *L'Azione Cattolica italiana* (Milan, 1988), pp. 161–70; Mario Casella, *L'Azione cattolica nell'Italia contemporanea (1919–1969)* (Rome, 1992), pp. 201–03.

18. In 1949 the DC voted for Italian adhesion to the North Atlantic Treaty. After World War II, the DC was regarded as a barrier to the spread of communism in Italy. See Guido Formigoni, *Democrazia cristiana e l'alleanza occidentale (1943–1953)* (Bologna, 1996).

19. The FUCI, founded in 1896, was one of the pillars for preparing the Italian Catholic intellectuals of the twentieth century. See Gabriella Fanello Marcucci, *Storia della Fuci* (Rome, 1971); Francesco Malgeri, *Fuci, Coscienza universitaria, fatica del pensare, intelligenza della fede* (Milan, 1996).

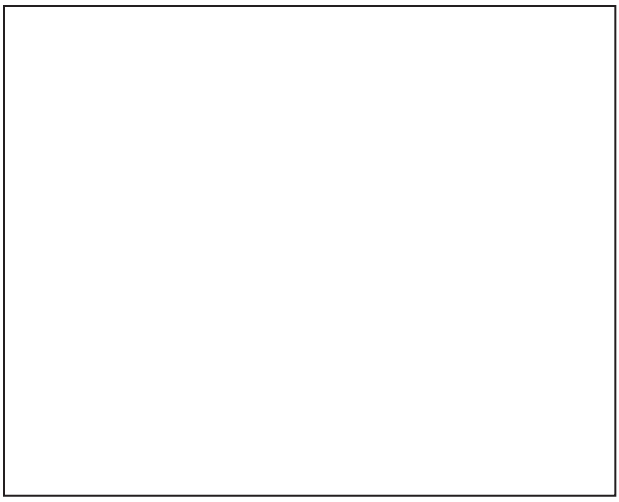

FIGURE 2. Vittorio Bachelet, *c.* 1980. Photo courtesy Sito del Cinecircolo Giovanile Socioculturale "V. Bachelet" di Tolentino.

support to the DC, a move beyond the social doctrine of the Church, and the repeal of the concordat between the Church and the Italian State.[20]

The Catholic Scout movement also experienced radical transformation in the sixties. At that time it was composed of two associations: the all-male Italian Catholic Scouting Association (ASCI, established in 1916) and the all-female Italian Guides Association (AGI, established in 1943). In the years immediately following the Council, appeals for greater attention to the political dimension and that of participation became more and more frequent, while requests to overcome the divisions between different groups increased. In 1974 a motion for merging the two groups was passed, and the Association of Catholic Guides and Scouts of Italy (AGESCI) was formed, with a statute approved by the CEI in 1978 after numerous adjustments. The "Pact of Association" drawn up in 1975 proposed a satisfactory and effective synthesis between tradition and innovation, insisting on religious and educational aspects and on the commitment to participate directly in the growth of the Church.[21]

20. The concordat was signed in 1929 by Cardinal Pietro Gasparri (the Vatican secretary of state) and Benito Mussolini.

21. See Vincenzo Schirripa, *Giovani sulla frontiera: guide e scout cattolici nell'Italia repubblicana (1943–1974)* (Rome, 2006), pp. 210–21.

Significant developments occurred with the Catholic Association of Italian Workers (ACLI), an organization founded in 1944 to contain communist influence in the world of work. Attendees of its tenth congress, held in 1966, revealed disappointment with the politics of the Catholic party. Even though the ACLI had instructed its members to vote for the DC in the general elections of 1968, by the time of its eleventh congress in 1969, held in Turin, the association had stated the necessity to move beyond political support to the DC and encouraged its members to vote freely.[22] This decision was an unpleasant surprise for the Vatican and led Cardinal Carlo Poma, CEI president, to write a letter to the ACLI leader Emilio Gabaglio asking him to rethink the choices made in Turin.

The congress held in Vallombrosa (near Florence) in 1970 was an important turning point for the ACLI because, in the wake of the workers' struggles in the factories, the organization opted for the "socialist hypothesis"—that is, viewing the Christian faith as compatible with voting for the left and the complete liberation of humankind as the common goal of both Catholics and Marxists. Fausto Tortora, head of the research department of the association until 1971, demanded the right for the *aclisti* (the members of the ACLI) to

> rediscover the value of utopia in the Marxist sense of the term, as being coherent with the growth of class consciousness, as a dialectic aspect in which the militant avant-garde can already identify the lines of a feasible political work project.[23]

Bartolomeo Sorge, S.J., criticized the socialist choices of the ACLI and accused the *aclisti* of being "more worried about the revolutionary efficiency of their ideas than the accordance of the latter with the truth and with Christian inspiration." In the light of the criticism already expressed in pontifical documents, Sorge deemed it impossible to accept Marxist methodology in the analysis of society and rejected the materialistic and atheist ide-

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22. Vittorio De Marco, *Le barricate invisibili. La Chiesa in Italia tra politica e società (1945–1978)* (Galatina, 1994), pp. 195–208.

23. "riscoprire il valore dell'utopia, nel senso marxiano del termine, come strumento organico alla crescita di coscienza di classe, come momento dialettico in cui alcune avanguardie di lotta potevano già riconoscere le linee di un lavoro politico praticabile": Fausto Tortora, "Le Acli e la scelta socialista," in *I cristiani nella sinistra. Dalla Resistenza a oggi* (Rome, 1976), pp. 187–210, here p. 207. See also Domenico Rosati, *La profezia laica di Livio Labor. Apologia di un cristiano senza paura* (Rome, 1999), pp. 46–72.

ology it implied.[24] In 1971, when Il Movimento politico dei lavoratori (the Workers' Political Movement) was founded, the ACLI felt the need to take more direct action in the political sphere and created a second Catholic party that was openly left wing.[25] The aim of President Livio Labor was in fact twofold: to break the political unity of Catholic voters and, at the same time, contribute to the reshaping of a new strategy for the Italian left.

Even Catholic trade unions were overwhelmed by the urgency to make radical choices. The Italian Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions (CISL), which had followed the pro-Western ideas of Mario Romani[26] in the fifties, abandoned the moderate positions adopted in the past to respond to the Council's renewed attention to poverty.[27] Moreover, a part of the CISL, as well as the Metalworkers and Engineering Trade Union (FIM-CISL), had connections with left-wing groups. Of great significance were the political positions taken by Sandro Antoniazzi, provincial secretary of FIM-CISL, who advocated a class-based political choice for Catholic workers. Because of their experience in the factories, these very Catholic laborers began to criticize the Church's social doctrine, which they perceived as inadequate to deal with contemporary issues.[28]

The increasingly widespread interest in social concerns, and in particular in the problems of developing countries, was promoted not only by the traditional missionary orders and congregations but also some voluntary associations. As a consequence of the Council's increased attention to poverty, the Italian nongovernmental organization Mani Tese was founded in 1964 and continues its work to this day. Its aim was to raise public awareness of the situation in third world countries and to promote new relationships among peoples based on justice, solidarity, and respect for different cultures.

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24. "più dell'efficienza rivoluzionaria delle loro idee, anziché della rispondenza di queste alla verità e all'ispirazione Cristiana": Bartolomeo Sorge, *Capitalismo, scelta di classe, socialismo* (Rome, 1973), pp. 143–45. Sorge edited the journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* from 1973 to 1985. He is currently editor of *Aggiornamenti Sociali,* the journal of the Milanese Jesuits.

25. The *Movimento Politico dei lavoratori* was a small Italian political party founded in October 1971 by Labor. Its aim was to obtain the consensus of progressive Catholics. In the elections of 1972, the movement won only 0.36 percent of the vote.

26. Mario Romani (1917–75) was a university professor. He cofounded the CISL with Giulio Pastore and directed the research center of the Catholic Trade Union until 1967.

27. See Guido Baglioni, *La lunga marcia della Cisl (1950–2010)* (Bologna, 2011), pp. 218–20.

28. Sandro Antoniazzi, "Cattolici e scelta di classe in Italia," in *Cristiani e internazionalismo* (Rome, 1974), pp. 67–74, here p. 73.

In addition to Mani Tese, the Federation of the Missionary Lay Organizations (FOLM) was founded in 1966, later renamed the Federation of Christian Organizations of International Voluntary Service (FOCSIV). Since 1977, FOCSIV volunteers have worked in countries around the world to combat poverty and exclusion, as well as defend human rights.

Moreover, the attention paid by the Council to the plight of the poor also inspired the creation of associations in Italy to provide social services. An example was the Abele group that was founded in Turin in 1966; guided by Cardinal Pellegrino; and dedicated to helping aged individuals, social outcasts, and drug addicts.[29] In 1968, the Comunità di Sant'Egidio was founded in the Roman neighborhood of Trastevere as an association of laypeople committed to solidarity with the poor and particularly with those who were homeless, elderly, or addicted to drugs. The Sant'Egidio Community became known for its efforts to foster interreligious dialogue, committed to building peace through contact and collaboration.[30] Both the Turin and the Rome groups were loyal to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and both were intensely religious and worked to "transform" the conception of religiousness. They spurred ecclesiastical institutions to work side by side with marginalized individuals in society, following the Council's lead.

Journals and Newspapers

The research started by the Council sparked work in intellectual circles, including examinations of emerging political philosophies that were confronting new challenges in Italian society. Thus lively intellectual debates occurred in such journals as *Testimonianze* and *Questitalia*, both founded in 1958.

Testimonianze, whose editor was the priest Ernesto Balducci,[31] addressed those in the Catholic clergy and laity who were disappointed by Gedda's AC activism and the stiffness they believed had characterized the

29. Candido Cannavò, *Pretacci. Storie di uomini che portarono il Vangelo sul marciapiede* (Milan, 2008), pp. 224–27.

30. Andrea Riccardi, Jean-Dominique Durand, and Régis Ladous, *Sant'Egidio, Roma e il mondo* (Cinisello Balsamo, 1997); Massimo Faggioli, "The New Élite of the Italian Catholicism: 1968 and the New Catholic Movements," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 98 (2012), 18–40, here 31–34.

31. Balducci (1922–92) was one of the most prominent names in Italian Catholic culture at the time of the Council and in the post-Council period.

pontificate of Pius XII. The intent of these advocates was to "de-clericalize theology and to create a theologically qualified Catholic culture." The intellectual inspirations for the Florentine journal *Testimonianze* included the French theologians Henri-Marie de Lubac, Jean Daniélou, and Yves Congar, as well as scholars Maritain, Mounier, Gabriel Marcel, and Georges Bernanos. Their ideas and works informed the contributions to the journal in regard to maintaining independence from politics, respecting people, distinguishing between spiritual and secular values, and condemning Western civilization.[32]

Wladimiro Dorigo[33] founded *Questitalia* in Venice; in 1955 he had been admonished by the Church for using language "suspected of Marxism." This journal did not identify itself as a publication that was Catholic or sponsored by another denomination—indeed, it always denied the legitimacy of such a definition—yet its interests focused on the political organization of Catholics and the role of Catholics in Italy during the years after the Council.[34]

In the wake of this renewed religious sensitivity, in 1965 the journal *Momento* was created in the Archdiocese of Milan. Stating that it was based on "testimony and dialogue" as well as the spirituality of Jesuit priest Pierre Teilhard de Chardin,[35] *Momento* was in tune with the new awareness arising from the Council. In its bimonthly issues it displayed three tendencies: the first following the example of the priest Primo Mazzolari,[36] the second supporting communitarian personalism, and the third promoting dialogue with the varied Marxist world.[37]

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32. "sclericalizzare la teologia e creare una cultura cattolica teologicamente qualificata": Maria Cristina Giuntella, "*Testimonianze* e l'ambiente cattolico fiorentino," in *Intellettuali cattolici tra riformismo e dissenso*, ed. Sergio Ristuccia (Milan, 1975), pp. 230–45, here p. 241. See also Bruna Bocchini Camaiani, *Ernesto Balducci: la Chiesa e la modernità* (Rome-Bari, 2002), pp. 155–69; Daniela Saresella, *Dal Concilio alla contestazione. Riviste cattoliche negli anni del cambiamento (1958–1968)* (Brescia, 2005), pp. 117–44.

33. Dorigo (1927–2006), a partisan between 1943 and 1945, joined the DC after the war. He left the party in 1958 and founded the review *Questitalia*, which was published until 1970.

34. Wladimiro Dorigo, "Lettera aperta," *Questitalia*, 1 (1958), 1.

35. Marcello Gentili, "La realtà terrestre in Teilhard de Chardin e nel nuovo cattolicesimo," *Momento*, 1 (1965), 3–15.

36. Mazzolari (1890–1959) was one of the few priests in Italy who opposed fascism. In 1950 he founded the journal *Adesso* and symbolized progressive Italian Catholicism until his death.

37. Angelo Monasta, "Il dissenso cattolico nell'esperienza di quattro riviste: *Momento*, *Note di Cultura*, *Note e Rassegne*, *Il tetto*," in *Intellettuali cattolici tra riformismo e dissenso*, pp. 320–21.

In May 1964, Florentine Catholics published the first issue of *Note di Cultura.* This magazine focused mainly on international problems, with an approach resembling that of Giuseppe La Pira toward the Vietnam War and Middle Eastern issues.[38] In the same year, *Il tetto* was founded in Naples and criticized the political choices of the DC. In June 1967, the weekly magazine *Settegiorni* was also founded. Directed by Ruggero Orfei and Piero Pratesi, it intended to prepare the public for a possible separation from the DC.

Some groups aligned ideologically with these periodicals criticized the way in which the Council's decrees had been put into practice, which they felt failed to fulfill the Council's intentions. For instance, many thought that the *Instructions* for the application of liturgical reform, which outlined the use of the vernacular in the Mass and in other rites, did not seem to grant enough freedom and did not satisfy aspirations for a free and creative relationship with the transcendent. Some of the faithful decided to organize celebrations without involving parishes, claiming the right to create new prayers and use other forms of music (such as jazz) instead of traditional church hymns.[39]

The sixties marked a turning point in the Catholic daily press as well. As a consequence of the dynamic and innovative action of the Council, the "crusading" spirit disappeared or weakened in the pages of *L'Osservatore Romano* and many of the Roman Curia's daily newspapers. Raniero La Valle was appointed director of the Catholic newspaper *L'Avvenire d'Italia* of Bologna, whereas Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini (archbishop of Milan and the future Paul VI) entrusted *L'Italia* to Giuseppe Lazzati. The effect of such appointments was short lived. In 1966 Lazzati took up a position that opposed imperialism and favored peace, but his editorial policy was judged too radical.[40] Using the budget deficit of these periodicals as an excuse, the CEI decided to merge the Bolognese and the Milanese newspapers. After La Valle resigned as director, the newspaper

38. La Pira (1904–77) was a member of the Constituent Assembly. He became mayor of Florence; in the fifties he organized meetings between exponents of the different political and religious philosophies in Florence. During the cold war he visited Russia, China, and Vietnam.

39. See Michael Hornsby-Smith, *The Changing Parish: A Study of Parishes, Priests and Parishioners after Vatican II* (London, 1989), pp. 36–42.

40. On Montini's politics regarding the problem of peace, see Daniele Menozzi, *Chiesa, pace e guerra nel Novecento. Verso una delegittimazione religiosa dei conflitti* (Bologna, 2008), pp. 271–87. See also Frank J. Coppa, "The Contemporary Papacy from Paul VI to Benedict XVI: A Bibliographical Essay," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 92 (2006), 597–608.

Avvenire was established and administered by the CEI and the Milanese Curia.[41]

In 1967 the organization of the congress "Impegno e compiti dei cattolici nel tempo nuovo della cristianità" (Commitment and the Tasks Facing Catholics in the New Era of Christianity)[42] expressed the desire for political and cultural reflection as well as for the DC to regain its Christian inspiration, which many thought was fading after twenty years of political power. Three years later, a new meeting was planned in Fermo that would consider the legacy of a controversial figure: Romolo Murri, a priest who had been excommunicated in 1909.[43] In 1972 the publishing house Il Mulino issued *Modernismo, fascismo, comunismo. Aspetti e figure della cultura e della politica dei cattolici nel '90*[44] that focused on modernism in the first part of the twentieth century, a movement that had been condemned by Pius X as dangerous and heretical.

The establishment of numerous research centers also dates back to the sixties. A case in point is the International Center of Documentation and Communication (IDOC) that was founded in Rome in 1956 and was devoted to the collection of international and interconfessional documents on human and religious development. In 1972, the center began publishing the review *Idoc internazionale*. A keen interest in problems relating to development in third world countries, social change, and economic transformation led to the creation in 1963 of the Research Center for Emigration by the Rome-based Congregation of the Missionaries of St. Charles. The Giuseppe Toniolo Center for Economic and Social Studies was founded in Pisa in 1966, and the following year the Luigi Sturzo Institute organized its first international conference on the topic "Sociologia contemporanea nell'Europa occidentale" (Contemporary Sociology in Western Europe).

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41. Paolo Murialdi and Nicola Tranfaglia, *La stampa italiana del neocapitalismo* (Rome-Bari, 1976), pp. 23–24.

42. *L'impegno e i compiti dei cattolici nel tempo nuovo della cristianità*, ed. Giuseppe Rossini (Rome, 1967).

43. *Romolo Murri nella storia politica e religiosa del suo tempo*, ed. Giuseppe Rossini, (Rome, 1972). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Murri (1870–1944) promoted the Democratic Catholic movement in Italy. See *Romolo Murri e i murrismi in Italia e in Europa cent'anni dopo*, ed. Ilaria Biagioli, Alfonso Botti, and Rocco Cerrato (Urbino, 2004).

44. See *Modernismo fascismo, comunismo. Aspetti e figure della cultura e della politica dei cattolici nel '900*, ed. Giuseppe Rossini (Bologna, 1972).

Ecclesial Dissent

A leading figure of Milanese Catholic dissent—Mario Cuminetti—wrote that internal conflict within the Church "arose from the effort to put into practice the theological guidelines of Vatican II."[45] Be that as it may, there is no clear dividing line between radical interpretation of the Council and true dissent, since the Council's reflections empowered many of the faithful to seek other articulations of their religious identity. Unable to fulfill their ambition inside the institution, they found other expressions of their faith in other venues, often at odds with the strict discipline of the Catholic Church's teachings. However, as Guido Verucci pointed out, the events of 1968 undoubtedly contributed to "great acceleration and a breakthrough for that part of the Italian Catholic world that was engaged in the elaboration of new ways to relate religious faith to the contemporary world." By 1968, then, the phenomena and the features of radical ecclesial contestation had become "real dissent."[46] These factors clashed with the new cultural impulses of the "long 1960s": it was the time of political radicalization, when everything seemed possible and "a new age was dawning." This climate raised intense expectations in the Catholic world, stressed by equally dramatic religious radicalization involving laypeople, priests, and nuns.[47]

In Italy, the youth protests of the late sixties occurred mainly at universities with a religious affiliation. In November 1967 students occupied the Catholic University of the Sacro Cuore of Milan, protesting the considerable rise in tuition fees. The rector, Ezio Franceschini, cited the need to balance university accounts,[48] but the students answered with the slogan

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45. "nacque dallo sforzo di attuare le indicazioni teologiche del Vaticano II": Mario Cuminetti, *Il dissenso cattolico in Italia (1965–1980)* (Milan, 1983), p. 23. See Saresella, "Il dissenso cattolico," in Impagliazzo, ed., *La nazione cattolica*, pp. 265–89.

46. Verucci, "La Chiesa postconciliare," pp. 328–30: "di grande accelerazione e di rottura per quella parte del mondo cattolico italiano impegnata nell'elaborazione di modi nuovi di rapporto tra la fede religiosa e la realtà del mondo contemporaneo;" "aperto dissenso." For an international overview, see Denis Pelletier, *La crise catholique: Religion, societé et politique en France (1965–1978)* (Paris, 2002); Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wineskins and Second Vatican Council* (Berkeley, 2004); *1968 tra utopia e Vangelo. Contestazione e mondo cattolico*, ed. Agostino Giovagnoli (Rome, 2000).

47. Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 141–60; see also Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America (1956–1976)* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 74–92; Julian Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought* (Montreal, 2007), pp. 257–75; Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of Vatican II. Western European Left Catholicism in the Long Sixties (1959–1980)* (Oxford, 2015).

48. Pietro Zerbi, "Per una biografia di Ezio Franceschini (1906–1983). Letture, ricordi, documenti," *Aevum*, 61 (1987), 521–64, here 535.

"this is a catholic university, not a private one." In their opinion, culture was not "a commodity that could be bought at production cost," and a democratic country should allow every citizen access to education.[49] Demonstrators argued that they drew their inspiration from the spirit of the Council, which had set the Church free from the political interests of the ruling class and had led believers toward the defense of the poor. Student mobilization sparked a harsh reaction from the academic world, and the rector called in the police to shut down the university.

Similar protests were organized at the University of Trento, founded in the early sixties at the request of the DC's left wing. Marco Boato, a leader of the protest movement, claimed that *Lettera ad una professoressa della scuola di Barbiana*—written by the priest Lorenzo Milani,[50] who criticized the class-based Italian educational system and advocated access to knowledge for human liberation—was a more important resource for the student movement than *One-Dimensional Man* by Herbert Marcuse.[51]

The experience of grassroots groups dates back to this period as well. Such groups were organized by the journal *Questitalia*, which joined with the Circolo Maritain from Rimini, Persona e comunità from Lucca, Esprit from Pescara, and the journal *Note e rassegne* from Modena to organize the congress "Credenti e non credenti per una nuova sinistra" (Believers and Nonbelievers for a New Left) held in Bologna on February 15, 1968. Young people criticized the political unity of Catholics and the choices made by the DC. They also opposed the capitalist system and took the extra-parliamentary left position in politics, judging the PCI as insufficiently secular.[52] These grassroots groups, founded in Italy between 1967

49. The students' document was published in *L'Unità* on January 2, 1968: "L'università è cattolica, non private;" "una merce che si acquistava a prezzo di produzione." A detailed account of the events can be found in *Università Cattolica. Storia di tre occupazioni, repressioni, serrate* (Milan, 1968). Reconstructions of the events are to be found in many books on the protests of 1968; see Roberto Beretta, *Il lungo autunno. Controstoria del sessantotto cattolico* (Milan, 1998), pp. 22–34.

50. Milani was a priest and educator. In Barbiana, near Florence, he founded a school for the working classes. Opposed by ecclesiastical authorities for his commitment against compulsory military service, he died at age forty-four in 1967. See Richard Drake, "Catholics and Italian Revolutionary Left of the 1960s," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94 (2008), 450–75.

51. Marco Boato, *Il '68 è morto: viva il '68* (Verona, 1979), p. 7.

52. The PCI was never a "lay" party (in 1947, it voted for the introduction in the Italian Constitution of the Concordat signed in 1929 by Gasparri and Mussolini). In contrast, the extra-parliamentary left (which started out from the determination to fight the increasingly reformist character of official communism) opposed the idea of a church-state concordat.

and 1969, fell into two categories: those that opted for an openly political line and would soon merge into the extra-parliamentary left, and those that adhered to a religious purpose such as the Assembly of the Ecclesial Groups and the Base Communities. An international movement rooted mainly in Latin America, Base Communities saw Christianity as a radical commitment inspired by the Gospel: their supporters believed that a close relation with the scriptures—just as was the case at the time of the Reformation—was paramount rather than a commitment to the reform of the Church. In this period, for the first time in Italian contemporary history, there were numerous exchanges between grassroots groups (coming from the Catholic tradition) and the Waldensians.

Both Catholics and non-Catholics joined the groups, sharing the same desire to expose "the ties the Church has with political and economic power" and the same ambition for "a Church founded on fraternity and on the equality of all its members," both lay and religious. Such communities closed ranks against the Concordat between church and state, opposed the teaching of religion in schools and private confessional schools, and promoted initiatives against compulsory military service.[53]

At that time many Catholics took a stand against the guidelines of the Church and of the Catholic party. Of great significance was the choice made by Lidia Menapace, a former Catholic partisan and later active member of the DC, who decided to resign from the party in 1968.[54] In an article in *Settegiorni*, Menapace criticized the DC for its dependence on the ecclesiastic hierarchy.[55] In a 1968 meeting with members of "Catholic Dissent" in Reggio Emilia, she argued that all left-wing activists, regardless of religious affiliation, should work to modify a social situation that appeared anachronistic and to create a direct, assembly-based democracy.[56] On February 29, 1968, even Gian Mario Albani, the Lombardia regional president of the ACLI, resigned from all of his positions so he could run for the Senate as an independent on the PCI's electoral slate. However, he stated that he wanted to "continue serving Christian workers and all Italian work-

53. "dalla denunzia dei legami della Chiesa con il potere politico ed economico"; "una Chiesa fondata sulla fraternità e sull'uguaglianza fra i suoi aderenti": Verucci, "La Chiesa postconciliare," pp. 332–33.

54. "Le dimissioni della Menapace: verso la fine della mistificazione della sinistra DC," *Questitalia*, 11 (1968), 39–44.

55. Lidia Menapace, "Sinistra vecchia e nuova," *Settegiorni*, 41 (1968), 18.

56. Francesco Coïsson, "Dissenso cattolico. Il confronto di Reggio Emilia," *L'Astrolabio,* 39 (1968), 6–7. See Daniela Saresella, *Cattolici a sinistra. Dal modernismo ai giorni nostri* (Rome-Bari, 2011), pp. 285–301.

ers sympathizing with oppressed peoples all over the world." He also wanted to remain loyal to the Christian and humanistic principles that had always inspired him.[57] The crisis experienced by the Catholic party in these years also was reflected in the resignation from the party of Corrado Corghi, regional secretary of the DC in Emilia Romagna from 1956 to 1966. In an open letter addressed to party secretary Mariano Rumor, Corghi stated his aversion to the "tolerant" positions assumed by the DC toward American policy in third world countries. In his opinion there was no doubt that "in order to obtain the liberation of Latin America from neocolonialist slavery it was necessary for Western Europe to review completely its policy towards the USA."[58] In addition, in an interview with the *L'Astrolabio* magazine in September 1968, Corghi declared that "an authentic Christian attitude" implied rebellion against injustice in the world and struggle for "radical change." Such a protest, on historical and political levels, allowed a "unified struggle and action shared by believers and nonbelievers, because an authentically human revolutionary ideal was not necessarily in agreement with a religious view or with a lay one."[59]

Relations with Marxist World

In those years many of the faithful observed with keen interest the priests and laypeople who defended the rights of the underprivileged in Latin America and who even accepted those in left-wing revolutionary movements as partners and comrades in the struggle. This also meant that they accepted Marxism as an instrument for examining and understanding the contradictions introduced by the capitalist system.[60] Beside the myths of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, which they had in common with young people from the left, these Catholics had the revolutionary priest Camilo Torres as a point of

57. "restare al servizio dei lavoratori cristiani e di tutti i lavoratori italiani nella solidarietà con tutti i popoli oppressi": Giuseppe De Rosa, "I cattolici dissenzienti," *La civiltà cattolica* (1968), 563–65, here 565.

58. The complete letter was published in *L'unità*, March 3, 1968, 2: "per la liberazione dell'America latina dalla schiavitù neocolonialista *fosse* necessario che l'Europa occidentale compi*sse* una completa revisione della sua politica nei confronti degli Usa."

59. "un atteggiamento cristiano autentico;" "cambiamenti radicali;" "unità di lotta e di azione fra credenti e non credenti, perché un ideale rivoluzionario autenticamente umano non *era* necessariamente solidale né con una visione religiosa né con una visione laica": "Una nuova strategia. Intervista con Corrado Corghi," *L'Astrolabio*, 39 (1968), 12–14, here 12. Corghi, on this occasion, received a letter expressing friendship and esteem from Lucio Lombardo Radice. See Rome, Archivio Istituto Gramsci di Rome, Carte di L. L. Radice, scatola Dialogo (2).

60. Daniela Saresella, "The Dialogue between Catholics and Communists in Italy during the 1960s," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 75 (2014), 493–512.

reference. Torres died fighting alongside the guerrillas in Colombia in 1966. As Catholic tradition has included the concept of a "just war," there has been much debate on the legitimacy of resorting to violence. In particular, war, after the analysis proposed in the *Populorum progressio*, was considered to be justified if it was against the causes of imbalances in the world.[61]

For the youth of the extra-parliamentary left, even for the most radical of Christians, the Vietnam War represented the most extreme and deplorable example of imperialistic Western nations extending their policies and politics into third world countries. Cardinal Lercaro had already taken a stand against U.S. interference in Vietnam.[62] In addition, Ermanno Dossetti,[63] who had spoken many times in the lower house of parliament in defense of the Vietnamese cause, refused to run again in 1968 for the Christian Democrats in the Reggio Emilia constituency. Other people took a stand against U.S. foreign policy: students from the Catholic University of Milan collected almost 1000 signatures "to force the Italian government to exert adequate pressure on the USA in order to stop the bombing in Vietnam," and the Isolotto community organized a prayer for peace during Christmas 1967.[64] The Isolotto parish in the working-class neighborhood of Florence attracted publicity because of the harsh clash between parish priest Enzo Mazzi and Archbishop Ermenegildo Florit of Florence. In fact, when the community took a stand in favor of the young Catholics of Parma who occupied the cathedral in September 1968 as a protest of the failed regeneration of the Church, Florit ordered Mazzi to either resign from office or revise his position. The priest, surrounded by the sympathy of the faithful, refused both options and was removed from office by his superiors, but the controversy spawned a group of dissident Catholics.

It is clear, however, that such turmoil was not a widespread phenomenon in ecclesial circles. Without a doubt, traditional parishes were more numerous than those that supported the practice of radical faith, just as the number of young men and women active in groups that adhered to Roman guidelines was far greater than those in the small groups of "rebels." But "it

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61. Guido Panvini, *Cattolici e violenza politica. L'altro album di famiglia del terrorismo italiano* (Venice, 2014), pp. 168–200.

62. See Christopher J. Kauffman, "Politics, Programs and Protests: Catholic Relief Services in Vietnam (1954–75)," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 91 (2005), 223–50.

63. Ermanno Dossetti (1915–2008), Giuseppe's brother, was a member of parliament from 1963 to 1968.

64. "affinché il governo italiano facesse un'adeguata pressione nei confronti degli USA perché fossero sospesi i bombardamenti sul Vietnam": See *Il cardinale contestato* (Rome, 1968), pp. 150–62, here p. 154.

is difficult to deny that behind all the incertitude, confusion and ambiguities of dissent there was a collective conscience, which was completely new for the Church."[65]

However, it is evident that, for the Italian and other communities in the Catholic world, the years immediately following the Council represented "a transitional phase of more or less consistent loss of the old identity and of search for a new, more complex and difficult, but also more stimulating, identity."[66] Many young people, in the wake of 1968 events, were gravitating toward the extra-parliamentary left and struggling to reconcile conflicting messages from the factories and suburbs. Some were even under the illusion that radical solutions—such as joining terrorist groups like the Brigate Rosse—were a way to change an unjust world. Catholics and communists shared the common need for an all-absorbing approach to ideals and to the myth of a life spent in creating a utopia. These young people thought that devoting their lives to political and social commitment was the authentic fulfillment of the evangelical message.[67] If it is true that some fell into a form of political activism and immanentism that led them to underestimate the salvific dimension of faith, this did not happen to everyone. On the contrary, the priest Lorenzo Bedeschi, in a 1968 article published in *Religioni oggi*, criticized those who only considered "Catholic dissent" from "a political point of view," because the phenomenon should be analyzed in its "doctrinal sources rather than in its political phenomenology."[68]

In 1966 Cuminetti had already noted the risk that Christians engaged in the temporal world might slip toward "a secularization and a politicization of the Church, to the detriment of the manifestation of its deepest

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65. "è difficile negare che dietro le incertezze, le confusioni, le ambiguità del dissenso si è creato un fatto di coscienza collettiva, nuova per la religione di chiesa": Gian Enrico Rusconi and Chiara Saraceno, *Ideologia religiosa e conflitto sociale* (Bari, 1970), p. 217.

66. "una fase di passaggio del guado, di abbandono più o meno consistente dell'antica identità e di ricerca di una nuova, più complessa e difficile, ma anche più esaltante, identità": Verucci, "La Chiesa postconciliare," p. 358.

67. Carlo Falconi, *La contestazione nella Chiesa. Storia e documenti del movimento cattolico antiautoritario in Italia e nel mondo* (Milan, 1969), pp. 91–120.

68. "Il punto di vista politico non è al centro delle loro preoccupazioni"; "scaturigini dottrinali più che nella fenomenologia politica": Lorenzo Bedeschi, "Riflessioni sul dissenso cattolico," *Religioni oggi*, 2 (1968), 1–12, here 10. Bedeschi, engaged in the Italian Resistance movement and in the liberation of Italy alongside Anglo-American troops, later became a journalist for the Catholic newspaper *Avvenire* and professor of contemporary history at the University of Urbino. He founded the Research Center on the History of Catholic Modernism. See Alfonso Botti, Rocco Cerrato, and Stefano Pivato, "L'itinerario storiografico di Lorenzo Bedeschi," *Fonti e documenti*, 13 (1984), 13–29.

nature."[69] In subsequent years, reflecting on the crisis of the Church, the theologian feared "the risks of forging new idols, of joining other communities, in which the meter, the point of interest is not God but the Self and self-preservation."[70] As *Testimonianze* was marked since its debut by strong religious feeling, it did not lose this aspect, even though the criticism of the Western world in the Maritainian vein tended to be expressed in strong opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam and Latin America. The risk was that the process of secularization that had invested Western societies would spread to the religious world and that criticism of the Church would become not the search for a new religious dimension but the abandonment of a spiritual perspective, turning generations of young people away from the values of the faith.

The "Anti-Council" Movement

Inside the Church, however, not everyone interpreted the Council as an encouragement to realign Catholic doctrine with a rapidly transforming society. Then-Msgr. Marcel Lefebvre thought that the Council represented "the overturning of the pontifical teachings that for more than a century condemned any attempt to match the Church with modernity."[71] In France he thus founded an "anti-Council" movement that assumed a defiant attitude from 1972 onward that led to the breakdown of relations with the Holy See.

The Roman Curia, for its part, did not fail to stress its own concern at the spread of radical interpretation of the guidelines arising from the Council, expressed by journals such as *Testimonianze*, *Questitalia*, *Il gallo*,

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69. "una mondanizzazione e politicizzazione della Chiesa, a scapito della manifestazione della sua natura più profonda": Mario Cuminetti, "Un ruolo da precisare," *Relazioni Sociali*, 6 (1966), 64.

70. "i rischi di costruire altri idoli, di aggregarsi ad altri templi, ad altre comunità, in cui la misura, l'interesse non è Dio, ma se stessi, la propria autoconservazione": Milan, Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione, Scritti diversi sulla Chiesa, Mario Cuminetti, unpublished and undated handwritten notes (presumably from the early seventies), Fondo Cuminetti Mario, fasc. 97.

71. Daniele Menozzi, *La Chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione* (Turin, 1993) p. 201: "il rovesciamento di quel magistero pontificio che ininterrottamente, per più di un secolo, aveva condannato ogni tentativo di accordare chiesa e modernità." See also Bernard Tissier de Mallerais, *Marcel Lefebvre: une vie* (Étampes, France, 2002); Alessandro Gnocchi-Mario Palmaro, *Tradizione il vero volto. Chi sono e cosa pensano gli eredi di Lefebvre. Intervista a mons. Fellay* (Milan, 2009); Philippe Levillain, *Rome n'est plus dans Rome. Mgr Lefebvre et son église* (Paris, 2010); Giovanni Miccoli, *La Chiesa dell'anticoncilio. I tradizionalisti alla conquista di Roma* (Rome-Bari, 2011).

Il Regno, and the international journal of theology *Concilium* (the last publishing an Italian edition by Queriniana of Brescia since 1965). Giuseppe Siri,[72] archbishop of Genoa, and Ernesto Ruffini,[73] archbishop of Palermo, became known for their intransigence to change. Moreover, in 1965, while the Council was still in progress, Florit condemned Milani's support of conscientious objection.[74] In February 1968, Lercaro was dismissed for his criticism of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, for his collaboration with the communist administration of Bologna, and for his radical interpretation of the concept of the "Church of the poor."[75] In addition, the traditional principles of the Church that were being challenged were reaffirmed: the encyclical *Sacerdotalis coelibatus* (June 1967), invoked the sacred nature of the priesthood and reasserted the promise of celibacy. In the encyclical *Humanae vitae* of the following July, a stand was taken against contraception, superseding the guidelines of the majority on the research commission convened by Paul VI to investigate the matter and rejecting many of the ideas from the Council's debates.

In Italy the theology journal *Renovatio* was published in 1966 to examine the radical interpretations of *Concilium*, and many groups arose that were rooted in nineteenth-century intransigentism, such as the association Silenziosi della Chiesa and the Mario Fani circles. The latter was founded by Gedda as an alternative to the "religious choice" position advocated by the Catholic Action of Bachelet.

But the organization that was most successful in gaining mass support was Comunione e Liberazione (CL). It was founded in Milan in 1969 after Gioventù Studentesca split into a progressive wing that merged with the student movement and a more conservative wing that was tied to tradition and led by the priest Luigi Giussani.[76] CL members were inspired by the ideas of philosopher Augusto Del Noce[77] and believed that their organiza-

72. See Nicla Buonasorte, *Siri. Tradizione e Novecento* (Bologna, 2006); *Siri, la Chiesa, l'Italia*, ed. Paolo Gheda (Genoa-Milan, 2009).

73. Giuseppe Petralia, *Il cardinal Giuseppe Ruffini arcivescovo di Palermo* (Vatican City, 1989).

74. See Maria Grazia Fida, *Educare alla pace* (Milan, 2012), pp. 23–28.

75. See Lorenzo Bedeschi, *Il cardinale destituito: documenti sul caso Lercaro* (Turin, 1968).

76. Giussani (1922–2005) was an Italian priest and theologian; in 1969 he founded the Comunione e Liberazione movement in Milan. See Alberto Savorana, *Vita di don Giussani* (Milan, 2013).

77. Del Noce (1910–89), an Italian philosopher, focused on the crisis of contemporary civilization and proposed the values of the Christian tradition. See Massimo Borghesi, *Augusto Del Noce. La legittimazione critica del moderno* (Genoa-Milan, 2011).

tion needed to be separate from the Church, although they intended to reaffirm the value of "Christian civilization."[78] Giussani clashed with dissenters as well as those associated with the Church such as Giuseppe Lazzati,[79] former president of the Milanese AC and later rector of the Catholic University of Milan. In Giussani's view, Lazzati was too enamored with contemporary innovations and the Maritainian position on the separation between the natural and spiritual spheres.

Conclusion

The cultural changes and modernization sweeping Western society in the postwar period resulted in the new Marxism that criticized the Soviet Union and shaped the New Left, as well as affected the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council. The Italian Catholic world in the 1950s was still deeply conservative, and only a few priests and laypeople dared to challenge the traditional hierarchical structure. The Council initiated a new era for Italian Catholicism, which was stimulated by the synergy of different cultures. John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (1961), for example, was interpreted as legitimizing political pluralism in countries such as Italy, where the previous system obliged Catholics to vote for the Christian Democrats. John's subsequent encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963) was addressed "to all Men of Good Will," to believers and nonbelievers alike, and it legitimized the dialogue between different cultures on issues of peace and justice.

Massimo Faggioli says that

> the most important outcomes of the link between the Second Vatican Council and 1968 are not just in terms of the theological and cultural change of paradigm but also in terms of the change in the elite of Italian Catholicism

and emphasizes the role of the new Catholic movements (above all, Comunione e Liberazione e Comunità Sant'Egidio).[80] The associations, publications, and affiliations that were established in these years illuminate the

78. See Salvatore Abruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione* (Bologna, 2001); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione: le origini (1954–1968)* (Milan, 2001); Maria Bocci, "Il Concilio indiviso. Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione," in *Da Montini a Martini: il Vaticano II a Milano*, I, *Le figure*, ed. Gilles Routhier, Luca Bressan, and Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia, 2012), pp. 473–531.

79. See Marcello Malpensa and Alessandro Parola, *Lazzati: una sentinella nella notte (1909–1986)* (Bologna, 2005).

80. Faggioli, "The New Élite of the Italian Catholicism," pp. 37–40.

transformations occurring in the entire Catholic world. As Richard Drake notes, the events of the sixties also triggered a confrontation and dialogue with the new Marxism. Italy, characterized by a strong presence of Catholics in society as well as a firmly rooted communist political culture, produced a fruitful exchange of theoretical and political views that might not have occurred in other national contexts.

Thus Hugh McLeod aptly noted that, in the religious history of the West, the sixties may be seen "as marking a rupture as profound as that brought about by the Reformation." In his view, the 1960s were a "revolutionary era," a time of cultural revolution and attempts at political revolution.[81]

In May 1971 Paul VI, concerned about the debate that was shaking the Catholic world, addressed the relationship between Marxism and Catholicism in the letter *Octogesima adveniens*. Wishing to stem the theoretical and political "excesses" that had occurred, he identified ideologies in socialist culture that he believed were incompatible with faith. The pope mistrusted those who intended to use this historical-critical methodology to analyze society and warned against the danger

> of accepting the elements of Marxist analysis without recognizing their relationships with ideology, and entering into the practice of class struggle and its Marxist interpretations, while failing to note the kind of totalitarian and violent society to which this process leads.[82]

The pontiff's concern was understandable, because an important part of the Catholic community was experiencing one of the most radical renovations in its history. Nonetheless, his exhortations were bound to remain unheard because of the tide of change: indeed, radical left-wing Catholics played an important role in Italy's extra-parliamentary revolutionary groups (such as Lotta Continua and Avanguardia Operaia),[83] and the dialogue between Marxists and Catholics found an outlet in the establishment of Cristiani per il Socialismo (Christians for Socialism) in 1973. Significant from a political point of view was the decision of some well-known Catholics to run as independents for the Communist Party in the general elections of 1976.

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81. McLeod, *The Religious Crisis*, pp. 1–5.

82. "accettare gli elementi dell'analisi marxista senza riconoscerne i rapporti con l'ideologia, entrare nelle prassi della lotta di classe e della sua interpretazione marxista trascurando di avvertire il tipo di società totalitaria e violenta alla quale questo processo conduce": Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens,* http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/apost_letters/documents/hf_pvi_apl_19710514_octogesima-adveniens_it.html.

83. Drake, "Catholics and Italian Revolutionary Left of the 1960s," pp. 470–75.

The 1960s Los Angeles Seminary Crisis

JOHN T. DONOVAN*

In the 1960s, tension arose between Cardinal James Francis McIntyre, archbishop of Los Angeles (1886–1979), and the priests of the Congregation of the Mission (or Vincentian Fathers) who were teaching at St. John's Seminary in Camarillo. The fact that some seminary alumni had challenged McIntyre publicly on the question of race relations led the cardinal to suspect that the faculty was not adequately addressing church policy on obedience. This was exacerbated with the disclosure of the relaxation of rules at the St. Louis seminaries—Cardinal Glennon College and Kenrick Seminary—and by the publication of Seminary in Crisis, *a book by Stafford Poole, C.M. McIntyre asked how the Vincentians could run seminaries in an inconsistent fashion, to which the Vincentians replied that they would respect the wishes of the ordinary. Despite the friction, McIntyre kept the Vincentians at St. John's.*

Keywords: Congregation of the Mission; McIntyre, Cardinal James Francis; Poole, Stafford, C.M.; St. John's Seminary, Camarillo; Vincentians

"The study of seminary education is one of the most neglected subfields in the whole underdeveloped area of American Catholic historiography."[1] So noted Philip Gleason of the University of Notre Dame about thirty years ago. There has been some improvement since then, with the publication of various seminary histories.[2] A less-reported history took

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1. Philip Gleason, "Chicago and Milwaukee: Contrasting Experiences in Seminary Planting," in *Studies in Catholic History: In Honor of John Tracy Ellis,* ed. Nelson H. Minnich, Robert B. Eno, and Robert F. Trisco (Wilmington, DE, 1985), pp. 149–74, here p. 149.

2. See, for example, Mary Christine Athans, B.V.M., *"To Work for the Whole People": John Ireland's Seminary in St. Paul* (Mahwah, NJ, 2002), James P. Gaffey, *Men of Menlo:*

place in the Los Angeles Archdiocese between Cardinal James Francis McIntyre (1886–1979) and the priests of the Congregation of the Mission (or the Vincentian Fathers), referred to by the Vincentians as the Los Angeles Seminary Crisis. This episode has been treated briefly in some works.[3] As of this writing, the papers in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles remain closed on the matter, but the opening of the James Fischer C.M. Provincial Papers affords some exploration of the question. Fischer (1916–2005), the Vincentian Provincial of the era, had to contend with much of the crisis.[4]

McIntyre (see figure 1) is a central figure in this story. Pope Pius XII transferred McIntyre to Los Angeles after the death of Archbishop John Cantwell (1874–1947), doubtless on the recommendation of Cardinal Francis J. Spellman of New York (1889–1967). To this day, McIntyre remains a controversial figure in the history of Southern California Catholicism. In 1997, Msgr. Francis J. Weber's two-volume biography of McIntyre appeared.[5] Historian Kevin Starr favorably reviewed the work in the *Los Angeles Times*, calling it a "locomotive of a biography." Starr wrote, "At long last, a much vilified Roman Catholic prelate of the 20th Century . . . can now have his day in court." Shortly after Starr's review appeared, several individuals wrote to the *Times*, in part to denounce Weber's book (and Starr's review of it), but they all used their letters to attack McIntyre.[6] "It was McIntyre's misfortune to be an old man, although more or less a vigorous one, when the winds of change whistled through the Church," wrote author John Gregory Dunne. "What he did not think broke, he did not want fixed." Putting it more delicately, Jeffrey M. Burns wrote that McIntyre's philosophy was "a deep-seated resistance to change in any

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Transformation of an American Seminary (Lanham, MD, 1992), Thomas J. Shelley, *Dunwoodie: The History of St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York* (Westminster, MD, 1993), and Joseph M. White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present* (Notre Dame, 1989).

3. On the seminary crisis, see Stafford Poole, "*Ad Cleri Disciplinam*: The Vincentian Seminary Apostolate in the United States," in *The American Vincentians: A Popular History of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, 1815–1987*, ed. John Rybolt (Brooklyn, 1988), 154; White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States*, pp. 418–19.

4. The Fischer Provincial Papers are housed in the DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives at the John T. Richardson, C.M. Library at De Paul University in Chicago (cited hereafter as DRMA).

5. Francis J. Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles: James Francis Cardinal McIntyre* (Mission Hills, CA, 1997).

6. Kevin Starr, "True Grit," *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1997, BR 3; Letters to the editor, *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1997, BR 14–15.

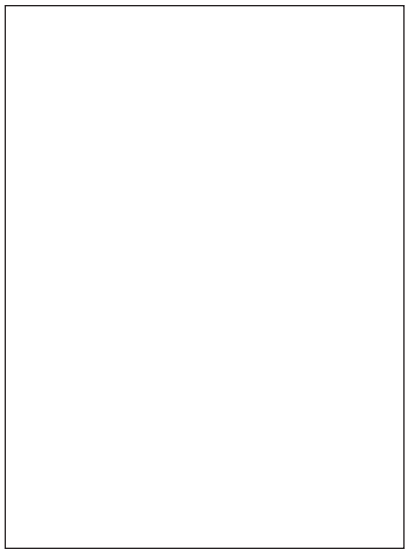

FIGURE 1. Cardinal James Francis McIntyre, archbishop of Los Angeles, *c.* 1963. Photo courtesy of Department of Archives and Special Collections, William H. Hannon Library, Loyola Marymount University.

form. He believed in a well-ordered rational universe that was governed by an unchanging natural law." Accordingly, when McIntyre became aware of changes in the St. Louis seminaries, he was concerned enough to tell San Francisco Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken (1902–83) that if changes being made in seminary policy were "the policy of the [Vincentian] community," the Archdiocese of Los Angeles would "have to look for another faculty, for we would not be willing to conform to these changes."[7]

McIntyre's controversial tenure in Los Angeles coincided with years of innovation and growth in the seminaries. Accordingly, he expanded and revised the Los Angeles seminaries. The original minor seminary—the Los Angeles College—became a high school, and McIntyre built a new minor

7. John Gregory Dunne, "Angels of LA," *New York Review of Books*, May 28, 1998, 17–23, here 17; Jeffrey M. Burns, "Postconciliar Church as Unfamiliar Sky: The Episcopal Styles of Cardinal James F. McIntyre and Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 17, no. 4 (1999), 64–82, here 67; Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (hereafter AASF), Cardinal James Francis McIntyre to Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken, January 27, 1965, Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken Correspondence.

seminary: Our Lady Queen of the Angels, which opened in 1954 (next to the San Fernando Mission).[8] Plans emerged to build a new college, adjacent to the graduate-level theological seminary in Camarillo. The college was incorporated in 1961, and William Kenneally, C.M. (1911–77), was appointed rector of the college and theologate—positions he held simultaneously. Construction of the new college, also named St. John's, began in 1961. The firm of Albert C. Martin & Associates won the contract. A chapel dedicated to St. James was located on the campus, and "[a]n international jury of outstanding architects judged the college among the 10 best designed structures erected in Southern California from 1960 to 1963." It was dedicated on June 25, 1966—McIntyre's eightieth birthday and the forty-fifth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood. Cardinals Spellman and Jose Garibi y Rivera (1889–1973) of Guadalajara joined McIntyre for the dedication ceremonies.[9]

The years of seminary expansion also saw a generational shift. Many of the young people of the early 1960s were called to service as the "New Breed." As priest and author Andrew Greeley (1928–2013) observed, they knew "neither war nor depression, but only cold war and prosperity." The New Breed "has found its patron saint in John Kennedy, who, with his youthfulness, his pragmatism, his restlessness, his desire for challenge and service . . . reflected in so many ways what the New Breed wants to be."[10] Fischer described them in this fashion:

> The present generation of collegian, seminarian or not, has been described as the "new breed." These young men are war babies, often deprived of strong parental influences in infancy, products of an affluent society which has not demanded of them the stern disciplines of want or impressed them with the primitive goals of survival. They are looking for security and yet looking for some exciting, worth-while [*sic*] goal on which to fix their lives. They are no more in rebellion against authority than youth normally is; in some things they seem more ready to be led. But they are

8. The *Los Angeles Times* noted the graduation of a class in 1956; see "San Fernando Seminary to Graduate 54," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1956, 16. The article contains the first picture in the *Times* of future cardinal Roger Mahony, then the student body president at Our Lady Queen of the Angels.

9. "Expansion Set by Seminary," *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1960, C11; "Seminary College To Be Dedicated," *The Tidings*, June 24, 1966, 1; "St. John's Seminary College," *The Tidings*, [Special Section] June 24, 1966, 3, 4; Dan L. Thrapp, "3 Cardinals Attend Dedication of New Seminary College," *Los Angeles Times*, June 26, 1966, B; "Seminary College Is Dedicated," *The Tidings*, July 1, 1966, 1, 3; Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles*, I:261–71; White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States*, 402*ff*.

10. Andrew M. Greeley, "A New Breed," *America*, May 23, 1964, 708.

> more critical of their elders for what they consider a lack of honesty than should be normal. They are frank, generous and idealistic, as note[d] in the great response to the Peace Corps. They sometimes seem intent on rushing into insecure positions for the sake of finding something worthwhile [*sic*] in the risk. . . . All told, they probably have a better education than the generation of their teachers though they are often lacking in skills which their teachers considered normal in their own day.[11]

This "new breed" of seminarian came in the 1960s, which had seemed an exciting time for the Church: before the decade started, Cardinal Angelo Roncalli was elected Pope John XXIII, and in 1960 the first Catholic was elected president of the United States. However, there were matters troubling to Catholics and all Americans of the day.[12] Race emerged as an issue in the tumultuous 1960s, and the seminary was not untouched by the matter.[13] In 1959, John Howard Griffin (1920–80), a white writer, contacted *Sepia* magazine and suggested a story. He proposed to darken his skin and then travel in the South so that he could have a better idea of the African American experience. Griffin was in touch with a dermatologist, who assisted him with medication and a sun lamp. Griffin shaved his head and succeeded in passing himself off as a black man. *Sepia* later published his articles, and he produced the book *Black Like Me* (New York, 1961). Griffin's book was favorably reviewed in the Los Angeles archdiocesan newspaper *The Tidings*.[14]

Griffin was also a convert to Roman Catholicism, and he counted clergy among his friends. One priest, Peter Beaman (1928–91) of the St. John's class of 1955, drove Griffin to St. John's so that the author could discuss race with a group of seminarians. Neither Beaman nor Griffin sought permission to visit the seminary. As the seminarians present had been peeling strawberries before Griffin's arrival, the episode came to be referred to as "Strawberry Sunday," a name also inspired by the Herman Wouk novel (and movie) *The Caine Mutiny*. In some fashion, McIntyre

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11. "How the Crisis Came About," in James Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," March 5, 1965. The report is not paginated, but the quotation can be found on page 7. Copies of the report can be found in the St. John's Seminary File and the James Fischer C.M. Provincial File in the DRMA.

12. On Catholicism in the 1960s, see Mark S. Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution: How the '60s Changed the Church Forever* (New York, 2010).

13. On American Catholicism and race, see John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago, 1996).

14. John Kennedy, "White Writer Disguised as Negro Faces Hate, "*The Tidings*, October 8, 1961, 8. See also Joan Cook, "John H. Griffin Dead; White Novelist Wrote Book 'Black Like Me,'" *New York Times*, September 10, 1980, D21.

was apprised of the Griffin/Beaman visit. He contacted seminary rector Kenneally, but Kenneally—still unaware that the visit had taken place—denied the story. On learning that Griffin was there, Kenneally notified McIntyre that Griffin indeed had been on campus.[15]

Beaman was not the only Los Angeles priest concerned about matters of race. Two members of St. John's class of 1960, William H. DuBay and Terrence Halloran (see figure 2), covered race in their sermons. Beaman, DuBay, and Halloran referred to themselves as the "Cardinal's Carpet Club" —that is, clergy who had been "called on the carpet" by the cardinal. After "Strawberry Sunday," DuBay sent a telegram to Pope Paul VI, asking him to remove McIntyre as archbishop and charging the archbishop with failure to deal with race in California. Before sending the telegram, DuBay spoke with Halloran and John Coffield (1914–2005), a member of St. John's class of 1941. Both Coffield and Halloran tried to dissuade DuBay from sending the telegram. Nevertheless, DuBay sent the cable and called a press conference to publicize his protest. (In later years, DuBay said that Coffield told him that McIntyre called him to his office to ask if he had encouraged DuBay. McIntyre warned Coffield not to speak to the press.) DuBay was later driven to the seminary to renew his vow of obedience and respect to the cardinal; Halloran also was instructed to renew his vow of obedience to the cardinal. DuBay's promise did not settle the matter: he spoke out again, was transferred, and ultimately left the priesthood.[16]

"Strawberry Sunday" and the DuBay matter raised concern among the Vincentians. Kenneally wrote to Fischer, warning, "The DuBay incident caused many repercussions and . . . requires some delicate handling as far as the seminary and the [Vincentian] Community are concerned."[17] About a month later, Kenneally met with Fischer in St. Louis to apprise him of

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15. John Leo, "The DuBay Case," *Commonweal*, July 10, 1964, 477–82, here 477, http://www.twhalloran.info/page6G.html, accessed on February 19, 2014.

16. Edward R. F. Sheehan, "Not Peace, but the Sword: The New Anguish of American Catholicism," *Saturday Evening Post*, November 28, 1964, 20–43, here 38; Leo, "DuBay Case"; *idem*, "Postscript on L.A.," *Commonweal* August 7, 1964, 529; A. V. Krebs, "A Church of Silence," *Commonweal*, July 10, 1964, 467–76; Dennis McLellan, "Msgr. John Coffield, 91; Southland Cleric and Social Activist," *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 2005, B–13; Terrence Halloran, "Memories of John Coffield—Person, Priest, and Prophet," http://www.twhalloran.info/page82.html, accessed on February 19, 2014. See also Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles*, II:442–92, 579–81, 613, 618–19. Coffield was also on friendly terms with Griffin; see John Howard Griffin, *Black Like Me*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1977), pp. 184–85. Part of the story also was related to the author by the late William Ready, C.M.

17. William J. Kenneally to James Fischer, July 12, 1965, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

FIGURE 2. Terrence Halloran, left; Alan White, center (a cofounder of Catholics United for Racial Equality); and William DuBay, right, 2007. Photo courtesy of Terrence Halloran.

the situation in Camarillo. "A young Diocesan priest . . . arranged with some of the students . . . to send Mr. Griffith [*sic*] . . . author of 'Black Like Me', to talk to a select group of students." About sixty students were present for Griffin's presentation. After McIntyre told Kenneally about Griffin's visit, Kenneally "summoned the students to the chapel . . . and asked those who had attended the lecture to stand up. Then he explained the meaning of obedience to this group." The "ringleader" was identified as a third-year student of theology "who was considered a risk at any rate. He was subsequently clipped [expelled] and dropped." After the faculty met, other students were told to leave the seminary.[18] In an overview of the situation at St. John's, Kenneally praised McIntyre to Fischer:

> The Cardinal has been attacked as being anti- or non-intellectual. But the Cardinal has built a College at Camarillo on the suggestion of Fr. Kenneally that this was efficient education. . . . He has never imposed any restrictions on teaching. But he has consi[s]tently and publicly taken the attitude that the local clergy must support the policies of the Ordinary, and that if they are unwilling they should go elsewhere. He has said . . .

18. "Conversation with Fr. Wm. Kenneally, Aug. 15, 1964 in St. Louis," Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA. Griffin was identified as "Higgins" in the document, but the name was crossed out, and the name "Griffith" [*sic*] was written in pen. Some of the expelled students may have applied to other seminaries; see the letter of Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken to Paul Purta, S.S., March 5, 1965, Seminary Correspondence file, AASF.

> that he wants this attitude ingrained in the students at Camarillo, and that if they are not willing to go along with it, Fr. Kenneally should dismiss them immediately, even if . . . he has to dismiss the whole theologate at once. The Cardinal believes that the Jesuits at Loyola are his principal opposition and in some manner he links them to Cardinal [Joseph] Ritter [of St. Louis].[19]

Despite Kenneally's praise of McIntyre, there was still room for concern. Fischer asked Kenneally to locate McIntyre's source of information. For his part, McIntyre objected to the proposed appointment of Charles E. Miller, C.M. (1929–2005), to the position of spiritual director, citing complaints that Miller "had taken a position unsympathetic to his policies on Liturgy in class. This was backed up by Msgr. [Benjamin] Hawk[e]s [1919–85] and Bishop [Timothy] Manning [1909–89, see figure 3]." McIntyre also thought Miller might be "lax in discipline"—a reference to the Griffin matter. (Fischer lamented, "If the C. Miller case becomes known, liberal Confreres will have far more to howl about.") Some Los Angeles clergy complained that St. John's alumni were "not as submissive as those from Ireland." Kenneally reported that after DuBay had again promised obedience, the clergy loudly applauded McIntyre at a meal that followed. "As far as we know, the Cardinal is popular with his clergy since his [*sic*] is personally sympathetic to their problems," adding—in those days before the Watts riot—"the race and liturgy issues . . . are not so pressing in Los Angeles." Fischer noted that he did not want to "assign men to a Seminary where they will feel that they are intellectually coerced."[20]

Fischer also fretted when tension also developed between McIntyre and Nicholas Persich, C.M. (1922–2005). Persich was the rector of Kenrick Seminary (where he taught theology), and he served as a *peritus* (theological adviser) to Ritter at the Second Vatican Council. McIntyre and Persich met in Rome during the Vatican Council, and as Stafford Poole, C.M. (see figure 3), recalled, they got "into an argument (something that Nick Persich did quite easily)."[21] McIntyre's feelings about Persich became complicated with an invitation to Harold Persich, C.M. (1928–89), to offer a retreat for clergy in Los Angeles. (Three Persich brothers—Nicholas, Harold, and Roy—became Vincentian priests; see figure 3.) The

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19. "Conversation with Fr. Wm. Kenneally."

20. *Ibid.*

21. Stafford Poole, to the author, January 7, 2013, Fr. Stafford Poole File, DRMA. Poole also noted that Persich considered apologizing to McIntyre, but Ritter told him to let the matter drop.

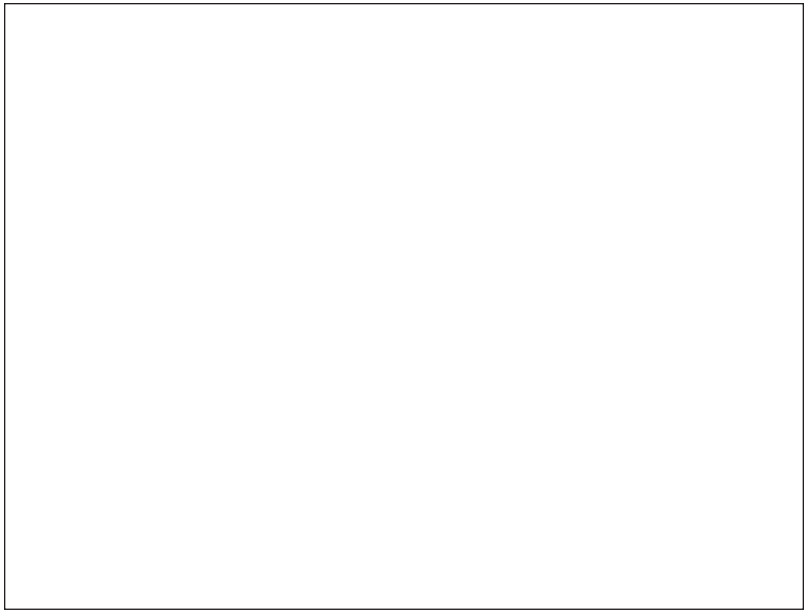

FIGURE 3. Faculty of St. John's Seminary College with Cardinal Timothy Manning, archbishop of Los Angeles, academic year 1976–77. *Rear row* (left to right): John Edward Sullivan, O.P.; David E. Windsor, C.M.; Bernard Quinn, C.M.; George Niederauer (future bishop of Salt Lake City and archbishop of San Francisco); Charles J. Barr, C.M. *Middle row* (left to right): Roy Persich, C.M.; Robert Jones, C.M.; Cornelius Van Dorst, C.M.; Gregory Wiedower, C.M.; Stafford Poole, C.M. *Front row* (left to right): Joseph Phoenix, C.M.; Cardinal Manning; James Galvin, C.M. Photo courtesy of the DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives, Special Collections and Archives, DePaul University, Chicago.

invitation to Harold, who had earned the nickname "Hotsy," did not sit well with McIntyre.[22] James Richardson, a former rector of St. John's and the first Vice Provincial of the newly formed Vice Province of Los Angeles, warned Fischer:

> (1) If you think it is possible that Nick Persich actually does needle Cardinal McIntyre, could you say something effective to Nick to persuade him to desist? I am speaking, of course, not of *ideas* but of *personalities*.

22. Even Persich's mother called Harold "Hotsy," *ibid*. On the Persich family, see Milos M. Vujnovich, *Yugoslavs in Louisiana* (Gretna, LA, 1974), p. 76.

> (2) Would it be possible for you to accept the responsibility of [admitting to] making a mistake in appointing Hotsy Persich to give the retreat out here? I honestly believe that it was a mistake, though a very honest one. The Cardinal has developed a sensitivity in regard to the seminary and in regard to that name. . . .[23]

Given the changes raised during the Second Vatican Council, the questions of revisions in the liturgy and the matter of obedience troubled McIntyre. These matters were on the cardinal's mind when he met on September 3, 1964, with three Vincentians: Fischer, Richardson, and John Zimmerman. Also present for the meeting were Los Angeles auxiliary bishops Manning and John Ward (1920–2011). Fischer later prepared a summary of the approximately one-hour meeting. McIntyre referred to a meeting of the previous June that convened a group of seminary rectors and Cardinal John Dearden of Detroit, which had bothered him. He thought that it was intended to determine "rather extreme changes in curriculum." Ward remarked that the meeting was called to solicit ideas on carrying out the Council's Constitution on the Liturgy, but Fischer lamented, "This did not seem to have much effect on the Cardinal." McIntyre then raised the matter of liturgical changes that he had not approved. The American bishops had petitioned Rome for permission to read the Epistle and the Gospel during Mass facing the people, yet "many Bishops . . . went beyond the rescript to allow the Epistle and the Gospel to be read in English [rather than Latin] facing the people." He added that he thought the seminary faculty was unaware of this situation.[24]

Next, McIntyre turned to the question of obedience. He raised the DuBay case with the Vincentians and said he intended to write other bishops about the subject of authority:

> He again got back to the matter of the Faculty not knowing what the real conditions at Camarillo were and did not seem to appreciate them. He asked what we thought about these matters and what we planned to do.

Fischer said that the Vincentians would meet to discuss the matter and assured McIntyre "that we consider the problem of obedience to be the

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23. Richardson to Fischer, August 25, 1964, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA. Emphasis in original.

24. See "Conversation with Cardinal McIntyre; Present: Bishop Manning, Bishop Ward, Father John Zimmerman, Father James Richardson, [and] Father James Fischer. Date: September 3, 1964," in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," March 5, 1964. The report is not paginated, but it appears on pp. 20–21.

most crucial one" and that he hoped to draw up a policy to meet all needs. "This arose from a remark the Cardinal made that he wondered how we could staff seminaries for so many Ordinaries who had such diverse opinions."[25] Fischer added:

> [McIntyre] said that he had gotten good cooperation from Father Kenneally, that when he learned that his term of office was running out, he had put in his word about not getting Father [Nicholas] Persich or someone of his stamp who would be out of harmony with the policies of the Archdiocese.
>
> The two Auxiliaries [Manning and Ward] were very cagey with their replies during this conversation. Bishop Ward joked with us about the Cardinal's phrase "the liturgy party" afterwards. It was obvious that the Cardinal was very worried about the situation, but it was somewhat difficult to judge precisely what he was aiming at.[26]

Given the changes that occurred in the 1960s, McIntyre did have some cause for concern. Writing about the Catholic seminaries of the 1960s, Poole said:

> The reforms of Vatican II had . . . impacts [on seminaries] that were on the one hand beneficial and progressive, on the other confusing and divisive. The renewal began in optimism and under the control and direction of higher authority. There followed a period of experimentation and then turmoil. . . . The old order came under attack as students demanded more openness, more consultation, and the abolition of whatever they considered to be "irrelevant" to their needs and those of the time. . . . Seminary faculties were often split between those who favored immediate changes and those who resisted them or wanted to move more gradually. . . . The response was dictated by the outlooks of seminarians and faculties, the attitudes of the local ordinaries, and other local conditions. As a result, despite the fact of direction by a single community, or even a single province of the community, Vincentian-directed seminaries were not uniform in their approach to aggiornamento [updating].[27]

At least one Vincentian shared McIntyre's views on the operation of seminaries. Kenneally, the rector of both the college and theologate semi-

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25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Poole, "*Ad Cleri Disciplinam*," p. 151. For an example of tension in a Sulpician-run seminary in the 1960s, see Jeffrey M. Burns, "Transition in Catholicism in San Francisco, 1950–1970: The Seminary and the Eclipse of Authority," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 109, no. 1 (1999), 19–37.

naries in Camarillo, was also was McIntyre's *peritus* at the Second Vatican Council. (Kenneally had studied in Rome where he met Karol Wojtyła, the future Pope St. John Paul II.) During the Council, Kenneally wrote from Rome, "I am trying to keep the Cardinal reasonably happy and am trying to confine his speeches to the prepared text." But of his service at the Council, Weber bluntly said, "[Kenneally] did not serve the Cardinal well." Nevertheless, McIntyre entrusted Kenneally with undertaking a visit of various European seminaries. Kenneally produced an eight-page report, in which he wrote, "Our American diocesan seminaries . . . are more advanced than their European counterparts in all [areas] except purely speculative and research learning." McIntyre had the report circulated among the American hierarchy.[28]

About the same time as the distribution of the Kenneally report, the tension between McIntyre and the Vincentians worsened. The *St. Louis Review*, the paper of the St. Louis Archdiocese, announced that there would be changes in seminary policy. Nicholas Persich said that bells would no longer be rung before students had to attend meals or assemblies, that daily recitation of the rosary would be optional, and that students would be given more opportunities to socialize with other seminarians. Persich said that there would also be efforts at "revamping our curriculum" and that seminarians also would be given opportunities to work in parishes on weekends and to assist with religious instruction. He said that easing the rules would force seminarians to accept more responsibility: "It is not a relaxation [of rules] at all. We think it demands more of the students."[29]

> Father Persich said the entire updating program followed several meetings of Vincentian seminary administrators from various parts of the country, and also fits into standard practices being developed by the new Midwest Association of Theological Schools, being formed with the major seminary department of the National Catholic Educational Association.[30]

Persich added that similar changes might be implemented at Vincentian-staffed seminaries in Denver, Houston, and San Antonio. "There is no

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28. Kenneally to Fischer, October 17, 1963; McIntyre to "My dear Bishop," January 15, 1965; William J. Kenneally, "Simple Reflections On a Little Survey," January 1965, p. 8, all in the William J. Kenneally file, DRMA. See also McIntyre to McGucken, January 14, 1965, AASF, and Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles*, II:503.

29. Donald Quinn, "Seminary Rules Revised Here in First Step Toward Renewal," *St. Louis Review*, January 22, 1965, 1, 8. A copy of the report was also included in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 33–36.

30. *Ibid.*

doubt," he said, "that all this makes the seminary more open to outside influences. But we have a new breed of individual. Their needs are different than we had when we grew up." Spellman passed the reports along to McIntyre.[31]

McIntyre called another meeting—this time with Fischer, Richardson, and Manning. The four met on January 26, 1965. "The Cardinal said that he was angry" about the news release, which he gave to Fischer, and had him "read it entirely through for Father Richardson." Fischer again tried to reassure McIntyre that it was "our Community policy. . . to do what the local Ordinary wanted." McIntyre countered that this was the same answer given by Zimmerman in the September meeting and that it was not satisfactory. Nevertheless, McIntyre conceded that he was happy with the faculty in Camarillo.[32]

McIntyre was not the only bishop surprised by the changes at Kenrick. Someone—perhaps McIntyre or Spellman—alerted Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, the Vatican's apostolic delegate to the United States. Vagnozzi wrote Fischer a letter of inquiry. In his reply, Fischer told Vagnozzi that the document "Toward a Renewal of Seminary Rule" had been sent to the *St. Louis Review*, and the paper published the article over the protests of the rector (Persich). Fischer closed the letter by saying, "Naturally, this modification of certain disciplinary practices . . . has had the complete encouragement and approbation of His Eminence Cardinal Ritter."[33]

Fischer and Richardson met with a group of the Vincentian faculty at St. John's, including Kenneally, John Burger, Alvin Burroughs, Newman C. Eberhardt, Louis Franz, and Francis Pansini. Various "ideas were bandied about" in the course of the gathering. One faculty member expressed the opinion that some of the seminarians were "waiting out the Cardinal in the hope of changes in the Seminary," adding that they were "well informed on what is going on not only at Kenrick but in other seminaries." The Western Association of Colleges intended to send "a special investigating committee" to examine the question of alleged lack of academic freedom in Camarillo. The chief concern expressed was "the lack of any real lecture program." There was also some concern about a false assertion that the magazines *America* and *Commonweal* had been banned in the

31. *Ibid.*

32. "Interview of Cardinal McIntyre with Father James Fischer and Father James Richardson (Bishop Manning being present for most of it) January 26, 1965," in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 22–23.

33. Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi to Fischer, February 5, 1965; Fischer to Vagnozzi, February 10, 1965, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

seminary. The latter accusation appears to have come from one Roger Kuhn, a high school teacher who denounced the seminary to the accreditation committee. (McIntyre thought Kuhn was "the driving force behind Father DuBay.")[34]

The following day, Fischer and Richardson met to discuss their options. Yielding to McIntyre's demands, they believed, would result in the expulsion of the Vincentians from the St. Louis seminaries. (Fischer added that the idea would violate "my own convictions.") Another idea was to ask Superior General William Slattery, C.M., for a letter assuring McIntyre that the community would run seminaries in accordance with the wishes of the local bishop. Richardson suggested that there be "no changes until the Council was over." The notion that McIntyre intended to replace the Vincentians with diocesan clergy was considered, and the possibility was raised that he was using "the Vincentians to attack the liberals." If either or both scenarios were true, they concluded that they were in an "impossible situation."[35]

Richardson decided the time had come to apprise Slattery about the "serious crisis in the [Los Angeles] Vice-province":

> Cardinal McIntyre . . . has threatened to remove all of the confreres from the seminaries of the archdiocese unless he obtains a satisfactory assurance of the seminary policy of the community. His Eminence was greatly disturbed by announcements in the Catholic press about changes in the discipline at the St. Louis seminaries. This threat was made directly to Father Fischer . . . and myself by the Cardinal in his office a week ago.[36]

He added, "It is a matter of the utmost importance to the community out here in California."[37] Fischer informed Richardson of a meeting on "the Los Angeles situation." Fischer found the Vincentians "far more sympathetic . . . than I had anticipated and there were no hard opinions voiced." As far as he could tell, most of the community still wanted to work in the

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34. "Meeting of Fathers Fischer, Richardson, Kenneally, Pansini, Eberhardt, Burger, Burroughs, and Franz at Camarillo, January 26, 1965," in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," p. 40. See also McIntyre to McGucken, March 3, 1965, McGucken Correspondence, AASF. Kuhn was a member of an organization called Catholics United for Racial Equality; see Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles*, II:576.

35. "Conversation between Father Fischer and Father Richardson on the Events of the Preceding Day, January 27, 1965," in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 41–42.

36. Richardson to the Very Rev. William M. Slattery, C.M., February 1, 1965, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

37. *Ibid.*

archdiocese. Incredibly—perhaps as a peace offering—"Nick [Persich] very seriously proposed that he be sent to Camarillo" to prove that he could work with McIntyre.[38]

Kenneally weighed in on the seminary crisis, aligning himself with McIntyre. On February 10, he presented a lengthy memo. "His Eminence, Cardinal McIntyre, turns out to be a champion for the retention of the traditional Vincentian method of conducting seminaries," he wrote. "He has expressed himself repeatedly as eminently satisfied with the administration and faculty of St. John's." To Kenneally, McIntyre disapproved only of "the novelties, the innovations, and the imports" lacking "official sanction" from Rome. He feared that without the Los Angeles seminaries, "our Vice Province would die of slow strangulation." He also pointed out that McIntyre had stopped sending seminarians to the North American College in Rome "because they have chosen . . . to introduce similar innovations."[39]

To resolve the situation, Kenneally offered two suggestions. First, he suggested that the Los Angeles become a separate Vincentian province. In this way, clergy from more liberal seminaries would not be appointed to St. John's. The second suggestion was simply to operate seminaries on "the traditional Vincentian method of conducting Diocesan seminaries." Of the latter, he said McIntyre would insist upon a policy incumbent on "the whole Congregation. Any tergiversation here would be fatal." If the situation was not resolved, McIntyre would be subject to negative publicity, and his critics ("who are legion") would use the forced departure of the Vincentians as ammunition against him.[40]

Richardson forwarded Kenneally's statement to Fischer. He wrote that Vincentians had lost seminaries in the past, but he urged that "an all-out effort" be made to remain in the Los Angeles seminaries. Of Kenneally's suggestion that Los Angeles become a separate province, Richardson wondered if this would require Vincentian seminarians be trained "out here (e.g. attending classes at Camarillo)." He also thought the community should be made aware of the situation "without delay."[41]

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38. Fischer to Richardson, February 2, 1965, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

39. William J. Kenneally, "The Threatened Loss of the Archdiocesan Seminaries of Los Angeles," Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA. The document was "presented" on February 10, 1965, but also bears a date of February 13, 1965. It was also copied into Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 50–53.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Richardson to Fischer, February 11, 1965, in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," 45–49.

Fischer was unhappy with the Kenneally memo. In a lengthy letter, he chastised Kenneally for saying very little in previous meetings over the crisis. He then asked Kenneally what he meant by "traditional Vincentian policies," as Kenneally had left these undefined. As for his suggestion that all Vincentian seminaries be operated like Camarillo, Fischer said, "the Superior General will not and should not impose this 'traditional Vincentian policy' on the whole Community." He also thought that training Vincentian students with Diocesan students could be problematic. Fischer considered Kenneally's memo "a naked challenge" to his leadership.[42]

Fischer also telephoned Richardson to read part of his letter to Kenneally. Richardson wondered if Fischer

> was hinting that Fr. Kenneally was dealing secretly with the Cardinal behind our backs. I told him that I was not making any such accusation, but that the impression which was being given . . . was that Fr. Kenneally had been behind the whole thing. Rich [Richardson] said that he was not concerned about impressions.

Richardson told Fischer that he had about forty letters from bishops on the Kenneally report on European seminaries. Fischer asked Richardson if Rome might draw the conclusion that "Fr. Kenneally was directing the show," but Richardson replied it was a "legitimate exercise of an individual's right to communicate with the Superior General." Toward the end of the conversation, Richardson said he thought Kenneally's memo could be advantageous for the Vincentians, as McIntyre might "have the assurance he would be dealing with men he knows and respects, and that he might take their word for it that his policies would be continued." At the end of a memo on the conversation, Fischer wrote, "I concluded that I should not have written the letter [to Kenneally]."[43]

In his letter of February 11, Richardson proposed "a moratorium on provocative publications . . . as much as possible."[44] By this time, he may well have known that such a work was in progress. Poole, a faculty member at Cardinal Glennon College, had begun writing on seminaries before the

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42. Fischer to Kenneally, February 14, 1965, in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 54–58; "Excerpt from the Provincial Council Meeting Minutes—Feb. 20, 1965," in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 58–61.

43. "Note to the Letter of Fr. Fischer to Fr. Richardson, Feb. 14, 1965," in Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

44. Richardson to Fischer, February 11, 1965, in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," p. 47.

Los Angeles crisis had surfaced. Born in March 1930 in Oxnard, California, Poole was raised in North Hollywood. He entered the Los Angeles College intending to study and work for the archdiocese, but after studying with the Vincentians, he chose to enter the community. In 1947 he boarded a train at Los Angeles Union Station with other seminarians for the trip to St. Mary of the Barrens Seminary in Perryville, Missouri. In addition to his seminary work, Poole earned a master's degree in Spanish literature and a doctorate in history at St. Louis University. Ordained in 1956, he said his first Mass in St. Charles Borromeo parish in North Hollywood, but was assigned to college seminary in St. Louis. His seminary work helped him to reflect on the training of clergy.[45]

In January 1964, Poole published an article in *America* magazine.[46] Three publishers then contacted him to suggest that he write a book on seminary education. Poole wrote to Msgr. John Tracy Ellis (1905–92) to ask if he would read a draft of the first chapter.[47] Ellis—who happened to be preparing a contribution of his own on seminary education—agreed to read it.[48] Around the same time, Ellis had accepted an invitation to deliver a sermon at a Mass marking the anniversary of the opening of Mount Angel Seminary in Oregon. "Incidentally," Ellis wrote Poole, "it was only when the formal printed invitations for the event at Mount Angel arrived . . . that I learned that Cardinal McIntyre is presiding at the Mass. I trust that I shall not too greatly upset His Eminence in what I have to say!" (Unhappily, Ellis's talk did not go over well with the cardinal, but McIntyre's hearing may have prevented him from fully understanding what Ellis had said.)[49]

By July 1964, Poole had completed a draft of the book *Seminary in Crisis*. This was no easy task, as he was being transferred from Cardinal

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45. "N. Hollywood Man Becomes Priest Today," *Los Angeles Times*, May 27, 1956 ("San Fernando Valley Section"), 3; See also the "Vita Auctoris," in Stafford Poole, "The Indian Problem in the Third Provincial Council of Mexico (1585)" (PhD diss., St. Louis University, 1962), p. 267.

46. Stafford Poole, "Tomorrow's Seminaries," *America*, January 18, 1964, 86–90.

47. Washington, DC, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives (hereafter ACUA), Poole to John Tracy Ellis, April 19, 1964, John Tracy Ellis Papers (hereafter Ellis Papers).

48. See John Tracy Ellis, "A Short History of Seminary Education," in two parts, in *Seminary Education in a Time of Change*, ed. James Michael Lee and Louis J. Putz (Notre Dame, 1965), pp. 1–81.

49. Ellis to Poole, April 23, 1964, Ellis Papers (ACUA); John Tracy Ellis, *Catholic Bishops: A Memoir* (Wilmington, DE, 1983), pp. 100–02. Ellis also alluded to McIntyre's reaction to the sermon in a review of *Seminary in Crisis;* see "Church Historian Approves Professor's Survey of 'Seminary in Crisis'," *The Pilot*, June 5, 1965, 8.

Glennon to St. Mary's in Perryville, and was further complicated by his father's illness.[50] Poole sent Ellis a copy of a paper he had written for *The Priest*.[51] Poole also told Ellis:

> An old acquaintance of yours, Father John Byrne, recently wrote an article on seminaries for the Saint Louis Archdiocesan newspaper.[52] It brought him the disapproval and shock of our rector [James Stakelum, C.M.] here at Cardinal Glennon College (Jack is a part-time teacher here), but it won the enthusiastic praise and support of Cardinal Ritter. Ironically, I had the same sort of falling out with our rector as a result of my *America* article.[53]

Seminary in Crisis built on the themes addressed by Poole in his previous work. He expressed concern about the number of priests leaving the ministry as well as the number of priests suffering from alcoholism and mental illness, some of whom showed evidence "of difficulties which could have been discovered in the seminary."[54] Calling the seminary system "the Achilles' Heel of American Catholicism," Poole recommended that seminaries be incorporated into universities. He praised the Diocese of Winona in Minnesota, which established a house for college seminarians on the grounds of St. Mary's College and thus allowed seminarians to study with lay students.[55]

For some reason, a copy of the galley proofs of *Seminary in Crisis* was sent to Paul Purta, S.S., the rector of St. Patrick's Seminary. Purta alerted McGucken, and McGucken warned McIntyre:

> [T]he rector of our Seminary, Father Purta, has given me the galley sheets of a book that is coming out by one of the Vincentians, Father Stafford Poole, C.M. He tells me that this is one of three books that will shortly appear on the subject of aggiornamento in the structure of our seminaries.[56] Since I have only read about half way [*sic*] through Father

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50. Poole to Ellis, June 12, 1964, Ellis Papers, ACUA.

51. Stafford Poole, "The Ideal Seminary . . . Some Afterthoughts," *The Priest*, 20, no. 10 (1964), 869–73.

52. John T. Byrne, "Seminaries Once Were 'Little Monasteries'—Most Still Are," *St. Louis Review*, August 14, 1964, 1, 4.

53. Poole to Ellis, August 30, 1964, Ellis Papers, ACUA.

54. Stafford Poole, *Seminary in Crisis*, (New York, 1965), pp. 20–21. Poole had drawn from Robert J. McAllister and Albert Vandervelt, "Factors in Mental Illness among Hospitalized Clergy," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 132, (1961), 80–88.

55. Poole, *Seminary in Crisis*, pp. 29, 84.

56. The other two books were James Michael Lee and Louis J. Putz, *Seminary Education in a Time of Change* (Notre Dame, 1965) and James M. Keller and Richard Armstrong, *Apostolic Renewal in the Seminary in the Light of Vatican Council II* (New York, 1965); see White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States*, pp. 412–13.

> Stafford Poole's book, perhaps I should not venture an opinion. At this point, however, my impression is that he takes the stand of the ultra liberal writers as representatives of the general opinion and of our people—not to mention the Bishops![57]

Richardson was scheduled to meet with McIntyre, but the meeting was moved up due to the release of Poole's book. McIntyre had done his homework; as Richardson wrote, "the Cardinal had discovered that Staf [Poole] had been at the L.A. Junior Seminary (I didn't know that) and that he is eight years ordained, [and] that he was vice-rector of Cardinal Glennon College."[58] Following the discussion of Poole's book, Richardson tried to assuage the cardinal's feelings. He presented a letter from Slattery, which asserted that the Vincentian policy was to implement the desire of local bishops in the operation of their seminaries. McIntyre reiterated that the statement was not acceptable. (He then called Manning in for the remainder of the meeting.) The cardinal added that neither Nicholas Persich nor Poole should ever be assigned to the Los Angeles seminaries. Richardson offered to write "a supplement" to a letter that Fischer was to write to Slattery, but McIntyre countered, "I will write it myself." Richardson told McIntyre that he would accompany Fischer to Rome, to which McIntyre replied, "Good and the sooner the better." Of the Kenneally survey on European seminaries, McIntyre told Richardson that he had received about forty letters from bishops. He expressed the hope that the question of seminaries would be raised in the fall 1965 session of the Council. "With regard to Father Poole," McIntyre later wrote McGucken, "I have had another conference with Father Richardson. . . . I disagreed with his interpretation . . . and I prepared a memorandum which Father Richardson will send to Father Fis[c]her." McIntyre closed by stating, "The question is complex . . . and I feel it requires a definite decision of policy at this time. The community cannot be on the fence."[59]

For his part, Fischer started to make inquiries among various bishops about the Kenneally study. He found few positive reports. Fischer reported that Archbishop John Cody of New Orleans "spoke of Cardinal McIntyre as being too conservative and he alluded to all the harm Cardinal Ritter had done by jumping the gun with the implementation of liturgical

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57. McGucken to McIntyre, February 24, 1965, AASF.

58. "Interview of Cardinal McIntyre with Father James Richardson, February 26, 1965," in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 65–66.

59. *Ibid*. See also McIntyre to McGucken, March 2, 1965, McGucken correspondence, AASF.

reforms." Nicholas Persich said that Ritter laughingly told him, "I guess we'll never convert Cardinal McIntyre." Archbishop Robert Lucey of San Antonio thought Kenneally a "brilliant scholar," but he added, "I think he went pretty far out in order to please the old man." Bishop Ignatius Jerome Strecker of Springfield-Cape Girardeau shared McIntyre's view that younger clergy were less deferential than they should be, and he told Fischer that he did not want to send seminarians to the St. Louis seminaries any longer. "He did not blame this on the Vincentian Fathers—he said this twice—but on the younger clergy who were exerting a wrong influence on the students and on the Cardinal [Ritter]."[60]

In the ensuing months, the Vincentians remained in a strained relationship with McIntyre. In April, Richardson reported that McIntyre "expressed his satisfaction" with the seminary but warned that he could not tolerate "[c]ertain practices . . . introduced into other seminaries." He also reported to Slattery that Kenneally had dinner with McIntyre, and he took the liberty "to urge him to speak plainly to His Eminence" about the seminaries. Kenneally telephoned Richardson later to say, "we are safe."[61] But he added that the cardinal had warned:

> [H]e is preparing his own priests so that they could take over the diocesan seminaries; that he would not allow in his seminaries what is permitted elsewhere. . . . Father Fischer presented His Eminence with a list of the confreres in the Western Province, more than 170, who have degrees and experience in teaching; and assured His Eminence that from this number as many as 150 would be suitable for the Los Angeles seminaries.[62]

McIntyre recommended that the Vincentians prepare a list of rules for seminaries that he could provide the Board of Consultors. He renewed his concern about consistency in the application of rules in various Vincentian-run institutions. McIntyre "expressed his willingness to cooperate with us

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60. "Interview of Cardinal Ritter with Father Nicholas Persich, February 3, 1965"; "Interview of Cardinal Ritter with Father Fischer—March 5, 1965"; "Interview of Archbishop Cody with Father James Fischer, January 29, 1965"; "Interview Bishop Zuroweste of Belleville, Ill. with Father James Fischer—February 5, 1965"; "Interview of Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio with Father James Fischer—February 16, 1965"; "Interview of Bishop Markovsky of Houston with Father James Fischer—February 17, 1965"; "Interview of Bishop Strecker with Father Fischer, March 8, 1965"; "Interview of Bishop Marling with Father Fischer, March 8, 1965" in Fischer, "The Los Angeles Seminary Crisis," pp. 117–23.

61. Richardson to Kenneally and William J. Mahoney, C.M., April 10, 1965; Richardson to Slattery, April 13, 1965; Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

62. *Ibid.*

in providing faculties," Richardson wrote. The cardinal further told Richardson and Fischer words to the effect that "the archdiocese always needed a large number of priests with advanced degrees who can manage and teach in the diocesan high schools."[63] Richardson added:

> I am greatly surprised that we came through this well. You may remember that I expressed my belief that the Cardinal would go ahead with his threat to remove us—unless we had some distinctly different answer than the one that had been given him before. It is not at all clear to me just why Cardinal McIntyre had softened in his requirements of us. But it is clear that I was mistaken about the outcome to be expected, and I wish to admit most freely and humbly that I was wrong.[64]

The Los Angeles crisis was not yet completely resolved, however. In an April meeting of the National Catholic Education Association (or NCEA), a reporter for *Newsweek* spoke with Donald J. Ryan, C.M., rector of the St. Louis high school seminary. Ryan was quoted as saying, "It's almost a byword that the seminaries lose their best men."[65] Ryan denied making the remark. Richardson wrote:

> I hope you have not had any more crises in Los Angeles. You saw the article in Newsweek [*sic*], I take it. The Religion editor buttonholed Don Ryan and Staff Poole for most of the convention. Don Ryan says that he never said what he was reported to have said. . . .[66]

Although McIntyre remained concerned about the seminaries, he turned his attention to the Carrie Estelle Doheny Foundation. Carrie Doheny (1875–1958)—the widow of Edward L. Doheny of Teapot Dome fame—had endowed the foundation and helped Catholic charities. (She may have had some affection for the Vincentians, as Bishop Joseph Glass, C.M. [1874–1926], had assisted with her conversion to Catholicism and presided over her wedding.)[67] On Holy Saturday—April 17, 1965—Richardson was asked to drop by the chancery office to see the cardinal. McIntyre also invited Manning and Hawkes. The cardinal had written to the members of the Doheny Foundation to recommend that the archbishop of Los Angeles be given a seat on the foundation's board of trustees.

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63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*

65. "Spirit of Sixth Avenue," *Newsweek*, May 3, 1965, 85.

66. Richardson to Fischer, May 4, 1965, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

67. Stafford Poole, "'An Active and Energetic Bishop'; The Appointment of Joseph Glass, C.M., as Bishop of Salt Lake City," *Vincentian Heritage Journal*, 15, no. 2 (1994), 119–62, esp. 124, 156–57.

(William Ward, C.M., was one of the trustees, and two libraries named after the Dohenys were part of St. John's Seminary; see figure 4.) After the foundation rejected his request, Richardson wrote, "His Eminence told me that he is taking this as an attitude of hostility to himself on the part of the Congregation of the Mission." Richardson protested that the rejection was not "a personal act" on the part of Ward. The following September, attorney Olin Wellborn III died. Wellborn had represented Doheny and had been a member of the foundation's board. McIntyre instructed a lawyer representing the archdiocese to recommend that the foundation become a corporation, with the archbishop as a permanent member. Richardson confided in Slattery,

> Mrs. Doheny made it clear to Father Ward . . . that she did not wish this archbishop, namely Cardinal McIntyre, to be a trustee, because . . . he would not be a suitable person to discharge this office.

Richardson wrote on the side of the communication, "Much of this letter is confidential, especially this part." In October, McIntyre again suggested to Richardson that he propose that the Doheny Foundation should incorporate. "I listened respectfully to His Eminence, but, of course, made no commitments since I felt I had no right whatsoever to do so."[68]

In 1966 Richardson wrote Fischer, "On the whole Camarillo situation . . . the Cardinal has not indicated a wish to have us out of there." The only concerns he expressed were "the fear of modernization" or "a sort of vindictive innuendo relative to the Foundation business." That same year, Louis Franz, C.M., was appointed rector of the college seminary. For the time being, Kenneally remained at the theologate.[69]

Two years later, the post of spiritual director was assigned to diocesan clergy: George J. Parnassus (1927–2013) was appointed to the college, and James D. O'Reilly (1916–78) was appointed to the theologate. There was some complaining in the college about the Parnassus appointment. Fischer wrote,

> [Parnassus] has been a thorn in the side of Fr. Franz since he will not accept the Rector[']s decisions concerning class schedules, etc. He even . . . insisted on taking over the rooms which had been reserved as a Bishop's room.

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68. Richardson to Slattery, September 30, 1965; Richardson to "My Very Dear Confrere," October 27, 1965; Fischer Papers, Box 5, DRMA.

69. Richardson to Fischer, March 12, 1966; Richardson to "Dear Confreres," August 15, 1966; Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA.

FIGURE 4. The Edward R. Doheny Memorial Library (top) and the chapel at St. John's Seminary, Camarillo. Photos courtesy of St. John's Seminary.

Some of the faculty expressed the hope that "Fr. Parnassus would be a failure and that the Cardinal would not be around much longer."[70] There were no complaints about O'Reilly, perhaps due in part to his academic credentials: he may have been the only diocesan priest (of any diocese) to have obtained a doctorate from Cal Tech in Pasadena, where he wrote a dissertation on the sun.[71]

The late 1960s saw changes in California Catholicism. The Diocese of Monterey-Fresno was divided in 1969, and Manning was appointed the

70. Richardson to McIntyre, May 17, 1968, St. John's Seminary Papers, Box 3; Memo of Fr. Fischer, Fischer Papers, Box 3, DRMA. On Parnassus, see "Monsignor George Parnassus, Longtime St. Victor Pastor, Dies," *The Tidings*, August 23, 2013, 6.

71. James Donald O'Reilly, "A Study of the Physical and Chemical Composition of Homogeneous and Inhomogeneous Models of the Sun" (PhD diss., California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, 1950).

first bishop of the Diocese of Fresno. This was done at McIntyre's suggestion, in part to see how Manning would handle the responsibilities of administering a diocese. In January 1970 McIntyre opted to retire, and Manning was appointed coadjutor archbishop of Los Angeles *cum jure successionis* ("with the right of succession" to McIntyre). In 1973 Pope Paul VI named Manning a cardinal. McIntyre did some pastoral work at St. Basil's parish, but he suffered a stroke in 1976, and he died in 1979 at age ninety-three. When Manning stepped down as archbishop in 1985, Rome (doubtless at Manning's suggestion) tapped Mahony, then bishop of Stockton, to succeed him. Mahony was the first St. John's alumnus to become archbishop of Los Angeles.[72]

Of course, there were changes for the Vincentians, too. Kenneally was asked again by McIntyre to study seminaries in Europe. He carried out the assignment but was then transferred to St. Thomas Seminary in Denver. While there, he wrote (at McIntyre's request) a paper defending Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humane Vitae*, which reaffirmed the Church's ban on contraception. He returned to his native Los Angeles to serve at St. Vincent's church, where he died in 1977. Richardson was elected Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission in 1968. He held the post for twelve years and then volunteered to serve in Kenya. His health declined, and he returned to the United States to serve as spiritual director at St. Thomas Seminary in Denver. He retired to Perryville, where he died on July 8, 1996.[73] Nicholas Persich taught until 1996 and then retired to Perryville. He died in August 2005. After stepping down as provincial, Fischer taught in seminaries in Colorado, Illinois, Missouri, and Texas, and later worked as a chaplain at the University of Arkansas and Southeast Missouri State University. He also died at Perryville, three months after Persich.[74]

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72. Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles*, II:641–65.

73. Kenneally to Fischer, July 3, 1967; Kenneally to Fischer, July 12, 1967; McIntyre to Cardinal Leo Joseph Suenens [of Mechelen-Brussel] Belgium, July 12, 1967; [Fischer?] to Kenneally, undated draft; Kenneally to Fischer, July 30, 1967; Memo by Kenneally, October 28, 1968; William J. Kenneally, "Some Simple Reflections on the Magisterium of the Church and on the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae*," October 28, 1968; in the Kenneally file, DRMA; "Fr. W. J. Kenneally, Former Rector, Dies," *The Tidings*, February 18, 1977, 2; on Richardson, see "Former St. John's Seminary Rector Dies at 87," *The Tidings*, July 26, 1996, 16.

74. "Rev. Nicholas Persich," http://www.semissourian.com/story/print/1116441.html accessed on August 9, 2012; "Rev. James A. Fischer," http://www.suntimesnews.com/Perryville/obits/2005obits/Novjamesfischer.htm accessed on August 6, 2005.

Poole continued to teach and write about seminaries.[75] McIntyre had made it clear that he did not want Poole or Nicholas Persich to teach in Camarillo. Nevertheless, after the cardinal retired, Manning permitted Poole to join the faculty at St. John's Seminary College, where he taught western civilization classes, as well as elective courses in modern European and Mexican history. In 1980, Manning appointed Poole rector of the college. In announcing Poole's appointment, a writer for *The Tidings* called Poole's *Seminary in Crisis* "a pioneering work in seminary renewal."[76] One of Poole's classmates, Charles Miller—whom McIntyre suspected of playing a role in the 1964 "Strawberry Sunday" affair—served as rector of the theologate. (Miller, a professor of liturgy and homiletics, was even tapped to write a weekly column for *The Tidings*.) Miller and Poole celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their ordination to the priesthood as rectors of Los Angeles seminaries.[77]

Poole stepped down as rector, and Roy Persich, C.M., was appointed interim rector. After Poole stopped teaching, he continued to write and published extensively on colonial Mexico.[78] In perhaps his most controversial work, he challenged the belief that the Virgin Mary had appeared to an Indian named Juan Diego in 1531 at Tepeyac—the apparition venerated as Our Lady of Guadalupe. (To facilitate his research, Poole even studied Nahuatl, the Aztec language.) Poole concluded that Juan Diego did not exist and, with other scholars, discouraged the proposed elevation of the figure to sainthood. About the time Poole published *Seminary in Crisis*, *Commonweal* published another Poole article, "The Diocesan Priest and the Intellectual Life." Poole's piece drew the ire of Vagnozzi, who denounced Poole to Rome. For his writing on Our Lady of Guadalupe, he was again denounced to Rome. Poole remains an important scholar in the history of colonial Mexico.[79]

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75. Stafford Poole, "American Seminary Education," *America*, September 18, 1965, 288–89; *idem*, "Seminary Education: A Time for Realism," *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, 68 (1967), 128–34; *idem*., "Requiem for Seminaries?", *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 161 (1969), 245–50.

76. "Seminary to Receive New Rector," *The Tidings*, May 2, 1980, 1.

77. Francis J. Weber, *Magnificat: The Life and Times of Timothy Cardinal Manning* (Mission Hills, CA, 1999), p. 444; "Seminary Rectors Celebrate Jubilees," *The Tidings*, May 1, 1981, 5.

78. On Poole's contributions, see Susan Schroeder, "Seminaries and Writing the History of New Spain: An Interview with Stafford Poole, C.M.," *The Americas*, 69 (2012), 237–54.

79. Stafford Poole, "The Diocesan Priest and the Intellectual Life," *Commonweal*, April 9, 1965, 78–81; *idem*, "*Ad Cleri Disciplinam*," p. 154; *idem*, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797* (Tucson, 1995). On the resulting firestorm over the canonization of Juan Diego—the Indian to whom the Virgin Mary was

Seminary in Crisis was a prophetic work. The cost of operating schools rose, and the number of men entering the priesthood has dropped off significantly in the last fifty years. Dioceses began to close and consolidate seminaries. Vincentian policy mandated that one of their priests was to serve as rector of any school they staffed. In 1974 a disagreement between Manning and the Vincentians at Our Lady Queen of the Angels in San Fernando led to the removal of the rector, Walter Housey, C.M., and the appointment of Msgr. John Reilly to that post. As a result, the Vincentians withdrew from San Fernando. In 1994 Mahony decided to close Our Lady Queen of the Angels (his alma mater), which then had 155 students.[80]

The Vincentians gradually changed the policy on non-Vincentian rectors, in part because of personnel shortages. The Congregation of the Mission surrendered the rectorship of the St. Louis seminaries and closed St. Thomas in Denver in 1995. (The Archdiocese of Denver later reopened St. Thomas under the patronage of St. John Vianney.) In the 1980s, diocesan clergy served as rectors of the college seminary in Camarillo, including Bishop Donald Montrose, Msgr. Sylvester Ryan (later auxiliary bishop of Los Angeles and bishop of Monterey), Rafael Luevano (of the Diocese of Orange), and Edward Clark (later auxiliary bishop of Los Angeles). In like fashion, diocesan clergy served as rectors of the theologate: after Miller stepped down, George Niederauer (later bishop of Salt Lake City and archbishop of San Francisco); Jeremiah McCarthy (of the Diocese of Tucson); Gabino Zavala, J.C.L. (later auxiliary bishop of Los Angeles); Msgr. Helmut Hefner; Msgr. Craig Cox; and Msgr. Marc Trudeau became rectors.[81]

In August 2002, Mahony created a seminary task force, which consisted of clergy, religious, and laity. In November 2002 the task force pro-

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reported to have appeared—see *idem*, "Did Juan Diego Exist? Questions on the Eve of Canonization," *Commonweal*, June 14, 2002, 9, 11; *Idem*, "History Versus Juan Diego," *The Americas*, 62 (2005), 1–16; *idem*, *The Guadalpan Controversies* (Stanford, 2006). See also Timothy Matovina, "The Origins of the Guadalupe Tradition in Mexico," *The Catholic Historical Review* [CHR], 100 (2014), 243–70; Stafford Poole, "A Response to Timothy Matovina," CHR, 100 (2014), 271–83; and Matovina, "A Response to Stafford Poole," CHR, 100 (2014), 284–91. See also John L. Allen Jr., "Maybe He Isn't Real but He's Almost a Saint," *National Catholic Reporter*, January 25, 2002, 3.

80. John Dart, "Archdiocese to Close High School Seminary," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1994, B1, B3. There is also some correspondence in the Los Angeles College/Queen of Angels Seminary File in the DRMA.

81. Pamela Schaeffer, "Vincentians Give Up Running Seminaries," *National Catholic Reporter*, August 25, 1995, 3–4.

posed closing the college seminary as a four-year institution. Built to accommodate about 300 students, the seminary had shrunk to an enrollment of fewer than 100. With the rising costs, Mahony decided in 2003 to close St. John's Seminary College. (The last rector was Kenneth Rudnick, S.J.) Men choosing to study for the priesthood tend in recent years to be older and usually have earned a college degree. In addition, the cost of subsidizing the college seminary had climbed, and the archdiocese faced a $4.3 million deficit. Although the archdiocese tried to sell the land to a developer, the city of Camarillo resisted rezoning the area.[82] The profit from the sale of the land ($40 million) went into the funds to keep the theologate open. A program was established in which college-age men considering the priesthood live together in a house and take classes at public institutions.[83]

Even with the closure of the college, the future of the theologate is uncertain: one idea proposed by the seminary task force was to close the seminary and build a campus near Loyola Marymount University (LMU). The members of the task force wrote:

> The Seminary Task Force believes that a shift in the seminary formation of candidates for the priesthood to the "university model" presented [as one option] will probably occur in the future. But since we do not now know all the programmatic and financial implications of such a shift, our recommendation is to close St. John's Seminary College and retain a six-year program in Camarillo, but with a view of moving toward a "university model" in the future, if the six-year "stand alone" seminary model does not prove to be viable for programmatic, financial or pastoral reasons.[84]

The task force left open the same conclusion that Poole had reached about forty years earlier. Doubtless, the archdiocese would have to weigh the cost of purchasing land for housing (as well as constructing buildings or modifying existing structures) for seminarians near LMU as one of the considerations in making such a decision.

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82. Letter of Msgr. Marc Trudeau, rector of St. John's Seminary, to John T. Donovan, January 7, 2016, St. John's Seminary file, DRMA.

83. Erika Hayasaki and Steve Chawkins, "Church May Close Seminary," *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 2002, B–22; Mike Nelson, "Archdiocesan Seminary Program Slated for Restructuring," *The Tidings*, November 29, 2002, 3; Fr. Joel Henson, "St. John's 'Teach Out' Program," *The Tidings*, May 23, 2003, A2; Ellie Hidalgo, "A New Approach with a Lot of Promise," *The Tidings*, October 24, 2003, 7; Mike Nelson, "Seminary College Property Will Be Sold to Shea Homes," *The Tidings*, May 7, 2004, 3; Maria Luisa Torres, "Juan Diego House Celebrates a Decade of Ministry," *The Tidings*, October 11, 2013, 7; Steve Chawkins, "Developer to Buy Part of Camarillo Seminary Land," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 2004, B6.

84. Nelson, "Archdiocesan Seminary Program."

To many of those who attended Our Lady Queen of the Angels or St. John's Seminary College, there was naturally some sorrow in the decision to close the institutions.[85] The system that remains is smaller than that envisioned by McIntyre or Kenneally. Hiring lay faculty for a seminary would have been unusual in the past, but like other seminaries, St. John's boasts lay faculty and women religious among its teachers.[86] At this writing, St. John's remains open, training clergy for much of the southwestern United States, and a Vincentian remains on the faculty.

85. Some of the students in the college seminary wrote Mahony to protest the decision to close the institution; see Arthur Jones, "Cost Cutting Targets Seminary," *National Catholic Reporter*, January 17, 2003, 14.

86. The hiring of lay teachers would not have been unheard of, however: At least one layman—Charles Conroy—taught at the first minor seminary, the Los Angeles College.

Review Article

Yet More Light on Vatican Council II

JARED WICKS, S.J.*

Bibliographie du Concile Vatican II. By Philippe J. Roy. [Atti e Documenti, A. Sezione Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, 34.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012. Pp. 477. €35,00. ISBN 978-88-209-8892-0.)

Les membres du Coetus Internationalis Patrum *au Concile Vatican II. Inventaire des interventions et souscriptions des adhérents et sympathisants. Liste des signataires d'occasion et des théologiens.* By Philippe Roy-Lysencourt. [Instrumenta Theologica, XXXVII.] (Leuven: Peeters, 2014. Pp. 484. €54,00. ISBN 978-90-429-3087-2.)

Separati ma fratelli. Gli osservatori non cattolici al Vaticano II (1965–1965). By Mauro Velati. [Istituto per le scienze religiose, Serie: Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, nuova serie, 52.] (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014. Pp. 743. €55,00. ISBN 978-88-15-2477-3.)

This review article continues a series of earlier presentations of scholarly publications on the Second Vatican Council.[1] Presented here are (1) a one-volume bibliography of works published through 2011 on the Second Vatican Council; (2) an inventory of the oral and written interventions at the Council of the *Coetus internationalis patrum,* a minority oppositional group; and (3) a comprehensive study of the non-Catholic delegated observers and guests who attended the Council.

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1. Jared Wicks, "New Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 609–28; idem, "More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94 (2008), 75–101; idem, "Further Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 546–69; idem, "Still More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 98 (2012), 476–502; and idem, "Light from Germany on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 99 (2013), 727–48.

An Essential Instrument:
A Bibliography of 4000 Works on the Second Vatican Council

Philippe Roy provides a valuable tool for many types of study of the Council. For such bibliographical work, he prepared well through his dissertation of 2011 at Laval and Lyon on the international minority group of Council Fathers (which will be discussed later). His mentor at Laval, Gilles Routhier, established a basis for Roy's bibliography through informative reports on Council literature beginning in 1997 in *Laval théologique et philosophique*. The author made good use of the regular bibliographies given in *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, and *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*. He contacted more than seventy Council scholars who supplied him with lists of their own and others' works. The coverage extends through works published in 2011, with a further volume planned to register the many works, especially on the Council's reception, stimulated by the fiftieth anniversaries in 2012–15 of the Council's opening, completed documents, and passage to the reception phase.

The bibliography has six major parts: (1) working tools, (2) published sources, (3) histories of the Council, (4) persons active at the Council, (5) studies of the sixteen Council documents, and (6) reception of the Council. Each part is thoughtfully subdivided—for example, with the third part divided into sections on the pre-preparatory proposals of Council topics in 1959–60 by bishops, Catholic university faculties, and the curial congregations; on developments in 1960–62 as the preparatory commissions prepared the initial drafts of documents; on general studies of the unfolding of the Council's four periods and three intersessions; and on specific aspects of the whole event relevant to different continents. Persons active at the Council fall into thirteen categories, with listings, for example, on the popes, the Fathers, episcopal conferences, commissions and secretariats, *periti*, and non-Catholic observers.

In the subdivisions filled out with ample listings, the works are ordered alphabetically according to their authors, with a total of 4183 entries. Some works are, however, rightly listed in two or more subsections. The placement of entries in the alphabetical order of the contributing authors seems at times questionable, notably in the parts on the archives, Council Fathers, and *periti*, since researchers usually look for material on persons of interest without initial concern for those who wrote on them. The final name-index of thirty 2-column pages becomes an essential tool for locating treatments of individual Council participants. The same lengthy index is also a striking witness to the Council being a "grand mobi-

lization" of hundreds of active participants as well as authors from the Council period to the present day who describe and analyze the conciliar actions and texts.

Reflection on the archives of the bishops and *periti*, and especially on the published inventories of some archives, reveals a remarkable degree of archival organization on the Belgian bishops and theologians of the Council. In contrast, at least as of 2011, the accessible papers of German participants were minimal, although the list does include the model inventory of the archived Council papers of Cardinal Julius Döpfner of Munich, one of the four Council Moderators appointed by Pope Paul VI.[2] The United States is absent from this section; one can hope that the planned further volume will list at least the papers of Cardinal John Dearden of Detroit and Archbishop Marcos McGrath, C.S.C., of Panama; inventories for these can be accessed at the Web site of the University of Notre Dame Archives.

In reviewing Roy's listing of the Council *Acta* (pp. 37–40), students of the Council meet the familiar documentary volumes of the pre-preparatory, preparatory, and conciliar phases, but the list reminds us that publication of the *Acta* continued into the 1990s. Directors of libraries holding the *Acta et Documenta* of the two preparatory phases should note the three volumes, in four parts, of the papers of the subcommissions of the Central Preparatory Commission that were published in 1988–94. The *Acta Synodalia* began with twenty-five volumes and an index to document the four working periods of the Council, all published by 1980.[3] But this work went on, directed by Msgr. Vincenzo Carbone, Council archivist, to bring out further volumes of Council records.[4] One of these, published in three parts in 1989–91, gives minutes of meetings of the leadership groups of cardinals, including the valuable contribution in 1963 of the Commission for Coordinating the Council's Work. Then in 1996–99 the *Acta* of the Council Secretariat were issued in a volume of four parts, which includes pre-

2. *Erzbischöfliches Archiv München Julius Kardinal Döpfner. Archivinventar der Dokumente zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, ed. Giudo Treffler and Peter Pfister, [Schriften des Archivs des Erzbistums München und Freising, 6], (Regensburg, 2004).

3. An online edition of the *Acta Synodalia* has begun at the following site: http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2015/05/the-acta-synodalia-of-vatican-ii-1st.html, accessed August 1, 2015.

4. A lacuna in Roy's *Bibliographie* is the absence of Carbone, who published articles on the Council Archive; the publication of the *Acta*; and persons such as Cardinal Domenico Tardini, Vatican secretary of state, and Pericle Felici, general secretary. These appeared in Italian journals such as *Monitor Ecclesiasticus*, *Lateranum*, and *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*.

cious pieces of correspondence generated by concerns of the Fathers and by leaders of the Council commissions.

The section on persons active at the Council lists studies concerning some sixty-three Council Fathers and twelve groups of Council members such as African bishops, Australian bishops, Belgian missionary bishops, and Lateran University alumni (pp. 116–31).[5] The most-studied Fathers are Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens of Mechelen and Bishop Emiel-Jozef De Smedt of Bruges; they each are the subject of ten studies. Suenens's fellow Moderators, Döpfner and Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro of Bologna, each appear in six listings, whereas no listing mentions the fourth Moderator, Cardinal Gregor Petrus Agagianian. A major lacuna is the influential Jesuit Cardinal Augustin Bea, the author and subject of several publications before 2011, especially on his promotion of the Council's ecumenical aim, as well as Christian-Jewish issues and religious liberty.[6]

The list of studies of Council *periti* (pp. 131–46) offers thirty-six treatments of Yves Congar, fifteen of Henri de Lubac, fourteen on Joseph Ratzinger, and twelve of Karl Rahner. Group work by *periti* is registered in four works on Belgian experts and one each on Spanish, French, and German *periti*.[7] Only eleven studies appear in Roy's bibliography on the

5. Corrections: Albert Prignon, rector of the Belgian College, was not a Council member (no. 941); the "Roman theologians" of no. 943 were professors, especially at the Lateran University; Michele Maccarone, church history professor at the Lateran University, was not a Council Father (no. 1003); John Quinn became a bishop in 1967 after the Council (no. 1006); and Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber was not at the Council, as he died in 1952 (no. 1012).

6. The *Bibliographie* offers only no. 3083, a study by Emmanuel Lanne on Bea's contribution to *Unitatis Redintegratio*, in *Irénikon* 55 (1982), 471–99 (corrected pagination). But Bea lectured widely in 1960–61 on the status of baptized non-Catholics and published his views for a wide readership in *La Civiltà cattolica*, to the consternation of his Jesuit confrere Sebastian Tromp. Bea's Council activities were treated in the 1981 symposium on the centenary of his death, *Atti del Simposio Card. Agostino Bea* (Rome, 1983). Further studies include *Augustin Kardinal Bea. Wegbereiter der Einheit*, ed. Maria Buchmüller, Marietta Held, and Friedrich Buchmüller (Augsburg, 1972); Stjepan Schmidt, *Augustin Bea. The Cardinal of Unity* (New Rochelle, NY, 1982; repr. as *Agostino Bea, il cardinale dell'unità*, [Rome, 1987]) in the ten chapters of part III; Jan Grootaers, "Le cardinal Bea et son énigme," in *Actes et acteurs à Vatican II* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 277–86; and Jerome-Michael Vereb, *"Because He Was a German!" Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2006).

7. Belgians: nos. 1034, 1050, 1051, and 1169; Spanish: no. 1077; French: no. 1124; German: no. 1156. Surveys of the experts' work and influence are noted as nos. 1140, 1166, and 1171. Corrections: The *Bibliographie* mistakenly refers to Archbishop Ermenegildo Florit of Florence as a *peritus* in no. 1041, as well as De Smedt in no. 1052. Also, the priest Angel Antón, listed in no. 1102, is not on the roster of *periti* in *Acta Synodalia. Indices*. Additions to

non-Catholic delegated observers and guests—a list that will be amplified notably by the monographic study by Velati (discussed later).[8] The final category of active persons is that of secretaries of the commissions, listing only Joseph Rousseau, O.M.I., the secretary of both the Preparatory and Conciliar Commissions on Religious (no. 1193). Such figures—chief operations officers of the commissions—have a substantial presence elsewhere in the volume—for example, in entries concerning Jesuit priest Sebastian Tromp, secretary of the Preparatory Theological and Conciliar Doctrinal commissions, and then-Msgr. Johannes Willebrands, secretary of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity.

Among the major parts of the *Bibliographie*, the one on the sixteen Council documents is the largest (pp. 149–363). An outstanding service is the listing of the symposia and their papers published in 2003–05 for the fortieth anniversary of particular documents. The four Constitutions were treated in no less than fifteen such symposia that are listed on each Constitution in the relevant subsection before individual works are given alphabetically by their author.[9] Three such symposia treated the Decree *Unitatis redintegratio*, whereas one took up the Decree *Optatum totius* and one each treated the Declarations *Dignitatis humanae*, *Gravissimum educationis*, and *Nostra aetate*. The last major part of the *Bibliographie*, on the reception of the Council, adds six more such symposia to commemorate the fortieth anniversary.[10]

In the reports on studies of each Vatican document, the reader has an easy overview of the works reported on most documents, but this is not the case for *Lumen gentium.* The list of more than 800 entries underscores the

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the *periti* section can come from articles not naming them in the title—for example, the Benedictine Cipriano Vagaggini in no. 1088, as well as Bernard Häring and Domenico Capone, who are the Redemptorists treated in no. 1472.

8. Additions to the listed works would include texts by Thomas F. Stransky such as "Paul VI and the Delegated Observers/Guests to Vatican Council II," in *Paolo VI e l'ecumenismo* (Brescia and Rome, 2001), pp. 118–58, and "The Observers at Vatican II. A Unique Experience of Dialogue," *Centro pro unione Bulletin*, no. 63 (2003), 8–14. A major bibliographic task that remains to be done is a listing of published works and archived reports by the observers on the Council and its documents. A lamentable category mistake is the listing of two articles on the Catholic Melkites among studies of the non-Catholic observers (nos. 804, 807), instead of among studies of Council Fathers.

9. Four symposia are discussed at the head of the section on the *Gaudium et spes* subsection (pp. 163–65), to which no. 1515, listed under its editor's name, should be added.

10. Pp. 365–68 present five general symposia published in 2005, to which no. 3997 may be added, on the Council's reception in moral theology. Three general symposia—nos. 3406, 3408, and 3410, published in 2010 and 2011—already view the Council from a fifty-year distance.

importance of the Constitution on the Church, but their sheer number overwhelms a reader approaching the list with interest in a particular chapter or numbered paragraph. It is unfortunate that subdivisions were not created such as general studies followed by sections on each of the eight chapters of *Lumen gentium*.

A most interesting set of works on the Council comes in the final part on the Council's reception—namely, the 115 published works under the heading "Traditionalism" (pp. 408–16). Here we benefit from the compiler's own research on the *Coetus internationalis patrum* (to be discussed later). In this section of the *Bibliographie*, only about 15 percent of the listings indicate works written by outsiders critical of the organized resistance mounted by the *Coetus*.[11] Some indicative titles from the traditionalist dissent from the Council are Dominque Bourmand's *Cent ans de modernisme. Généologie du Vatican II*; Louis Coache's *Vers l'apostasie générale*; Michael Davies's 3-volume *Apologia pro Marcel Lefebvre*; and Denis Marchal's *Monseigneur Lefebvre, vingt ans de combat pour le sacerdoce et la foi, 1967–1987*. Looming large in this section are twenty-seven works by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, C.S.Sp., and the ponderous biography *Marcel Lefebvre, un vie* by Bernard Tissier de Mallerais.[12]

The few flaws indicated in the text and notes of this presentation do not at all negate the initial descriptions with which it started. The *Bibliographie* compiled by Roy is indeed an essential instrument and a valuable tool for further work on the Council.

The *Coetus internationalis Patrum*: Leaders, Adherents, Sympathizers

The compiler of the *Bibliographie* also has brought out a detailed roster of the oppositional group that was especially active during Periods III and

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11. A preface to the *Bibliographie* by the co-moderator of Roy's dissertation, Jean-Dominique Durand of University of Lyon, notes on p. 9 that the "hermeneutics of rupture," addressed by Pope Benedict XVI in December 2005, is most extensive today in integrist milieux, much given to contrasting the church "of all ages" with the modernist Church after the Council. But, he adds, their church "of all ages" is really that of the nineteenth century—an insightful statement.

12. Dominique Bourmand, *Cent ans de modernisme. Généologie du Vatican II* (Étampes, France, 2003), 490 pp.; Louis Coache, *Vers l'apostasie générale* (Paris, 1969), 278 pp.; Michael Davies, *Apologia pro Marcel Lefebvre*, 3 vols. (Kansas City, MO, 1979–99), 393, 471, and 474 pp.; Denis Marchal, *Monseigneur Lefebvre, vingt ans de combat pour le sacerdoce et la foi, 1967–1987* (Paris, 1988), 160 pp.; and Bernard Tissier de Mallerais, *Marcel Lefebvre, un vie* (Étampes, France, 2002), 719 pp. The translation of the last-named work is *Marcel Lefebvre. The Biography* (Kansas City, MO, 2004), xv, 670 pp.

IV of the Council.[13] From research for the author's dissertation on the *Coetus*, his 2014 publication gives the results of the early work of writing a "group history"—namely the identification of the membership, which had different levels of adherence and support. This work gives for each Council Father attached to the *Coetus* a list of references in the *Acta Synodalia* that document that Father's interventions, whether oral or written, on drafts of Council documents and his further association with the group's aims by adding his signature to interventions by the leaders or other prominent adherents of the *Coetus*.

The *Coetus* did not formally register its membership and was not so organized that it left an archive. Only partial lists of adherents exist, probably naming those Council Fathers who should receive studies of the schemas, recommended amendments (*modi*) for submission, and conveyed news about meetings and invited speakers on schemas under discussion. After the author's meticulous study of the *Acta Synodalia*, he studied in several personal archives the correspondence and papers left by leaders of the *Coetus*. The Council Fathers adhering to the aims of the *Coetus* fall into distinct categories. Five leaders constituted the "directing committee" of the *Coetus*.[14] Nine cardinals sympathized with the group but seldom gave public signs of adherence.[15] Fifty-five Council Fathers signed several times

13. The *Coetus* appears regularly in Ralph Wiltgen, S.V.D., *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber: The Unknown Council* (New York, 1967; Rockford, IL, 1985), pp. 148–50, 178–80, 247–51, 278. See also Luc Perrin, "Le *Coetus Internationalis Patrum* et la minoranza conciliare," in *L'evento e le decisioni. Studi sulle dinamiche del concilio Vaticano II*, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori and Alberto Melloni (Bologna, 1997), pp. 173–87, and Joseph Famerée, in *History of Vatican II*, vol. III: *The Mature Council. Second Period and Intersession, September 1963–September 1964*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY, 2000), pp. 170–75. A favorable account is the second half of Roberto de Mattei, *The Second Vatican Council. An Unwritten Story* (Fitzwilliam, NH, 2012), beginning with the birth of the *Coetus* on pp. 305–10. The last-named work is discussed in Wicks, "Still More Light," pp. 498–502.

14. The "directing committee": Bishop Luigi Maria Carli (Segni, Italy); Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer (Campos, Brazil); Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, S.V.D. (Diamantina, Brazil); Lefebvre (Dakar, Senegal, until January 23, 1962, then Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit until October 29, 1968); and Abbot Jean Prou, O.S.B. (Solesmes, France; Superior General of the Benedictine Congregation of France since 1959). Sections on each are in *Les membres du* Coetus Internationalis Patrum *au Concile Vatican II*, pp. 21–76, which give a brief biography and a list of references in the *Acta Synodalia* to Council interventions by each.

15. The cardinals privately sympathetic to the group: Michael Browne, O.P. (Dominican Master General until 1962); Giuseppe Ferretto (secretary of the College of Cardinals); Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (Patriarch of Lisbon, Portugal); Arcadio Maria Larraona, C.M.F. (prefect, Congregation of Rites, and president of the Council Commission on the Liturgy); Alfredo Ottaviani (secretary, Holy Office); Agnelo Rossi (archbishop of Sao Paolo, Brazil);

the oral or written interventions by one of the leaders or had their own interventions signed by the leaders.[16] A much larger group of 839 Fathers gave occasional support, of which 530 signed a *Coetus* intervention only once.[17] The presentation adds twenty-two *periti* who served in various ways the leadership or membership of the *Coetus*.[18]

The main targets of interventions by the *Coetus* were Council schemas that they considered destructive of the tradition they had banded together to defend. At the end of a short history of the group (pp. 9–18), the author speaks of the *Coetus* as dissatisfied with the schemas leading to *Presbyterium ordinis*, *Perfectae caritatis*, *Optatum totius*, and *Ad gentes*, but their opposition to these during their genesis was only occasional. In contrast, the *Coetus* promoted a "virulent opposition" to the drafts eventually promulgated as *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Unitatis redintegratio*, *Lumen gentium*, *Christus Dominus*, *Dei Verbum*, *Nostra aetate*, *Dignitatis humanae*, and *Gaudium et spes*. A notable impact of the *Coetus* lies in the number of *non placet* votes registered against *Nostra aetate*, *Dignitatis humanae*, and *Gaudium et spes*.[19]

Ernesto Ruffini (archbishop of Palermo, Italy); Rufino Jiao Santos (archbishop of Manila, the Philippines); and Giuseppe Siri (archbishop of Genoa, Italy). Sections in *Les membres du* Coetus Internationalis Patrum, pp. 77–153, give on each a short biography, a list of Council interventions, and a summary of their respective modes and degrees of support of the *Coetus*, as well as indications of some of their Tuesday conferences sponsored by the *Coetus*.

16. Treating each of these "fellow travelers," *Les membres du* Coetus Internationalis Patrum gives, on pp. 157–438, a short biography, a list of Council interventions, and an analysis of the particular Council Father's adherence to the *Coetus*, with indications for some of a conference given Tuesday evenings under *Coetus* sponsorship.

17. *Les membres du* Coetus Internationalis Patrum, pp. 439–62, lists these Council Fathers, with indications of the intervention or interventions that they signed.

18. *Les membres du* Coetus Internationalis Patrum, pp. 463–77. The principal theologian was the priest Victor-Alain Berto, the personal *peritus* of Lefebvre during Council Periods II and III. The priest Raymond Dulac succeeded Berto during Period IV, after the latter suffered a stroke. Dom Georges Frénaud, O.S.B., and Dom Paul Nau, O.S.B.—both monks of Solesmes—assisted Prou. Most of the other theologians mentioned assisted the *Coetus* only at particular times.

19. In the penultimate vote after acceptance of the *modi*, the completed text on the Church's relation to non-Christians, especially the Jews, was accepted on October 15, 1965, by 1735 votes of *placet*, against 250 of *non placet* (*Acta Synodalia*, IV/4, p. 824). At the final vote at the Public Session of October 28, when it was clear that Paul VI approved and was going to promulgate *Nostra aetate*, the votes of *placet* were 2221 against 88 of *non placet*. Similarly, in the penultimate vote on the text on religious liberty on November 19, 1965, the votes *placet* were 1954, contrasting with 249 of *non placet* (AS IV/6, p. 780), but at the Public Session of December 7, these shifted to 2308 of *placet* against 70 of *non placet* for *Dignitatis humanae*. Finally, regarding the text on the Church in the modern world, the penultimate

The *Coetus* began with a small "study group" under the aegis of Lefebvre during Period I of the Council in 1962. The stimulus came from indicators that numerous schemas of the Preparatory Commissions faced opposition from Council members positively influenced by the preconciliar liturgical, biblical, ecumenical, and lay-apostolate movements. The group took shape during Period II when Lefebvre gathered a planning group to schedule Tuesday afternoon conferences, often by cardinals, to offer to the Fathers in attendance an evaluation of schemas under discussion.

In November 1963 the group acquired a rexograph machine for preparing circulars; this enabled a wider distribution to the Council Fathers. Discreet support came from Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, and, through Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini, the group's positions were heard from the table of the Council's presidents. Cardinal Giuseppe Siri of Genoa and Bishop Luigi Carli of Segni became conduits to the Italian Episcopal Conference. Siri's backing was quite discreet, but Carli was an open advocate of positions of the *Coetus* in thirteen oral and thirty-six written interventions on the schemas. Two Brazilians had central roles: Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, S.V.D., and Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, who had the support of Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, Brazilian professor, antimodernist, and anticommunist lay warrior.[20]

A major *Coetus* activity during the Council's second and third intersessions was the preparation of critical studies of the schemas; these were distributed by mail for treatment in the next period. Between Council periods, meetings for preparing these studies were held at the Benedictine monastery of Solesmes, as its abbot, Jean Prou, was an active leader of the *Coetus*.

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vote on December 6, 1965, gave it 1736 votes of *placet* against 251 of *non placet* (AS IV/7, p. 641), which, on December 7, became 2308 of *placet* and 70 of *non placet*. December 7 also was the day on which Paul VI accepted and promulgated the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes*.

20. Complementing the account in his 2014 volume, Roy published "La préhistoire du *Coetus internationalis Patrum*. Une formation romaine, antilibéral et contre-révolutionaire," in *La théologie catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau. La reception des mouvements préconciliaries à Vatican II*, ed. Gilles Routhier, Philippe J. Roy, and Karim Schelkens (Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven, 2011), pp. 321–54. The article describes the theological and formational directions received by the *Coetus* leadership (except that of Prou) and *periti*, in the years 1920–30, especially in the French Seminary in Rome and at the Gregorian and Lateran universities. In that decade, the Roman theological and spiritual formators were zealous in propagating antimodernist convictions, and they worked to prepare their students for militant efforts on behalf of an integrally Catholic society against liberalizing currents in theology, politics, and culture. This became, at the Council, the "cause" motivating the leaders and membership of the *Coetus*.

The group began Period III with more effective organization in Rome, as it now had working space, secretarial help of two Claretian priests, and a mimeograph machine furnished by the Claretian curial cardinal Arcadio Larraona. At an office near St. Peter's Basilica, Council Fathers could pick up the more frequent circulars and the *modi* prepared by the group's *periti* to affix to a vote *placet iuxta modum* on the texts then being completed on the Church and ecumenism.

In discussing the text on the Church's relation to the Jews during the third Council period, Castro Mayer handed in a written intervention urging a distinction between the ancient Jewish people, from whom much comes to Christianity, and the Jews of the present day who reject the Messiah and are seen by St. Paul as left by God's justice with hardened hearts.[21] For Period IV the *Coetus* circulated the mimeographed booklet *Super schema declarationis de libertate religiosa animadversiones criticae*, a copy of which Carli submitted as an attachment to his own critical comments before the period on the emended text on religious liberty.[22] In the aula on September 22, 1965, Proença Sigaud voiced opposition against treating the Church's relation to the modern world in a "Constitution," which at most should be in a "Message" (*Nuntius*). For Proença Sigaud, the schema shows adoption of a phenomenological method that eschews objective truth and immutable metaphysical principles. In Proença Sigaud's view, the Church already had a monumental work on the Church in the present-day world—the twenty volumes of discourses of Pope Pius XII—that the Council should be consulting, instead of taking up the dangerous "Teilhardian" ideas of the schema.[23]

The *Coetus* gained the adherence of nearly one-fourth of the Fathers for two of its many submitted petitions. At the start of the third period of 1964, Proença Sigaud submitted a petition to Pope Paul VI signed by 510

21. AS III/3, pp. 161–62, citing Acts 3:13, 5:20; Rom 10:3, 11:7.

22. *Acta Synodalia*, IV/1, pp. 683–92. Carli claims that the present-day system of religious liberty has its basis in laicism, religious indifferentism, and agnosticism, against which the Council has to declare immutable, eternal principles drawn from the encyclicals of popes Leo XIII and Pius XII. Earlier, the two Brazilian leaders of the *Coetus*, Proença Sigaud and Castro Mayer, had sent in a lengthy critique of the same schema when it was still chapter V of the schema on ecumenism (AS III/3, pp. 648–57). During Period IV, Lefebvre spoke against the schema in the aula on September 20, 1965, claiming that its doctrine came from Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Voltaire, who sought to destroy the Catholic Church. When nineteenth-century liberal Catholics took up the position of the schema, they were condemned by Leo XIII (AS IV/1, pp. 792–94).

23. AS IV/2, pp. 47–50.

Council Fathers, which asked the pope to lead the Council in consecrating the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. During the fourth period, the *Coetus* submitted an amendment to the atheism section of the schema on the Church in the modern world, proposing that the text formally condemn communism. One account is that 454 Fathers signed on to this proposal, whereas another version counts 505 signatures of Council Fathers.[24]

The lists gathered in this volume reveal two significant facets of the Council. The *Coetus* opposed the Council's departure from and movement beyond salient features of antimodernist Catholicism. This opposition shows that the Council's *rapprochement* with aspects of modern liberalism was real—a reality, however, that the *Coetus* judged to be an erroneous and dangerous rupture. Second, although accounts of the Council and its documents naturally highlight the cardinals and other members constituting the majority, the full picture requires attention as well to the opposition led by the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*. Beyond the names and recorded interventions that are meticulously set forth in the present volume lies an important church historical outlook that was overcome by the principal Council doctrinal and pastoral developments, but that outlook did not die out. It lives on in small but articulate sectors of present-day Catholicism.

A Comprehensive Presentation on the Non-Catholic Observers at the Council

The positive ecumenical climate surrounding the Council owed much to the presence and actions of the non-Catholic observers and guests, about whom we now have an informative account by Velati.[25]

By 1960, the admission of invited observers from outside the body holding an assembly was an established practice of the World Council of Churches, with Catholic observers attending meetings of the WCC division of Faith and Order at Lund in 1952, Oberlin in 1958, and St. Andrews

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24. The number 454 is given by Perrin, "Le *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*," in *L'evento e le decisioni*, p. 179. But de Mattei gives 505, of which thirty arrived too late for submission to the responsible commission. See de Mattei, *The Second Vatican Council. An Unwritten Story*, p. 476.

25. Velati's 2014 work follows two earlier works: *Una difficile transizione. Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo (1952–1964)* (Bologna, 1996) and *Dialogo e rinnovamento. Verbali e testi del segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani durante la preparazione del concilio Vaticano II (1960–1962)* (Bologna, 2011). The latter was discussed in Wicks, "Still More Light," pp. 477–89. Firsthand testimony about the observers is given by Stransky, the associate from the first hour of the Unity Secretariat, in "Delegated Observers," and "The Observers at Vatican II."

in 1959, as well as meetings of the WCC Central Committee at Rhodes in 1959 and St. Andrews in 1960. In late 1961 five Catholic "delegated observers" attended the WCC Third General Assembly in New Delhi.

Looking ahead to the Council, Geoffrey Fisher, archbishop of Canterbury, commissioned Canon Bernard C. Pawley to take up residence in Rome in April 1961 and gather accurate information about the Council's preparations.[26] Another early observer was Edmund Schlink of Heidelberg University, sent in early 1962 by the Evangelical Church of Germany to establish contacts for gathering information, especially through the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Schlink brought issues of doctrine and theology into his conversations at the Secretariat and issued fifty-nine reports to the leadership of his church from early 1962 to early 1966.[27]

Inviting and Receiving Observers to the Second Vatican Council

Bea's Secretariat prepared a *votum* for the Central Preparatory Commission regarding invitations to Orthodox and Protestant churches to send delegated observers to the Council and for the Secretariat to invite a number of ecumenical guests. After the Central Commission approved this in November 1961, Pope John XXIII indicated his assent in the "Bull of Indiction" of the Council (December 25, 1961) by referring to the hopes expressed by many non-Catholic entities that they might be able to follow the Council from close at hand and to the Secretariat's responsibility for making this possible.[28]

Based on a decision of far-reaching influence, invitations to send delegated observers were sent to the prelates of the autocephalous Orthodox and ancient Oriental churches and to the heads of the multinational confederations of Protestant bodies. As the Secretariat attended to this responsibility, it began to deal with the leaders and organizations with which the later bilateral dialogues were organized. The ecumenical guests

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26. On Pawley's early activities in Rome, see Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 42–62. Pawley's first year of observing led to his book *An Anglican View of the Council* (New York, 1962), published in England as *Looking at the Vatican Council* (London, 1962). Pawley gave details on Council preparations, listing the topics assigned to the ten Preparatory Commissions and two Secretariats on pp. 66–83 and treating the ecumenical hopes expressed by the "prophets of the Council" like Bea, Congar, theologian Hans Küng, and Archbishop Lorenz Jaeger of Paderborn on pp. 86–97.

27. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 64–74.

28. On the decision to invite observers: Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 74–81, and idem, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 174–86, 298–314.

included initially the observers who reported to the World Council leadership; two monks of Taizé, Roger Schütz and Max Thurian; and the theologians G. C. Berkouwer and Oscar Cullmann.[29]

The preference of the Secretariat was for observers and guests who had theological backgrounds and some experience with the developing ecumenical movement, although it was naturally left to the churches and confederations to choose their delegates and observers to the Council. For the Secretariat, which would have almost daily contacts with the observers, several members and *periti* were prepared by taking part in the Conference catholique pour les questions oecumémiques, which had been meeting annually since 1952 and had established a pattern of discreet but fruitful exchanges with the World Council of Churches.[30]

By the time the Council ended in 1965, 148 delegated observers and twenty ecumenical guests of the Secretariat had been present for at least a short time. Only twenty-four observers or guests attended all four Council periods.[31]

Among the bodies represented by delegated observers were thirteen Orthodox and ancient Oriental churches, although the Orthodox presence was small before Periods III and IV.[32] The Russian Orthodox diaspora was

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29. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 79–123, tells of the initial make-up of this component of the Council, with informative notes on the observers and ecumenical guests at the Council's Period I. Early interest in the Council among Lutheran theologians was discussed in the volume coordinated by Kristen E. Skydsgaard, *The Papal Council and the Gospel. Protestant Theologians Evaluate the Coming Council* (Minneapolis, 1961), including essays by later Lutheran observers Wolfgang Dietzfelbinger, George Lindbeck, and Skydsgaard.

30. On the pioneering activities of this Conference, founded by Johannes Willebrands and Frans Thijssen, see Peter De Mey, "Précurseur du Secrétariat pour l'unité: la travail oecuménique de la 'Conférence catholique pour les questions oecuméniques,'" in Routhier et al., eds., *La théologie catholique,* pp. 271–308, and "Johannes Willebrands and the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions (1952–1963)," in *The Ecumenical Legacy of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands (1909–2009)*, ed. Adelbert Denaux and Peter De Mey (Leuven, 2012), pp. 49–77.

31. See the table listing churches that sent representatives, their observers, and their guests in *Vatican II. The Complete History*, ed. Alberto Melloni, Federico Ruozzi, and Enrico Galavotti (Mahwah, NJ, 2015), pp. 194–97.

32. The churches sending representatives included the Armenian Apostolic Church (Catholicosates of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia), the Assyrian Church of the East, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Moscow and Synod of Karlowitz), the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Church of Georgia, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, the Syrian Orthodox Church of India, the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Syrian-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

represented by guests from the Institute of St. Serge (Paris) and St. Vladimir Seminary (New York) who provided an Orthodox theological presence in the persons of Nicolas Afanassieff and Pavel Evdokimov from Paris during Period IV, and Alexander Schmemann from New York for all four periods. The Greek Orthodox theologian Nikos Nissiotis was an active member of the World Council group after Period I. A key Orthodox figure was the French-Romanian theologian André Scrima, who attended Periods III and IV as personal representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople.

Twelve Anglican and other Protestant entities sent groups of delegated observers, including a number of alternates who, in many cases, remained at the Council for only short periods.[33] Guests were also invited from bodies that did not send delegated observers such as the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, the U.S. National Baptist Convention, and the World Pentecostal Conference.

The number of observers and guests grew with each Council period: from forty-four in 1962 and sixty-eight in 1963 to eighty-two in 1964 and 106 in 1965. Each of them received the same Council draft texts as the Council Fathers, and they were welcome to attend the General Congregations and Public Sessions, where they had translators into French, English, and German of the Latin announcements and speeches by the Fathers. Like most of the Council's members, they were not admitted to sessions of the conciliar commissions, but they had regular Tuesday afternoon meetings organized by the Secretariat to discuss texts slated for present and coming debate, with input at times by Council *periti* who had helped draft these texts.

Observers and Guests Interacting with the Council

Emblematic of the Tuesday meetings were six sessions held early in the Council's Period II while the Council Fathers were discussing the revised schema *De ecclesia*.[34] At the meetings twenty-five observers or guests made critical and constructive comments, with some drawing on

33. Those sending observers included the World Alliance of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches, the International Association for Liberal Christianity, the Church of South India, the Evangelical Church of Germany, the United Church of Christ in Japan, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), the Anglican Communion, the Australian Council of Churches, the International Council of Congregationalists, the Methodist World Council, the World Convention of the Churches of Christ (Disciples), the Protestant Federation of France, and the Lutheran World Federation.

34. On these lively meetings: Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 270–83.

statements on ecclesiology that had circulated during the mid-1963 Faith and Order World Conference held in Montreal.[35] During these meetings, associates of the Secretariat took minutes and, on occasion, forwarded notable points to Council Fathers for possible inclusion in their interventions. At one point the Lutheran observer Kristen Skydsgaard called a draft passage on the people of God "pale" because it made no reference to the drama of sin and forgiveness, which makes God's mercy to sinners a part of the Church's definition. On October 21, 1963, the observers were pleased to hear this point developed in the aula address of Cardinal Albert Gregory Meyer of Chicago.[36]

The observers' discussions became especially vigorous during the last weeks of Period II concerning the schema of the ecumenism decree, on which twenty of them intervened in the Tuesday meetings on the text.[37] A notable contrast between the aula speeches of the bishops on ecumenism and some of the observers' interventions was that several of the latter could draw on ten or more years of ecumenical experience in the World Council of Churches. Nonetheless, the Tuesday discussions revealed unanimity of appreciation and even warm delight over the schema, even though some of this rested on what were then two appended chapters on the Jews and on religious liberty.

An intervention by the WCC observer Lukas Vischer made a deep impression, as he called for a more modest text on the mystery of Christian divisions being included in God's plan, a topic that the schema treats simplistically.[38] A theme emerged over how Catholics evaluate other Chris-

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35. In circulation were the Faith and Order preparatory reports on Christ and the Church, ed. Paul S. Minear [Faith and Order Paper, no. 38], (Geneva, 1963) and the Report of the Conference, "The Church in the Purpose of God," in *The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order. Montreal 1963*, ed. Patrick C. Rodger and Lukas Vischer (New York, 1964), pp. 41–49.

36. Meyer's intervention is in AS II/3, pp. 146–48, and from it and similar critiques came the designation of the Church as *sancta et simul purificanda* in LG 8, shortly after the famous assertion that the Church of Christ *subsists in* the Catholic Church. Similarly, Skydsgaard also contributed to the revision of the Decree on Ecumenism the technical term *ecclesial communities* as a Catholic designation of bodies originating in the Reformation. See Jared Wicks, "The Significance of the 'Ecclesial Communities' of the Reformation," *Ecumenical Trends,* 30 (2001), 170–73.

37. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 304–18. The aula discussion lasted from November 18 to December 2, 1963, with encouragement coming on November 21, when the Fathers accepted chapters I–III of the schema as the basis for further work by casting 1966 *placet* votes and only 86 *non placet* votes.

38. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, p. 309, citing Visher's words on "the complexity and obscurity of history."

tians on a scale of descending degrees of sacramental, ministerial, and doctrinal fullness, which contrasts with how the others understand themselves. For the Lutheran George Lindbeck, the generous spirit of the draft contrasts with the "ecclesiological egotism" imbedded in its references to other ecclesial bodies.

These and other critical remarks spurred the Dutch Catholic theologian of the Secretariat, Frans Thijssen, to remind the observers during the Tuesday meeting of November 18, 1963, that the ecumenism draft rested on the Catholic ecclesiology expressed in the developing dogmatic constitution *De ecclesia*. In both texts the Catholic Church is meditating on itself in a fresh way—but based on its own vision of the Church. Some of the observers' criticisms of this vision seem contrary to the rules of fair play in dialogue, for it is a fundamental principle even in the World Council of Churches, adopted at a Toronto meeting in 1950, that a member church is not required to give up its own ecclesiology and need only recognize elements of the true church, not the Church in the full sense, in the other members. A positive but distinctively Catholic view of ecumenism was emerging, which, as the observers were sensing, did not fit with aspects of their confessional identity and recent ecumenical practice. It is no surprise that they did not share this view.[39]

The observers' comments on *De oecumenismo* in the Tuesday meetings and other encounters were recorded by the officials and *periti* of the Secretariat, who received in some cases copies of the observers' prepared written remarks on the schema. These notes and texts took on added importance when the same associates of the Secretariat began the work of revising the draft to prepare the text on which the Council Fathers would vote in the following Council Period. According to the norms of such work, the main sources of revisions had to be the oral and written comments of the Council members, but inevitably contributions by the observers would also be considered. This is a topic for further research in the papers of the Secretariat preserved in the Vatican Secret Archive. This is no small matter, since, in addition to *De oecumenismo,* the same pattern of observers' comments on a schema and its subsequent revision in the Secretariat continued during the genesis of the Council declarations on the non-Christian religions and on religious liberty.

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39. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 311–14, citing Lindbeck and Thijssen, adding Vischer's statement that although the schema rests on Catholic ecclesiology that other churches do not share, this does not render it "unecumenical."

The 2014 study by Velati draws on the ample available sources to tell of the observers' reaction to, and limited but real participation in, a whole series of Council events, decisions, and texts. Because of space, only a few aspects can be mentioned here: the January 1964 encounter between Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras in the Holy Land; the discussions during Period III on saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary (in chapters VII and VIII of *De ecclesia*), on religious liberty, and on the Jews; the evaluations following the promulgation of *Unitatis redintegratio*; the evaluations by observers of the stormy final days of Period III; the more intense involvement of some observers during Periods III and IV when the Church/world relationship took center stage; the engagement of observers on the draft on the Church's missionary activity; the enthusiasm and criticism of observers regarding the promulgated *Dei Verbum*; the prayer service of the observers with Paul VI as well as the observers' moving letter to the Council on December 4, 1965; and, finally, the preparation and actions in Rome and Constantinople for the common action on December 7, 1965, to erase from memory the mutual excommunications of 1054.[40]

More could be said about the new configurations of the churches' interrelationships that began to emerge in 1965 after promulgation of the Decree *Unitatis redintegratio*.[41] But better to record here some insights about the Council that the observers expressed as it ended.

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40. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 331–35 (Holy Land embrace of pope and patriarch), pp. 390–99 (on saints and Mary), pp. 400–10 (religious liberty, 1964), pp. 411–20 (Jews and non-Christians), pp. 431–54 and pp. 482–86 (completing and appreciating UR), pp. 488–502 (furor as Period III ends before calm returns), pp. 455–75 and pp. 546–67 (observers' experiences on Church/world issues, especially in the WCC, leading to contributions to *Gaudium et spes*), pp. 567–78 (similarly on Church's missionary activity), pp. 594–98 (final amendments of *De revelatione* and initial views of DV), pp. 620–29 and 637–38 (prayer service on December 4, 1965, at St. Paul's, after the observers' common letter), and pp. 629–39 (consigning the 1054 excommunications to oblivion). The minutes of the observers' discussion of chapter VIII of *De ecclesia*, on Mary, on September 22, 1964, have been published in Cesare Antonelli, *Il dibattito su Maria nel Concilio Vaticano II* (Padua, 2009), pp. 517–32, relating statements by Cullmann, Scrima, Schlink, and Nissiotis. From the final days, there is Oscar Cullmann's farewell address to the Secretariat, "The Rome of the Obervers at the Vatican Council," in *Vatican II. The New Direction* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 102–06. A small correction is that the decision regarding *De libertate religiosa* in late 1964 was not to "not promulgate" it (Velati, p. 491), but instead to not vote on the draft's adequacy as a basis of further work.

41. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 431–39 (events before completion of UR) and pp. 502–18 (the "Joint Working Group" of the Catholic Church and the WCC; a preparatory bilateral commission with the Lutheran World Federation; steps toward an Anglican-Catholic dialogue; SPCU contacts with Constantinople). For a wide-angle view of these and further developments up to 1978, see Jared Wicks, "Collaboration and Dialogue. The Roman

For many observers, their presence and action at the Council was a beginning that they sensed had to continue in forms of dialogue and mutual exchange that were then being discovered. All the observers saw major significance in the Decree on Ecumenism, since its analyses and mandates embodied a radical change from previous Catholic hostility toward and distance from the ecumenical movement earlier in the twentieth century. Although the Catholic notion of ecumenical engagement differs from that of Protestants and of the World Council of Churches, this does not impede common action. Clearly, the Catholic entry into the movement, with all the resources of the Church, was going to make ecumenical thought and activity decisively different in the post-Council era.[42]

Reflecting on many non-Catholic responses to the Council, Schlink warned against narrow and selective perceptions. Many were attending so much to the Declaration on Religious Freedom and the Decree on Ecumenism that they were missing, according to Schlink, the wide-ranging reform of Catholic life charted by the Council's eight other decrees. The Methodist Albert Outler said that the Council's prescriptions for the Catholic Church challenged American Protestantism's ecclesiastical immobilism and theological superficiality. Cullmann and others repeatedly commented on the biblical concentration marking many of the documents, which they believed was a major change that should impress Protestant Christians.[43] Still, Schlink pointed out that although the Council promoted a heightened role for scripture in Catholic life, the Council did not explicitly acknowledge a critical and normative function of scripture over magisterial teaching, which revealed a fundamental difference between

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Catholic Presence in the Ecumenical Movement during the Pontificate of Paul VI," in *Paolo VI e l'ecumenismo* (Brescia and Rome, 2001), pp. 215–67. An early Lutheran-Catholic theological dialogue in the United States took place in Baltimore on July 6–7, 1965, and continues, twelve "rounds" later, to this day. The topic at Baltimore was "The Status of the Nicene Creed as Dogma of the Church," and the participants included two Lutheran Council observers (George Lindbeck and Warren A. Quanbeck) and four Catholic *periti* of the Council (William W. Baum, Godfrey Diekmann, John Courtney Murray, and George H. Tavard).

42. For general views and especially evaluations of the impact of *Unitatis Redintegratio*, see Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 689–92, 694–95, 709–13.

43. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, p. 675 (Schlink), pp. 692–93 (Outler), p. 679 (Cullmann). A notable exception to Schlink's perceptions is the sharply critical survey of practically all the Council documents by Vittorio Subilia, a Waldensian and delegated Council observer of the World Alliance of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches. See his 300-page volume *La nuova cattolicità del Cattolicesimo. Una vutazione del Concilio Vaticano II* (Turin, 1967; also publ. as *Le nouveau visage du catholicisme. Une appréciation réformée du Concile Vatican II* [Geneva, 1968]).

Catholics and Lutherans in understanding the Gospel, which future dialogue must address.[44]

The Observers' Reports, Diaries, and Publications as Sources of Council History

A less public activity of the observers during the Council, but one of considerable importance, was their sending of regular reports to their church leadership on Council developments. Velati followed this trail industriously by visiting a large number of archives to recover the observers' insights into the Council as it unfolded.[45] A resource of singular importance that Velati exploits to the full is the collection of frequent letters during the Council from Vischer to the WCC leadership. Vischer's reports destined for circulation among the WCC divisions were written in English, but those to the general secretary, Willem Visser 't Hooft, on more sensitive matters were written in German.[46]

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44. Cited by Velati, *Separati ma fratelli*, pp. 668–69, followed by Bea's response to Schlink on the role of the Magisterium in serving the Word of God rather than assuming a place above it (DV 10). Consequently, the first phase of the world-level Lutheran-Catholic theological dialogue treated "The Gospel and the Church," leading to the "Malta Report" of 1972, available in *Growth in Agreement*, ed. Harding Meyer and Lukas Vischer (New York and Geneva, 1984), pp. 168–99.

45. See *Separati ma fratelli*, p. 13, where Velati expresses thanks for access to the Council papers in Geneva (of WCC, Lutheran, and Reformed observers); Basel (of Cullmann); Pasadena (of David Du Plessis); Dallas (of Outler); Haverford (of Douglas Steere); Syracuse (of James Luther Adams); Cambridge, MA (of George Hunston Williams); Bensheim (of Schlink); Paris (of reports to the Protestant Federation of France); Strasbourg (of Skydsgaard and Vilmos Vajta); London (of Anglican observers); Canterbury (of Pawley); Durham, NC (of Robert Earl Cushman); Nashville (of Jesse Bader); Leiden (of L. J. Van Holk); and St. Louis (of Oswald Hoffmann). *Il concilio inedito. Fonti del Vaticano II*, ed. Massimo Faggiolo and Giovanni Turbanti (Bologna, 2001)—a catalog of the personal papers of the Council participants—lists sixty-two observers and guests, giving details such as publication information on the Council papers of observers or the location of their papers.

46. The unpublished 3-volume collection, kept in the World Council archive, is *Reports on Second Vatican Council by Lukas Vischer and Nikos Nissiotis*, containing more than sixty reports sent by Vischer. A first sifting of the collection led to Velati's substantial article, "Gli osservatori del Consiglio ecumenico delle chiese al Vaticano II," in *L'evento e le decisioni. Studi sulle dinamiche del concilio Vaticano II*, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori and Alberto Melloni (Bologna, 1997), pp. 189–257. A recent study is by Michael Quisinsky, "The Ecumenical Dynamic of Vatican II—Lukas Vischer between Geneva and Rome," *Cristianesimo nells storia,* 34 (2013), 273–314. With Vischer's permission, Wicks published from the *Reports* his letter to Geneva after his November 14, 1964, private audience with Paul VI just a week before the promulgation of the Vatican II Decree on Ecumenism. See Jared Wicks, "Collaboration and Dialogue. The Roman Catholic Presence in the Ecumenical Movement during the Pontificate of Paul VI," in *Paolo VI e l'ecumenismo*, Appendix 1, pp. 259–62.

For the history of the Council, the archived observers' reports reflect perceptions that combine nearness to the event with involvement yet, because of their status as observers, achieve a critical distance. It raises the question about the contributions of these reports to the standard historiography of the Council. In 1997 Vischer posed this question when he reviewed volumes I and II of *History of Vatican II*, the project directed by Giuseppe Alberigo. He related that his own perceptions of the Council's preparation, Period I, and first intersession differ from the presentation of these two widely cited and studied volumes. This particular observer sent twenty-five detailed reports to the Genevan WCC leadership during Period I and received confidential reports from the Secretariat on developments during the 1962–63 intersession. The *History* volumes relate well many inner-Catholic events and concerns, but Vischer found them inadequate on the ecumenical environment, relations with other churches, and the early contributions of the observers. He believed that they missed the wider Christian perspective that should mark historical work on a Council that had fostering Christian unity as one of its main goals.[47]

The works of Velati, especially his book of 2014, have begun to fill a lacuna in Council historiography, albeit in a monograph in Italian now set beside the widely translated and consulted histories of the Council.

Beyond the reports of observers to their leadership, their published books and articles deserve the attention of historians, especially the observers' works appearing in 1966–68, when their reflections could treat the final events of December 7–8, 1965, along with the completed *corpus* of Council documents. Valuable is the brief text of Lutheran observer Skydsgaard, who made constructive contributions to Council documents and singled out in early 1966 the ultimate, but often hidden, aim of the Council: to serve the Gospel of Christ's grace.[48]

Other observers and guests at the Council gave interviews and lectures that soon appeared in books, such as the Congregationalist observer

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47. "Storia del Concilio Vaticano II. Reactions and Comments by an Observer at the Council," *The Ecumenical Review,* 49 (1997), 348–53. Vischer contributed a chapter to the final volume of the *History*, that is, "The Council as an Event in the Ecumenical Movement," in *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, vol. 5: *The Council and the Transition, the Fourth Period and the End of the Council, September 1965–December 1965* (Maryknoll, NY, and Leuven, 2006), pp. 485–539.

48. "The Last Intention of the Council," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies,* 3 (1966), 151–54.

George B. Caird and the Lutheran guest Cullmann.[49] Others remained at their typewriters to compose global accounts of the Council based on their observations during the Council, such as the Anglican Bishop of Ripon John Moorman, the Methodist Albert Outler, and the Lutheran Edmund Schlink.[50] This is a very selective list, which does not encompass interviews of and articles by the observers on the whole Council that appeared in various periodicals.

This extensive material—both the observers' reports to their churches and more public accounts disseminated shortly after the Council—constitutes a significant sector of testimony to the Council's work and an important articulation of the influential early reception of the Council that calls for integration into standard history writing about the Council.

49. Caird, *Our Dialogue with Rome. The Second Vatican Council and After* (Oxford, 1967), and Cullmann, *Vatican Council II. The New Direction*, especially "The Reform of Vatican Council II in the Light of the History of the Catholic Church" (pp. 64–101).

50. Moorman, *Vatican Observed: An Anglican Impression of Vatican II* (London, 1967); Outler, *Methodist Observer at Vatican II* (Westminster, MD, 1967); and Schlink, *Nach dem Konzil* (Göttingen, 1966), and the English translation, *After the Council* (Philadelphia, 1968).

Book Reviews

General and Miscellaneous

Does Church History Matter? By Robert F. Rea. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic. 2014. Pp. 231. $20.00. ISBN 978-0-8308-2819-7.)

This book argues for the relevance of church history to the concerns of contemporary Protestant congregations. Robert F. Rea targets his argument to "Bible-focused" Christians, who consider the Bible to be the "inspired, infallible, and sufficient" basis for Christian life (p. 74). Although Rea endorses this view of scripture, he notes that it can easily become a basis for dismissing historical theology on the grounds that it is part of man-made "tradition" and thus lacks divine inspiration or authority. For Rea, this is a mistake, as, rightly understood and interpreted, church history deepens one's capacity to engage and apply scripture. Taking the Bible seriously, in other words, implies taking church history seriously.

In part 1, "How We Understand Tradition," Rea defines history as "the study of the past in order to understand the present and to improve the future" (p. 23). Specifically Christian history is marked by the "presence, actions, will, and heart of God" (p. 24). Meanwhile, "tradition" broadly understood is a "synonym for church history, Christian history, or historical theology" (p. 29). These overlapping definitions of history and tradition underscore a key point: tradition is inevitable. The simple act of professing Christianity helps to propagate a religion 2000 years in the making. Thus, even groups that dismiss tradition as a determining factor in Christian life and practice are still recipients and transmitters of tradition. Part 2, "Expanding Circles of Inquiry," argues that strengthening one's Christian identity requires moving beyond one's immediate faith community to engage the Body of Christ more broadly. This engagement deepens our understanding of the *consensus fidelium* that unites a Body of Christ that is not only transdenominational and transcultural, but also transtemporal. Learning to see the present through the lens of past thinkers sharpens our insight into the present state of faith communities and helps us integrate them more fully with the Body. The third and final part, "Tradition Serving the Church,"examines how learning from the great exegetes of the past helps Bible-focused Christians to interpret and apply scripture more effectively and gives them powerful tools for addressing contemporary issues in church life.

Rea is at his best when explaining to the Bible-focused Christian why neglecting to engage church history impoverishes church life. He explodes the notion that the Bible is a self-interpreting text and makes a compelling case for why careful attention to the past is vital to the vibrancy of contemporary Christian communities. Yet occasionally there are puzzling gaps in Rea's argument. For instance: in

arguing for the need for more diverse and nuanced biblical exegesis, he traces how *emphasis* on the literal sense of scripture has changed over the centuries without addressing how *conceptions* of the literal sense have changed. What the literal sense meant to St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, or Martin Luther differs significantly from what it means to Rea's bible-focused Christian. Neglecting to mention this is curious, given how it would strengthen Rea's case for the need to nuance biblical interpretation.

Elsewhere, what Rea takes for granted belies the extent to which he remains embedded in a particular milieu. At one point Rea depicts the 1980s as a critical decade for U.S. Christianity in which public moral failures of prominent Christian leaders and broad cultural acceptance of moral relativism fundamentally altered the cultural and religious landscape (pp. 108–09). This is bound to puzzle those outside of particular fundamentalist/evangelical circles. Christian leaders in the United States have been involved in damaging public scandals since the advent of mass media: what makes the scandals of the 1980s uniquely determinative? Why are the 1980s the watershed moment for moral relativism as opposed to, say, the 1960s? More basically, what does Rea *mean* by moral relativism? By using these tropes without qualification, Rea risks alienating potential conversation partners from other sectors of U.S. Christianity unfamiliar with how he deploys them.

These caveats aside, Rea is to be commended for making a cogent argument for the importance of historical theology to an audience that typically neglects it.

Fairfield University Jeremy Sabella

The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources. Edited by Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger. [Orthodox Christian Series.] (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2014. Pp. x, 375. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-87580-701-0.)

The Christian communities of West Asia are in the news almost daily, as they live out the latest bleak episode in their long history. Thanks to the obdurate sadism of so-called Islamic State, for some of them it could be their last. This history is almost unknown in the West, as are the culture and distinctive beliefs of these communities or their stirring experiences of living under Muslim rule and devising means to survive.

In the early centuries after Christ, Christians in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire developed doctrines along their own lines, particularly concerning the nature of Christ. When the early church councils prescribed the mode in which his humanity and divinity came together, significant numbers in the East vehemently dissented. Then, just as the main points of doctrinal difference had been identified, these Eastern provinces were overrun by the new power of Islam. From the seventh century onward Eastern Christians continued as client communities, experiencing pressure to convert, adverse social and economic relations, and sometimes active persecution. The story of how they survived and rallied, and particu-

larly how they responded to the challenge of Islam, deserves a full telling. Equally, the theologies they worked out in the context of the strict monotheism promoted by Muslims include masterpieces of apologetic that show both continuity with patristic precedents and also responsiveness to the questions and criticisms they met on a daily basis.

The main Christian communities that have continued for most of their history under Islam are commonly known as Nestorians, Jacobites (Copts, in Egypt), and Melkites. As Islamic rule became established, and Arabic became the normal language of conversation and scholarly writing, so they moved from their former languages of Greek and Syriac (a form of the language that Jesus had used) to Arabic. In this new context they had to find new idioms and terminologies, as well as a new logic in which to express their beliefs. The results, although definitely recognizable as descendants of their patristic forebears, show sensitivity to the new context set by Islamic religious discourse. Exploring their theological world is a stimulating and instructive experience. This book goes some way to make this possible.

Recognizing the impossibility of covering the whole range of surviving writings from 1300 years of Christian religious thinking expressed in Arabic, the two editors decided to bring together selected works from the first millennium of the Melkite tradition, those churches that remained loyal to the Christological formula defined at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and endorsed by the emperor (hence their name Melkite, "the king's followers"). They have collected writings from twelve Arab authors, many translated expressly and a few others taken from earlier publications, to present a sample of how this church continued in conditions where communication with the Byzantine mother church and its culture was no longer practicable, and where Christian authors fashioned distinctive explanations and arguments to answer questions from other denominations and from Muslims alike.

The book starts with a relatively brief but surprisingly comprehensive introduction in which the Melkite Church and something of its culture are set out. Anyone who wants an impression of Christian life in the Islamic world, particularly in the first five or so centuries before mass conversion cut its numbers, will find a full and satisfying account here.

There follow translations of twelve works, some of them complete and others substantial excerpts. They range from a document from the latter eighth century that is regarded as the earliest Christian theological writing in Arabic to the account of a journey from Syria to Moscow in the seventeenth century. The translators include some of the leaders in the field, and although the Arabic originals are (understandably) not included, their translations can be taken as reliable and authoritative.

The twelve works reflect the huge range of ideas and attitudes that characterize thinking of Melkites (and to some extent Christian Arabs). Among them are expositions of Christian teachings about the Trinity and the humanity and divinity of Christ, hagiographical accounts of martyrdoms, histories, itineraries, disputa-

tions with Muslims, and undisguised polemics. The latter show most vividly that the Melkite Church was not cowed by the rule and culture of Islam, whereas all the works attest to churches maintaining an authentic character and voice, even while their numbers were declining.

A major feature in many of the works is their awareness of Islam and response to it. The earliest, from the latter eighth century, which is untitled but called here *An Apology for the Christian Faith*, expresses this by incorporating phrases from the Qur'an into its explanations of the Trinity and Christ in an implicit statement that there is no contradiction between Melkite theology and Islamic scripture. Theodore Abū Qurra, the early-ninth-century bishop of Harran in northern Syria, follows a more deliberate method of demonstrating by means of logical formulations acknowledged by both Christians and Muslims the soundness and indeed sufficiency of Christian doctrines. At the other extreme, Paul of Antioch, bishop of Sidon probably around 1200, makes bravura use of selections from the Qur'an, which he occasionally edits, to prove that the scripture supports Christian teachings, that it was only intended for a localized Arabic-speaking readership, and that it can only be read intelligently when it is used with the Bible. Despite what its translator says (p. 219), this letter stands out from other Christian Arab works for its undermining of the whole panoply of Islam, which is called appropriately by the editors "highly provocative and subversive" (p. 31).

The very confident attitude toward Islam displayed by the works translated here was, of course, as much intended for fellow Christians as for Muslims. Christian authors frequently wrote to prove to waverers and the fearful that Christianity was not only the intellectual equal of Islam but also a richer and more complete revelation that it would make no sense to abandon.

In this, these Melkite authors were no different from Nestorians or Jacobites, all aware of Islam and conscientiously trying to show the sufficiency of their own delineation of faith. It is important to keep in mind that this collection is only a fraction of the works produced by Christians living under Islamic rule. Others from other denominations are equally rich and sometimes more profound. Nevertheless, these translations give a valuable insight into a world that is largely hidden from view. They are as welcome as they are readable.

University of Birmingham David Thomas

Profeti e profetismi: Escatologia, millenarismo e utopia. Edited by André Vauchez. [Conifere, Vol. 7.] (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane. 2014. Pp. 484. €49,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-10-56008-2.)

Although perhaps not as fashionable as they were around the turn of the last millennium, the intertwined subjects of prophecy, eschatology, and apocalypticism remain a vital part of scholarship on the Western tradition, ranging from antiquity through the Middle Ages and into the modern (or even postmodern) era. The "pursuit of the millennium," to speak, harkening back to Norman Cohn's ground-

breaking work on the problem of millenarianism and its revolutionary potentialities, continues among historians, sociologists, political scientists and others. Far from being marginal, prophetic voices, apocalyptic predictions, and eschatological speculations provide a fascinating opportunity to interrogate all sorts of texts, events, and figures that relate to a wide range of political, intellectual, and social issues, some conservative and others subversive, framed in religious but also secularized forms of theorizing about the future.

This volume of essays edited by André Vauchez (an Italian translation of the original publication, *Prophètes et prophétisme* [Paris, 2012]) makes for a welcome addition to the ongoing dialogue about what Vauchez calls the "three principal forms of prophecy" (eschatology, millenarianism, and utopianism), viewed here as "cultural constructs, with a strong symbolic character, that need to be taken seriously since they illustrate the role played by the imagination in human society" (p. 17). The collection includes contributions by Jean-Robert Armogathe, Sylvie Barnat, Jean-Pierre Bastian, Philippe Boutry, Pierre Gibert, Balerio Petrarca, and Isabelle Richet. These studies designedly stretch across the entirety of Western apocalyptic discourse from the Bible to the late-twentieth century. They also widen the geographic scope of their inquiry into various iterations of prophecy and millenarianism, including chapters on Africa, Latin America, and North America (meaning, in effect, the United States).

Scholars conversant in the premodern apocalyptic tradition will encounter many familiar texts and names in this collection, starting with the Christian roots of prophecy and messianic thought in the Hebrew tradition to the highly influential patristic thinker Augustine of Hippo (whose stultifying effect on millennial speculation was considerable, albeit not absolute), followed by medieval monastic authors including Hildegard of Bingen and Joachim of Fiore, and Reformation-era firebrands like Thomas Müntzer (along with, inevitably, Michel de Notre Dame, better known as Nostradamus). Moving into the period from the French Revolution to the twentieth century, one encounters a less typical line-up of intellectuals and social critics, thinking in explicitly and implicitly eschatological terms: the French essayist Charles Péguy; the Jewish-born German philosopher Walter Benjamin; and the eminent Catholic scholar Yves Congar. The final three chapters on areas outside of Europe introduce even less familiar—at least, to those who work mainly on European apocalypticism—figures from millenarian traditions in Africa and Latin America such as the Congolese religious leader Simon Kimbangu, along with North American eschatological impresarios like William Miller and Joseph Smith.

Despite such forays into colonial contexts of millenarianism, Europe remains at the center of this volume: 357 out of 445 pages deal with events and persons from the field of European history. Indeed, given the salience of apocalyptic themes in recent forms of fundamentalist Islamic ideology, including that of the so-called Islamic State, one wishes that the collection would have included an essay on Islamic apocalyptic traditions, developing outside the immediate textual orbit of Western prophecy and eschatology, whether Christian or secularized, but surely

just as much a product of colonial and postcolonial experiences. Regardless, Vauchez and the volume's authors have made a valuable contribution to our understanding of an apparently inescapable human desire to understand ourselves and our place in history through the imagining of possible futures, whether irenic or forged in violence.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill BRETT WHALEN

Outreach and Renewal: A First-Millennium Legacy for the Third-Millennium Church. By James McSherry. [Cistercian Studies Series, No. 236.] (Trappist, KY: Cistercian Publications; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. x, 276. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-87907-236-0.)

It is a common misunderstanding that when Christians refer to "tradition" to assume that it is simply the mass of passively inherited material, the status quo, which is then either embraced defensivly as "the unchanging truth" or arrogantly rejected as "passé." The current culture wars within the Catholic Church are due, in large part, to this simplistic confusion of the past, yesterday's concerns, and what we have encountered with the work of the Spirit in the community of faith that is Tradition. By contrast, since Christianity claims a link with the living God, which is not bounded by the confines of human inheritance, the relationship of Christians to their past is far more complex. Parts are reaffirmed, parts are changed, some ideas and practices are wholly new—a result of our existential creativity, parts are jettisoned as either simply the mistakes perceived with hindsight or as no longer approprate; and all needs to be received with crtitical attention as to whether or not it is, in our historical moment, worthy of being part of our witness to the living God. In this process, the historical theologian has a unique role: for the experience of Christians in other times and cultures can be held before us as a mirror. In this mirror of the past, our present can see where it is better than long ago; where learning is appropriate; and, indeed, where elements of discipleship, long forgotten, can be used as inspiration for our future. It is this dynamic view of historical theology that animates this book.

It looks back to patterns of discipleship and mission from the early centuries of the Latin churches—in particular, the centuries that saw the rise of monasticism in the West—and draws insights for a renewal of the Catholic Church in our own time (and although the work is focused on Catholicism, most of the ideas would be just as relevant for most branches of Western Christianity today). The places that James McSherry goes for his examples are quite well off the beaten tract: the works of St. Augustine and John Cassian; the hagiography of early monastic figures such as Martin of Tours; the world of the Carolingian renaissance; and, most extensively, the legacy of insular Christianity from the Celtic-speaking Western fringe of early-medieval Europe. In these sources—perhaps it would be better to speak of mirrors—he finds an openness to diversity, to the goodness of the creation, and to the dignity of the individual that is needed in our times and all too often sidelined within the structures of the Catholic Church today.

It would be easy to find fault with this book in its broad sweep through centuries, in its details of interpretation of particular events or texts in the past, or, indeed, in the way that it looks on the "positive side" of many past developments. For example, it looks at Cassian without noting the psychological price that Western Christianity has paid for parts of his approach to the human person. Likewise, McSherry views St. Patrick without noting the problems connected with his eschatology and views the Céli Dé as a reforming group—and, as such, a good thing—without noting problematic nature of their world-denying spirituality. But these are problems that belong to the world of the history of theology, whereas McSherry wishes to put forward a vision for the future that he sees as rooted in the past. Viewed in this way, this book is stimulating—but the warning that we must never imagine ourselves simply passive receivers of the past remains: we must use all our inheritance (be that the Bible or later texts, be that earlier or later experience) but must do so in a spirit of critical dialogue. No moment is perfect; in every moment there must be an fresh search for a glimpse at the significance of the divine mystery for our existence.

University of Nottingham THOMAS O'LOUGHLIN

Heaven Can Wait: Purgatory in Catholic Devotional and Popular Culture. By Diana Walsh Pasulka. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. x, 207. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-538202-0.)

This book gives a certain appearance of being a scholarly treatment of the doctrine and popular reception of purgatory from the Middle Ages to the present, but the appearance turns out to be illusory. Pasulka approaches her subject with enthusiasm, but unfortunately the theology of sin, forgiveness, and satisfaction has escaped her. There is no mention of contrition or repentance in her book. She speaks, on the one hand, of "absolving afterlife sin" and performing penance after death as a means of avoiding hell; and, on the other hand, of pilgrims effecting their salvation while still alive by visiting St. Patrick's Purgatory (pp. 40–42).

In her introduction, she sets the stage by referring to the decline of interest in purgatory since the Second Vatican Council, claiming that the Council itself supported the de-emphasis. Then, rather than giving a general history of purgatory, she concentrates mainly on medieval Ireland and modern America (from the nineteenth century onward). For the Middle Ages, she spends most of her time on stories of St. Patrick's Purgatory (located on an island in Lake Derg in County Donegal), as if this constituted the main or only idea of purgatory in the Middle Ages. She does not treat standard devotions, like offering Masses and other prayers for the delivery of souls from punishment.

Chapter 1 is titled "When Purgatory Was a Place on Earth," and chapter 2 is subtitled "Moving Purgatory Off the Earth," which indicate Pasulka's belief that there was a gradual progression from thinking of purgatory as earthly to regarding it as nonearthly. However, it is important to know that purgatory was generally seen to be in an "infernal" location—that is, under the earth. St. Thomas Aquinas

was typical in considering the hell of the damned to be in the lowest position, with the limbo of infants above it, purgatory above that, and the limbo of the fathers (which was emptied when Jesus "descended into hell") the highest (*3 Sent*. d. 22 q. 2 a. 1 sol. 2). But in addition to the common or general purgatory, a soul by divine dispensation could be purified or partially purified in a specific place in the upper world, which would serve as a "special purgatory." In the most popular book of the Middle Ages, Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*, St. Patrick's Purgatory is regarded in two ways: first, as an entrance to the common purgatory (Feast of St. Patrick), and then as a special purgatory (Feast of All Souls). Furthermore, the idea of the subterranean levels of "hell" (including the temporary hell of purgatory) lasted into the seventeenth century (e.g., Suarez, *Opera* 4:627–28).

In chapter 3, Pasulka treats John England, first bishop of Charleston, and his 1840 article "On Certain Superstitions Imputed to Catholics: Concerning the Fable of St. Patrick's Purgatory, and Some Other Foolish Inventions of the Protestant Press," which may or may not include his response to an 1824 attack on the doctrine (her notes are sketchy, and she provides no bibliography). Chapter 4 deals with views of purgatory between 1830 and 1920, branching out to France and England as well as looking at America. The fifth and last chapter treats of "purgatory apostolates" that have developed after the Second Vatican Council to bring back the devotion as it existed before the Council. Pasulka's treatment is not systematic: she says she has studied eighteen such apostolates, but she does not list them. She spends a good deal of time discussing her interviews with Susan Tassone, "[t]he most popular author of contemporary purgatory devotional literature" (p. 18), but she names only one of her works, *Praying with the Saints for the Holy Souls in Purgatory*, without giving details (it was published by Our Sunday Visitor in 2009). However, her accounts are interesting, and often touching, showing, as Pasulka says, people "mourning for a doctrine that was once part of the lives of all Catholics." The doctrine has certainly evolved, and there is clearly room for more study on the subject.

University of California, Los Angeles Henry Ansgar Kelly

Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Edited by Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines. [Disciplina Monastica, Vol. 10.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2014. Pp. 393. €115,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-55011-4.)

This volume contains the papers presented at the "Medieval Customaries and Monastic/Regular Life: Approaches from Across the Disciplines" colloquium held at Château de la Bretesche, France, on June 10–13, 2007, with an introduction by the editors. The book is the tenth volume of Brepols' *Disciplina Monastica*. The main objective of this series is to present the current state of affairs regarding medieval and early-modern monastic scholarship from an interdisciplinary point of view, including historians of different *expertises* as well as archaeologists and philologists. The volume is divided into three sections: (1) Customary Texts as Sources

for Monastic Life; (2) Customary Texts and Monastic Architecture; and (3) Monastic and Regular Life as Revealed in Customs, Rules, and Other Texts. In section 1 there are three papers. Isabelle Cochelin studies manuscripts of customaries before 1100, in order to attract attention to these sources for the study of everyday life in the Middle Ages. Catherine Bonnin-Magne's paper deals with the relationship between Cluniac customaries and the diffusion of the cult of Cluniac saints. Pius Engelbert describes his progress on the edition of William of Hirsau's *Constitutiones Hirsaugenses*. In section 2 Anne Baud and Christian Sapin present the state of the archaeological research in the Abbey of Cluny. The authors use earlier Cluniac archaeological data, written sources, and their own archaeological discoveries to describe the current knowledge of the early stages of Cluny's construction and to show the problems to be faced in the next excavations. In the same section, Carolyn Marino Malone shows the relationship between the peculiar architecture of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon's abbey church and the development of specific, although Cluniac-based, liturgies during the eleventh century. The last paper of this section, written by Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, deals with the way the customs and the architecture of the Augustinian convent of Saint-Jeans-des-Vignes (Soissons, France) developed from 1098 to 1783.

Éric Palazzo's paper, the first in section 3, presents his current research into the function of sensory images in the medieval monastic liturgy. Alain Rauwel's paper describes the appearance of communities of Augustinian canons in the early-twelfth century in Bourgogne, the epicenter of Cluniac and Cistercians monastic reforms. He states that Augustinian canons are another way of manifestation of monastic spirituality, not an alternative to it. Bert Roest, in the last paper of the book, studies the conformation of Clarissan congregations from the twelfth century to the early sixteenth. According to him, it grew from many different women's convents, some very small and poor needing local charity to survive, others rich and of royal foundation. Rules, customs, and constitutions of these houses were also very different in their origins and never achieved uniformity during the Middle Ages.

This volume combines successfully a variety of papers coming from specialists of different branches of the medieval and early-modern studies of the regular life. It also presents a strong contemporary trend in medieval studies that tries to combine written sources with data coming from other scholarly fields of research. It is a highly recommended reading for scholars interested in the history of the regular life, especially Cluniac monasticism, Augustinian canons, and Clarissan studies. It is also a profitable book for those interested in the history of everyday life and the history of medieval architecture.

Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas
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Benedictine Men and Women of Courage: Roots and History. Rev. ed. By Ann Kessler, O.S.B., with Neville Ann Kelly. (Seattle: Lean Scholar Press. 2014. Pp. xxviii, 481. $26.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-9904497-0-6).

There is no up-to-date and reliable one-volume history of Benedictine monasticism. Writing the history of a 1500-year-old institution, which has taken shape in thousands of monasteries on six continents, is a daunting prospect. It probably exceeds the capacity of any single scholar and the confines of a single volume. The task is not made any easier by the current diffusion of Benedictine monasteries to Southeast Asia, South America, and Africa, and the numerical decline of most European and North American monasteries. Ann Kessler, who was professed as a Benedictine in 1947, earned her doctorate in history at the University of Notre Dame, and taught for many decades at Mount Marty College, attempted this task in the first edition of this book (1992), which now appears in a new edition, which she has revised with the help of Neville Anne Kelly.

The result, not surprisingly, is mixed. Positively, the book is nicely printed, well organized, and supplied with a thorough index. It gives attention to Benedictine women and to the Benedictine presence in Australia. In the chapters Kessler says she enjoyed most (10–12), on Benedictines in the United States and Australia, she demonstrates considerable skill as a storyteller, as she draws on her archival research and interviews. She gives particular attention to the French Benedictines' vicissitudes in France during the Revolution and the antireligious governments of the early-twentieth century.

On the negative side, the book, particularly the first half, needed some fact-checking and stylistic polishing. For example, Antony of Egypt left no Greek sermons (p. 3); Julian of Norwich lived long after, not before, the civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda (p. 105); Philibert Schmitz was Belgian, not French (p. 105); the position to which Odilo of Cluny appointed his successor Hugh is missing (p. 57); and the statement that "each of the first four Cluniac abbots independently named his own successor, whether or not possessed of suitable qualifications" (p. 55), seems odd in that four of the first six abbots are venerated as saints, and Cluny experienced phenomenal growth under them. There are unfortunate sentences such as "[i]t had been a perfectly cloudless day, but while sorrowfully rising for prayers, lightning flashed" (p. 18). There is scarcely any mention of Benedictines in German-speaking lands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Nevertheless, Kessler's book does provide a generally reliable survey of Benedictine history, which will provide people new to the subject with an overview. It would have served them better if it had included an annotated reading list for each chapter.

Monastery of the Ascension Hugh Feiss, O.S.B.
Jerome, ID

The Cistercian Arts from the 12th to the 21st Century. Edited by Terryl N. Kinder and Roberto Cassanelli. Translated by Joyce Myerson. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Vol. 71.] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2014. Pp. 432. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-7735-4412-3.)

The Cistercian Arts is a magnificent compilation of scholarship that is truly synoptic. Here the splendors of architecture and art, which have traditionally drawn the attention of scholars, can be seen and apprehended, but they also can be seen together across a vastly extended range of Cistercian creativity. The reader can explore medieval Cistercian churches as well as learn about medieval mills and granges. The scholar is introduced to manuscripts, and medieval *sacra vasa* and seals. Furthermore, this *summa* of Cistercian productivity extends geographical boundaries so that information and illustrations are provided on Cistercian architecture in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic regions. Above all, this synopsis allows the reader to see the entire field of Cistercian creation over time, since it encompasses not simply the medieval period but also the period between the order's inception in 1098 and the present day. As Terryl N. Kinder says in her introduction, "this diversity represents the creativity of many people from widely different cultures and places and centuries, revealing a rich panoply that makes up the Cistercian order over time" (p. 9). Finally, the book is synoptic in that it allows the reader to see the fruits of the many different types and nationalities of experts who have contributed to this *magnum opus*. Essays by academic art and architectural historians are integrated with those by theologians, practicing architects, as well as Cistercian monks and nuns, all of different backgrounds and nationalities. Thus the reader is introduced to the sheer diversity of Cistercian studies.

In this context the chapters on Cistercian granges, hydraulics, mills, and forges are particularly valuable because they allow the reader to appreciate the achievements of the order in religious architecture, in the context of monks who were able engineers, industrialists, and businessmen. On another level, the chapters on St. Bernard of Clairvaux allow the reader to judge how far his principles, as expressed through his life and writings, infused the life and productions of the Cistercians for the next 900 years.

Such considerations inevitably lead to big questions. How far can an organization that has spread on a global scale and endured hundreds of years, and has included many types and nationalities of members, be seen to be cohesive and to be following unquestionably the precepts of its original founders? Within this book it is possible to see how soon the rules of simplicity and austerity were broken and how soon the tide of opinion turned against Bernard's strongly worded comment on lavish ecclesiastical architecture and decoration in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum abatem* of 1125. We learn of extravagant Cistercian *sacra vasa* even in the twelfth century. We learn that, far from being cheap, the grisaille glass used in Cistercian churches was extravagantly expensive: "the appropriate agents from Cistercian monasteries wilfully and intentionally ordered the glassmakers under their employ

to undertake this extra step and incur greater cost, because the Cistercian monks had an aesthetic preference for clear glass" (p. 211). The many illustrations allow us to see that medieval Cistercian architecture, far from being homogenous, was diverse, following the stylistic preferences of the builders of the different localities in which it was built. The chapters "Cistercian Nuns and Art in the Middle Ages" and "Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Cistercian Architecture in the German-Speaking Regions" leave us in no doubt that, for these Cistercians, simplicity was not a central precept.

This book shows the reader that the constant qualities that have driven all Cistercian productivity over the years are energy and ingenuity. It represents an excellent introduction to the Cistercian order, as rich and multifarious as the creations of the order itself.

London, England LESLEY MILNER

Un'altra fede. Le Case dei catecumeni nei territori estensi (1583–1938). By Matteo Al Kalak and Ilaria Pavan. [Biblioteca della *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*—Studi, Vol. 27.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 2013. Pp. xvi, 234. €28,00. ISBN 978-8-8222-6250-9.)

Case dei catecumeni, or Houses for Catechumens, were a prominent feature in the social and religious life of early-modern Italy. They provided places of support and isolation for Jews who sought Christian baptism. Such houses operated in many Italian cities and reflected both the generally chauvinistic attitude of the Catholic Church and of gentiles toward Jews and the particular political and social realities of their immediate locations. Matteo al Kalak and Ilaria Pavan have collaborated in the publication of a study of such works in the cities of Modena and Reggio under the government of the Este family and the later postrevolutionary governments of those areas down to 1938. This volume is composed, in fact, of two studies. Al Kalak has provided a careful analysis of the operations of these works in the early-modern period prior to the Napoleonic revolutions in Italy, whereas Pavan sheds valuable light on those operations under the governments of modern Italy.

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century history of Christian work with Jewish catechumens and neophytes, those preparing for or recently baptized, in Modena and Reggio holds much in common with the experience of other Italian cities. Al Kalak examines the houses of catechumens in a broader context of charitable foundations that provided material support to those in need. In this case, assistance was offered to Jews who, by their acceptance of Christianity, separated themselves from their communities of origin. That support also constituted a means of forced isolation by which church leaders prevented any contact between catechumens and their families or community leaders. Although forced baptisms were customarily forbidden, the indigence of many of the converts suggests something other than a free religious choice on their part. The number of conversions in these two cities was never very large and never threatened to undermine the Jewish community

in any substantial way. The Este rulers were known for their relatively benign attitude to their Jewish subjects. By the seventeenth century, the Este provided for the opportunity for Jewish family members of the catechumens and other leaders of the Jewish communities to question catechumens directly on the validity and justice of their conversions. The Church, meanwhile, used conversions as an opportunity to celebrate ritually what it saw as a Christian triumph over Jewish religion. Jews that were to be baptized were splendidly appareled as they walked in procession from their residence to the cathedral, where they were initiated into the Church. The audience for these triumphs was as much Christian as Jewish.

The revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not end the work of the *Case dei catecumeni.* These houses continued to operate. During the 1796–1814 revolutionary period, the Jewish communities enjoyed greater legal protections while still facing traditional hostility from gentiles. Pavan demonstrates how the civil authorities played a significant role supervising the entrance of Jews into the catechumenate and Jewish families and community leaders played a more prominent role in the examinations of candidates to protect Jews and the Jewish communities. With the restoration on the Este family in 1814, the pendulum swung back and older practices that favored traditional Christian attitudes toward the Jews reappeared. Pavan recounts several chilling examples of the government upholding canon law on the forced separation from their families of Jewish children baptized without parental consent. The *Case dei catecumeni* faced both political and economic challenges after the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy that led to their closure.

The broad chronological sweep of this volume will make it of interest to students of early modern and modern Italy, scholars of Christianity, and historians of the Jews.

John Carroll University PAUL V. MURPHY

Orthodox Constructions of the West. Edited by George E. Demacopoulos and Aristotle Papanikolaou. [Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Thought.] (New York: Fordham University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 365. $125.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8232-5192-6; $35.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-8232-5193-3.)

Resulting from a 2010 conference dedicated to historical and theological aspects of the schism between Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism, this volume aims to trace Orthodox constructions of the West through time. It comprises a series of theological, philosophical, social-scientific, and, less so, historical studies, which lend it a certain degree of welcome interdisciplinarity. Nevertheless, the focus is primarily on the modern period from the nineteenth century to today. Some studies are more specialized and focused on one or two thinkers (such as those on Dumitru Staniloae, Georges Florovsky, Vladimir Lossky, Chrestos Giannaras, and John S. Romanides); others trace the fluid constructions of the West as

they appear in official pronouncements of churches (for example, the Romanian and Russian Orthodox Churches) or the thinking of several theologians (such as Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem in the seventeenth century and Russian ecclesiastics who were influenced by Slavophile thinking). Ultimately, the West of the volume's title and of the studies is overwhelmingly the Roman Catholic West and only occasionally the Protestant one. Geographically speaking, the volume covers primarily Eastern Orthodox thinking as it appeared in the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires; in modern Greece, Romania, and Russia; and in the Orthodox diaspora in France and the United States.

There are three themes running through this volume. First is what could be called Eastern Orthodoxy's reactiveness with regard to the West. In study after study it becomes evident that the agenda of any explicit or implicit exchange (whether polemical or not) has been set by the (mostly Roman Catholic) West, beginning at least in the fourteenth century and continuing until today. Thus, whether the topic is papal primacy, the use of Scholasticism in theological analysis, or, more recently, the imposition of what are seen in some Orthodox countries as secularizing and dechristianizing measures by the European Union, the Eastern Orthodox, whether individual thinkers or official churches, have been forced into formulating a position. They do not appear to have posed the question or to have initiated the dialogue. The second theme permeating almost all the studies is the extent to which Western thinking, thinkers, and trends actually influenced the anti-Western formulations of the Orthodox, be they theologians, philosophers, or historiosophists. This is clearly seen, for example, in the thought of fourteenth-century Byzantine admirers of St. Thomas Aquinas, as well as in the output of Aleksei Khomiakov, Staniloae, Florovsky, Lossky, Giannaras, and Romanides, all of whom experienced the West personally (directly) or vicariously (indirectly). The third theme, and one that the editors especially highlight in their very helpful introduction, is that of the hidden and/or implicit common elements in the theological trajectories of the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic positions on a variety of topics that are considered fundamental to the split (for example, on papal primacy or the *filioque*). Along these lines, as several essays show, it was historical experiences (the Crusades, Western missions, and the advent of forms of modernity and secularization associated with the West) that largely affected and magnified into seemingly irreconcilable polemics what under different circumstances would or could be seen as theological nuances. As Robert Taft shows in a deftly written essay, the two sides, if they wish to progress on the road to reconciliation, should distinguish between dogma and theology, and exercise self-criticism and self-restraint when it comes to understanding the past and present relations of the two churches. Especially in its coverage of theological issues, the volume assumes substantial prior knowledge of theological debates and thus is mostly addressed to specialists in that field. That said, anyone with an interest in the East-West schism and new approaches to it from a variety of disciplines will certainly profit from reading it.

Southern Connecticut State University NIKOLAOS CHRISSIDIS

ANCIENT

Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs. By J. Patout Burns and Robin M. Jensen. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2014. Pp. liii, 670. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8028-6931-9.)

Early Christianity had a strong and vivacious presence in North Africa, and its most famous theologians exercised a fundamental influence in the formation of the Western Catholic tradition. The Islamic conquest of the region in the seventh century ended this period and contributed to Africa's unique history among the former Western provinces of the Roman Empire, for contrary to the Iberian Peninsula, Christians never regained the upper hand in the Maghreb. Unsurprisingly, as a residual effect of France's colonial presence, French academics have long dominated scholarship on Christian North Africa. In recent decades, however, a flurry of publications on late-antique North Africa in English and German has eroded this quasi-monopoly. The work under review continues this trend and thus participates in a healthy internationalization of the field. In engaging with past French scholarship and deploying both archaeological and literary evidence for an English readership, it fills an important gap in current scholarship.

This collaborative book is an impressive work of synthesis covering all major topics of relevance to understanding the daily lives of North African Christians in the first seven centuries of their history. Three historical chapters provide the larger framework within which to understand the period (up to Diocletian, Constantine to the Vandals, and Vandals and Byzantines) and a fourth chapter summarizes archaeological findings that can illuminate this history. A hundred and fifty-three high-quality color plates (grouped together in the middle of the book) accompany the archaeological discussion, all judicious selections of architectural plans, building remains, inscriptions, significant architectural details (such as reliquaries, baptismal fonts, tombs, and stone benches for the clergy in the nave), and the evocative mosaics for which Christian Africa is known. The bulk of the book documents fundamental aspects of Christian life: baptism (chapter 5); "The Celebration of Word and Eucharist" (chapter 6); the treatment of sinners (chapter 7); the clergy (chapter 8); "Marriage, Virginity, and Widowhood" (chapter 9); "Death and Burial" (chapter 10); "The Cult of the Martyrs" (chapter 11); and praying, fasting, and almsgiving (chapter 12). The authors' method consists in presenting evidence on each topic from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and St. Augustine, which they take as representative of the second, third, and late-fourth and early-fifth centuries, respectively. Each chapter concludes with brief sections of "Correlation of Archaeological and Literary Evidence," unfortunately too often less than a page in length, and "Correlation of Theology and Practice." A final chapter on "The Church and Its Holiness," which also includes sections on the "Donatist" Tyconius and Optatus of Milevis, concludes the book.

The volume is a mine of information on a wide variety of historical, theological, and archaeological topics. It conjures images of what the life of Christians

must have been in North Africa in this period. The thematic organization of the core chapters, which allows a clear presentation of change over time for each topic, is one of the book's strengths. Chapter 6, for example, shows clear evidence for the transformation of the evening "love feast" (*agapē*) into a morning Eucharistic ritual during Tertullian's time, which had become customary by Cyprian's bishopric. The downside is the repetitions that this thematic organization causes, in the presentation of each topic's historical context, for instance. This might betray the assumption that few will read the book from cover to cover and that its authors intended it as a work of reference on these specific topics. Another strength of the book is its meticulous documentation from the three great African writers, although the use of parenthetical references for the thousands of short references to abbreviated titles of their works might have alleviated it. It will undoubtedly prove an invaluable work of reference for students of any of the three African tenors or of the multiple topics covered in this book.

The focus on the three great writers, however, causes a disproportion in the chronological coverage of the book as whole, particularly considering the scope covered in the first three historical chapters. Indeed, although these chapters take the narrative up to the Islamic conquests of the seventh century, the thematic chapters that form the core of the book rarely venture beyond Augustine's death. This is a puzzling feature of the work, especially in light of chapter 3, which aptly covered the Vandal and Byzantine periods. Even if the documentation for these later centuries is slimmer and less satisfactory, why not at least present what we know on each topic for chapters 5 through 12? This neglect of the fifth and sixth centuries occasionally leads to problematic claims, such as the following from chapter 5, on baptism: "Nor is there reason to believe that Vandals required the repetition of the ritual as Donatists did" (p. 104). This contradicts a statement made earlier in the book that "conversions to Arianism were sought—often coerced—and included rebaptism" (p. 70) and that Victor of Vita attests clearly (3.45–52).

Despite this limitation, Burns and Jensen have nevertheless produced an important work that will be extremely useful to all scholars of late-antique North Africa and early Christianity. Its integration of archaeological remains alongside literary evidence is particularly noteworthy and valuable.

West Chester University of Pennsylvania ÉRIC FOURNIER

The Early Byzantine Christian Church: An Archaeological Re-assessment of Forty-Seven Early Byzantine Basilical Church Excavations Primarily in Israel and Jordan, and Their Historical and Liturgical Context. By Bernard Mulholland. [Byzantine and Neohellenic Studies, Vol. 9.] (Bern: Peter Lang. 2014. Pp. xvi, 229. $67.95. ISBN 978-3-0343-1709-2.)

There are more early Byzantine basilicas that are archaeologically well-documented than we generally acknowledge, and we have only begun to mine this rich corpus for what it might reveal. These are two important takeaway points from

Bernard Mulholland's new monograph. The author draws particular attention to the potential of artifactual analysis—studying the types and patterns of deposition of the "stuff" found within church walls, from pots to items of personal adornment—to enrich our understanding of the complexities of ecclesiastical space. Mulholland has identified, for example, twenty-five churches from which domestic artifacts have been recovered, preserved under sealed destruction layers caused either by fire or earthquake (p. 30). This is an exciting body of material, the potential of which the present volume begins to explore.

The specific questions posed by the book of the assembled evidence are threefold: What typological patterns of sanctuary configurations do the buildings fall into? What might these tell us about the location of the *diakonikon* in the early Byzantine period? And does archaeological evidence support or refute the view that the sexes were segregated in early Byzantine basilicas? Mulholland addresses each of these issues in turn, although the terms of the discussion, especially in the case of the first two questions, remain narrowly technical rather than expanding into a sustained discussion of the larger significance of the findings (such as that pertaining to our understanding of relationships among liturgy, experience, and architectural form, of geographical patterns, or of historical change). In the case of the third issue, Mulholland concludes that "archaeological evidence does not support the accepted view that the sexes are segregated in church" (p. 163). It is important to note, however, that the archaeological evidence presented by the author does not convincingly refute it either.

The author admirably aims for methodological transparency; however, a number of questions and concerns remain. Although chapters usefully compile and tabulate data, they rarely enter into scrutiny of details from any given church, none of which is reproduced in plans or images, and the full catalog of sites and artifacts is available only on the disc that accompanied the original thesis (from Queen's University Belfast, 2011). The composition of the corpus is also enigmatic. For example, the justification is not convincing for the inclusion of a handful of basilicas outside the Levant—there are three in Italy, one in Croatia, three in Bulgaria, one each in Egypt and the Sudan, although none from Turkey, Greece, Syria, Lebanon, or Byzantine North Africa—in a study that is primarily about early churches in Israel and Jordan (which account for thirty-eight of the forty-seven sites surveyed). As a result, the corpus seems both too large and too small. By including a selection, yet only a small selection, of basilicas that are both geographically, and in some cases also chronologically, distinct from the Israeli-Jordanian majority, it becomes difficult to discern what the conclusions represent since they are neither closely regionally specific nor broadly comparative. For example, readers will understandably question the value of the evidence of the ninth- to twelfth-century burials from Mola di Monte Gelato in Italy (p. 153) for understanding gendered spaces in early Byzantine churches. In addition, more sustained discussion of the limits of and methodological approaches to the archaeological evidence would have been desirable. For this, one need not start from scratch. For example, the discussion of which chamber should be understood as the *diakonikon* and the analysis

of archaeological artifacts for evidence of gendered spaces could have benefited from recent scholarship tackling similar questions in Roman domestic spaces.

University of Southern California ANN MARIE YASIN

The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity. Edited by Geoffrey D. Dunn. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2015. Pp. xi, 273. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-4724-5552-9.)

The eleven essays that compose this volume on the role of the bishop of Rome, edited by Geoffrey Dunn, are a valuable contribution to the continuing discussion on the breadth and depth of the Roman bishop's authority. In the introduction, Dunn acknowledges that the book does not seek to present a coherent opinion but rather to offer a wide range of perspectives and methods while examining the influence of the Roman bishop both inside the city and in the provinces. This volume provides a continuum of historiographical approaches.

The text is divided into three parts, partitioned by century rather than theme or methodology. The first section on the fourth century contains articles by George Thompson, Christian Hornung, and Alberto Ferreiro who all argue that the bishop of Rome was gaining extensive authority both within and outside Rome. This group of scholars presents a view of the bishop running counter to recent scholarly work that seeks to incorporate cultural theory in undermining the teleological approach to understanding the bishop. Within this first section of the book, in contrast, Marianne Sághy offers a look at the local politics of Damasus's bishopric and largely reprises her earlier work on the subject.

The second group of essays features articles by Dunn, Michele Salzman, Philippe Blaudeau, George Demacopoulos, and Bronwen Neil. Dunn calls for a regional consideration of the bishop's power as he analyzes Pope Innocent I's letter to the Synod of Toledo. Dunn opposes the suggestions by Hornung, Ferreiro, and Thompson, arguing that there is little evidence for a claim to Petrine primacy, at least when one looks carefully at the sources in Spain. Salzmann offers a refreshing look at the relationship between Pope Leo I and Prosper of Aquitaine, suggesting that Leo's administration was far more disorganized than is often assumed and that there is little reason to believe that Leo did not compose his own works. Rather, she suggests that Prosper's role was instrumental in boosting Leo's local legitimacy through his aristocratic caché, especially when Leo was confronted with independent attempts by local elites to claim property. Blaudeau argues that editors of the *Liber Pontificalis* sought to challenge Eastern influences particularly in relation to the Acacian schism. Demacopoulos argues compellingly that St. Gelasius's assertion of papal primacy in the *Ad Anastasium* was a rhetorical strategy employed out of frustration with his waning efficacy with local clergy. Demacopoulos and Salzmann together represent the continuation of the discussion started by Cooper and Hillner's edited volume on patronage in the city of Rome, and they offer a contrast to the perspectives presented earlier in the book by Thompson, Hornung, and Fer-

reiro. Finally, Neil carefully analyzes the epistles of Gelasius, presenting possible African origins for his leadership style.

Dominic Moreau and Christopher Hanlon offer the only articles on the sixth century in this volume. Moreau locates the conflicts around the double election of Boniface II and Dioscorus of 530 in the theological controversies of the East and the competition between the Ostrogoths and Byzantines during the Laurentian Schism. Hanlon analyzes the letters of Pope Gregory the Great to the Sicilians and paints him as an intervening bishop seeking to oversee local Sicilian administration. The volume is recommended for specialists and more general scholars of the history of Christianity, as it makes a concerted effort to present a spectrum of perspectives on the role of the bishop in Rome in late antiquity.

Emporia State University KATE BLAIR-DIXON
Emporia, KS

The Correspondence of Pope Julius I. Translation and commentary by Glen L. Thompson. [Library of Early Christianity, Vol. 3.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2015. Pp. cvi, 259. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-813-227-078.)

Julius of Rome is a figure about whom we would wish to know more. Presiding over the Roman see in the crucial years that followed the death of Constantine the Great, Julius was the friend and supporter of Athanasius of Alexandria and Marcellus of Ancyra during their exile in the west and was the first Roman prelate to play a major role in the so-called "Arian" theological controversies. In this excellent contribution to the Library of Early Christianity series, Glen L. Thompson has performed an essential service in providing the first modern edition and translation of Julius's correspondence with extensive prefaces and notation. The complex problems of textual transmission and false attribution are laid out clearly in the general introduction, with the manuscript descriptions and the numerous pseudonymous works falsely associated with Julius's name conveniently catalogued in two extensive appendices. The six surviving letters are then presented in chronological order with facing text and translation: Julius's letters to the Eastern bishops at Antioch (II) and to the Alexandrian church (V); as well as the letters to Julius from Marcellus of Ancyra (I), from Hosius of Cordova and Protogenes of Sardica (III), from the Western council of Sardica (IV), and from Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum (VI).

These six letters offer a unique insight into the conflicts dividing the Christian Church in the late 330s and 340s and their impact on the see of Rome. Athanasius and Marcellus, exiled to the West following their condemnation by repeated Eastern councils, both appealed successfully to Julius for support. Julius's reception of the exiles, and his insistence in his letter to the Eastern bishops in 341 upon his authority as the bishop of Rome to do so, led directly to the disputes that culminated in the abortive council of Sardica in 343, where the estranged Eastern and Western delegations were reduced to holding separate synods for mutual denunci-

ation. Yet Julius's claims to authority were accepted by the Western bishops gathered at Sardica, as we see acknowledged in the letters that Julius received from those bishops and in the canons issued by the Western council of Sardica, which were frequently cited in later papal arguments. Julius rejoiced in Athanasius's eventual return to Alexandria in 346 and not long afterward received the short-lived repentance of Athanasius's old enemies Valens and Ursacius.

There are, inevitably, questions raised by these letters that might have received more in-depth exploration than Thompson's short commentaries permit. The theological issues under debate in this period demand more careful treatment, whereas the complex relationships between Julius, Athanasius, and Marcellus still divide scholarly opinion today just as they divided the contemporary Church. Julius's characterization of the Eastern opponents of Athanasius and Marcellus as a small hostile faction ("the Eusebians," named after Eusebius of Nicomedia-Constantinople) followed the polemic of his new allies and ignored the legitimate claim of that alleged "faction" to represent a considerable majority within the wider Eastern Church. Nor did the Eastern bishops recognize Julius's self-proclaimed right to re-examine their conciliar verdicts, which remained a matter of contention for centuries to come. All these questions are touched upon in Thompson's introductions and notes, however, and further arguments would have far exceeded the remit for his volume.

Thompson has earned the gratitude of scholars and students alike. He has produced a work that is both valuable in itself and will, it is hoped, draw new attention to Julius of Rome and his crucial and yet often neglected role in the history of the papacy and of the fourth-century Christian Roman Empire.

Royal Holloway, University of London DAVID M. GWYNN

Two Early Lives of Severos, Patriarch of Antioch. Translated with an introduction and notes by Sebastian Brock and Brian Fitzgerald. [Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 59.] (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press; distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 175. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-84631-882-5.)

"The Life of Severus" by Zacharias Scholasticus and the "Life of Severus" traditionally attributed to John of Beth Aphthonia and here translated into English for the first time are possibly the two most important documents not only for the historical events linked to Severus of Antioch (*c.* 465–538 AD) but also, given the patriarch's historical importance, for the history of the late Roman empire and the Christian Church in the Orient at the turn of the sixth century. Zacharias, a friend and a fellow student of Severus in Alexandria and Beirut, wrote his work in reaction to a pamphlet that accused Severus of participating in pagan sacrifices as a student. His openly apologetic narrative goes from the family origins of Severus up to his ordination as Patriarch of Antioch in 512. The anonymous "Life," composed immediately after the death of the patriarch, drew on Zacharias's work for the early years of Severus, taking the narrative up to Severus's death and the miraculous

events surrounding his burial. The task of translating and introducing the texts has been divided between the two editors: Sebastian Brock has translated and commented on the "Life of Severus" of Zacharias and has written the sections of the introduction dealing with Severus and Zacharias. Brian Fitzgerald is responsible for the later "Life of Severus" as well as for the relevant section in the introduction.

The concise but highly informative introduction gives an outline of the life of Severus based upon all the available sources and clarifies the question of his pagan origins through a synoptical presentation of both the Syriac and almost contradictory Coptic redactions of the famous section from the second Cathedral homily in which Severus mentions his life before baptism (pp. 2–3). It adds further details on Severus's escape from Antioch gathered from still unpublished material (p. 6n15). A sketch of the main theological issues of the time (pp. 9–11) and a list of the biographical materials for the life of Severus (pp. 11–15) provide the reader with clear and useful guidance through a very complex matter and otherwise rather scattered documents. The last sections of the introduction deal with the two translated documents, presenting the two authors and their writings. Brock analyzes all the evidence about Zacharias and both highlights and assesses his apologetic intentions in writing about the "manner of life" of Severus. Zacharias, for instance, never openly denies the pagan origins of Severus but subtly allows the reader to believe that Severus came from a Christian background (pp. 15–23). Fitzgerald discusses the various theories about the authorship of the other "Life" and convincingly argues that the traditional attribution to John of Beth Aphthonia cannot be accepted because of the literary unity of the work, which hints at one single author, and the fact that the death of John is related in the text. Given the unlikelihood of the alternative hypothesis, it is best to ascribe the biography to an anonymous monk at the monastery of John (pp. 24–29).

The extensive annotations that accompany the translations, along with the two maps of Syria and Lebanon and of Anatolia (pp. x–xi), the glossary of important names and words (pp. 140–44), the appendix with the list of the bishops of the main sees (pp. 144–47), the bibliography (pp. 148–59) and the indexes (of names, pp. 160–68; Greek words, pp. 169–72; and biblical references, pp. 173–75) make this edition a most welcome instrument for anyone interested not only in Severus but also in the history of the Church and its theology in late antiquity.

University of Urfurt RENÉ ROUX

MEDIEVAL

Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading. By Duncan Robertson. [Cistercian Studies, Vol. 238.] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. xxi, 247. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-87907-238-4.)

Lectio Divina, a meditative, ruminative form of reading that linked study, prayer, and textual interpretation, was a hallmark of medieval monastic culture,

taught and practiced by all of the greatest authors of the Christian Middle Ages. In this insightful book, Duncan Robertson argues that *Lectio Divina* was even more than a monastic practice—namely, a standard of medieval literary culture in general before the rise of Scholasticism. He makes a plea for modern readers to rediscover the energy and sense of community inherent in this way of reading, so as to bring back something lost to modern readers: "a fullness of active, affective, intellectual, and creative literary participation" (p. 233).

Robertson structures his study as a largely chronological investigation of the development of *Lectio Divina* between the early monastic movement of the fourth century and about 1200, when he sees the rise of Scholasticism eclipsing monastic literary practices. He touches on the usual suspects: Origen of Alexandria, St. Augustine of Hippo, St. Jerome, John Cassian, St. Benedict of Nursia, St. Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede, St. Anselm of Canterbury, John of Fécamp, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux but also gives excellent snapshots of lesser known authors such as the Carolingian author Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (pp. 113–18). His readings of Gregory (pp. 57–71) and Bernard (pp. 175–202) are particularly sensitive. One might question Robertson's decision that the tradition of *Lecto Divina* ends after the twelfth century, since he makes passing reference to later vernacular instances in authors such as Richard Rolle (p. 202), and since, as Alastair Minnis has shown, the boundaries between forms of "monastic" and "scholastic" literary activity were actually rather fluid in the later Middle Ages, especially in relation to biblical exegesis.

But what makes Robertson's study especially original is his linking of *Lectio Divina* to two movements of modern scholarship. First, to set a context for modern study of medieval monastic authors, Robertson discusses the twentieth-century francophone *ressourcement* medievalists such as Jean Lerclecq and Henri de Lubac (pp. 1–26), ending this discussion with a link to twentieth-century literary critics of the reader-response movement (pp. 27–37). Robertson feels strongly that twentieth-century New Critical/Formalist thinkers left us an "imprisoned" literary text, an inert object; but that a reader-response approach has the ability to bring a literary text, even the most hermetic and complicated text, to life again. This is the ultimate value of understanding *Lectio Divina*, Robertson argues, that it can actually help modern readers to love literature again.

Not many studies of medieval literature have the goal of holding up a medieval practice for the benefit of modern readers, but Robertson makes an earnest and plausible argument for understanding *Lectio Divina* as a literary method every bit as insightful as that of the latest literary critics. It is a fascinating thesis, especially as we are entering an age in which the very meaning of reading and writing are being questioned by new technologies and formats. This book, therefore, will be of interest to modern literary critics and those interested in technologies of literacy as well as historians of Christian spirituality and monastic practice.

University of Pennsylvania E. Ann Matter

Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400–1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser. Edited by Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith. [Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2012. Pp. xvii, 369. $149.95. ISBN 978-1-409-4315-9.)

Medieval motherhood is not perhaps quite such a neglected topic as the editors of this volume claim. Nonetheless, a collection devoted to it is very welcome, not least one dedicated to Henrietta Leyser, whose own work on medieval women remains a constant inspiration. The preface highlights the paradox of medieval motherhood—power and vulnerability—and the themes of the volume: survival (meaning recovery history, mortality, and loss), social agency (preparing children for life, the fight for property rights, maternal protection, and—more rarely, at least in the sources—rejection), and institutionalization (detaching the concept of motherhood from biological mothers). The collection is overtly social history, but its editors—if not all its authors—are also concerned with motherhood and its paradoxes in the context of Christian discourse and practice.

It is a truism of medieval motherhood (and fatherhood, for that matter) that we see it largely through the eyes of adult, male clerics. Kate Cooper's excellent consideration of St. Augustine and Monica warns how far our Monica is Augustine's mother: not only idealized but also a vehicle for thinking through his own development and particularly his route to God. Augustine and *his* Monica, became in turn models for later clerical (self-)reflection—as Brian McGuire notes—for twelfth-century celibates like Guibert, St. Bernard, or St. Anselm. That renewed significance raises questions about the intervening centuries. The twelfth century saw a return to adult choice of the religious life; did that breathe new life into the Augustine/Monica story, while child oblation of the early Middle Ages had little space or need for it? A history of parenting in hagiographical texts would make interesting reading, although it would tell us less about flesh-and-blood mothers than we might expect.

Its picture of mothers and *daughters* also might be different, given Christina of Markyate's conflicts with her mother over her vocation. Mothers and daughters are an especially elusive topic, given the nature of the sources. Augustine's sister is completely lost to history, as is his elder brother—although, as Cooper reminds us, it was *this* son who was at Monica's deathbed. Sethina Watson shows us the development of three hospitals as Augustinian—and thus more liturgical—foundations, through the lens of maternal response to the deaths of children. Maternal inheritance is here presented as more flexible, motherhood and its griefs as transcending the lifecycle. But in all three cases, all male children had died. Mothers of daughters alone may have had other priorities and, as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne reveals, different attitudes to property and its inheritance. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the picture of St. Anne teaching Mary became common, although, as Michael Clanchy notes, that does not accord with the apocryphal gospel's account of Mary's childhood. The image reflects new social contexts, new maternal voices that can now be heard. But, as Clanchy warns, the image may also have Dominican

resonances. Mothers and daughters require far more attention. But, as with sons, interpretation will need to be cautious.

The reader of this volume will find a series of "'specific interventions": Birgitta of Sweden *becoming* Mary giving birth, her whole ministry conceived as rebirthing (Samuel Fanous); exegesis of the Fourth Commandment revealed as allegorical, number obsessed, but always relating to adult children and elderly parents (Lesley Smith); a rare Anglo-Norman vernacular medical text, discussed and edited, which allows for men's as well as women's responsibility for infertility (Monica Green and Tony Hunt); the harshness of London Lawbooks' treatment of mothers and guardianship belied by practice (Caroline Barron and Claire Martin); and a ninth-century mother, Dhuoda, whose knowledge of the Psalter was so subtle that she could use it to instruct her son and also attempt to allay anxieties it might produce in him (Jinty Nelson). There are two brave attempts at longer-term, wider-ranging comparisons and contextual development: Conrad Leyser on Marian devotion and motherhood, and Mark Whittow on motherhood and power—an East/West comparison to illuminate Empress Eirene. Much in the narratives of social change in both could be questioned, but the value of such essays lies precisely in the bigger questions they demand.

The volume ends on a nicely ambiguous note with Wogan-Browne's Joan de Mohun: a mother whose production only of daughters prompted a rewriting of history to include a founding female heiress. She was a woman whose commitment to her children was real, but she used her widowhood for her own ends. This presents a picture not of maternal self-sacrifice but of the agency of widowhood. Joan is a final reminder of the specificity of motherhood alongside its continuing patterns, but also that "mother" is only one face of female identity.

University of Liverpool PAULINE STAFFORD

Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West. Edited by Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, and Richard Hawtree. (Dublin: Four Courts Press; distrib. ISBS, Portland, OR. 2013. Pp. xiv, 370. $74.50. ISBN 978-1-84682-387-0.)

The cross has long been the prime symbol of Christianity; yet this was not always so. Early Christians, especially during persecution, generally favored cryptic symbols such as the anchor, the dove, the chrismon or chi-rho, and the fish—the *ichthys* symbol, created by combining the Greek letters ΙΧΘΥΣ in a backronym/acrostic that translates as "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior." With Constantine's vision of the cross and his mother's amateur archaeological discovery of its burial place, the instrument of torture became (as the *Dream of the Rood* so movingly relates) the *crux gemmata*—bejeweled symbol of salvation.

Crucifixion iconography does occur in early Christian art, including the earliest dated illuminated manuscript, the Syriac Rabbula Gospels of 586, but its rise in popularity stems from the Monothelete controversy, which caused schisms in the

Christian Orient and spread to the West, contributing to Pope Gregory the Great's decision to help evangelize the Anglo-Saxons and to subsequent attempts to draw the British and Columban churches into the international Orthodoxy of Chalcedon. The Synod of Whitby (664), with its focus upon the dating of Easter, was not merely an Insular affair but also part of international church politics. The Sixth Ecumenical Council, held in Constantinople in 681 (and preceded by the council in Hatfield in 679), proclaimed that the divine and human wills were united in Christ who, being incorruptible, never conflicted with the divine will, his incorruptibility stemming from his conception from the Virgin by the Holy Spirit. Iconographies of the Virgin and of the cross, symbolizing the key moments of conception, redemption, and integration of the wills, thereafter assumed wider popularity in Eastern art, rapidly pervading the West.

There has been much recent scholarship on the subject and the editors of the volume under review have done a fine job in assembling contributions that range across Europe from fifth-century Rome to twelfth-century Parma. As the volume's title indicates, its primary purpose is to situate the contribution of early-medieval Ireland in establishing the iconic status of the cross and in exploring its spiritual, exegetical, liturgical, and aesthetic potential. Two aspects of this sweeping task underpin the volume: "God Hanging from a Cross" and "Contemplate the Wounds of the Crucified." The first section examines the mystery of God's divinity revealed upon the cross and the second his humanity, expressed through his suffering and the tradition of affective piety. This tradition is traced back beyond its usual association with Ss. Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux to Augustine of Hippo, blurring the traditional distinction between an emotive, empathetic Romanesque response and an earlier Insular emphasis upon Christ's triumph on the cross and integrating what has often been romanticized and misrepresented as a distinctive "Celtic" contribution into the mainstream.

In a series of excellent, nuanced contributions the development of Crucifixion iconography is examined in the first section (Felicity Hartley McGowan on the Greco-Roman background to early Christian iconographies; Jennifer O'Reilly on the exegetical interpretation of Insular manuscript iconography; Carol Neuman de Vegvar on numerological symbolism and the wounds of Christ; César García de Castro Valdés on the function and iconography of the cross in Asturia; Hawtree on the conflation of Insular and Carolingian thought in Eriugena's *Carmina*, Louis van Tongeren, Beatrice Kitzinger, and Cellia Chazelle on aspects of the liturgical framing and reception of teaching on the significance of the cross). In an equally impressive second section the interaction of text and image in prompting those contemplating Christ on the cross to inwardly reflect on their salvation is discussed (Mullins on the Middle Irish material in the *Leabhar Breac*; Elizabeth Boyle on Echtgus Úa Cúanáin's eucharistic treatise and its relationship to the work of authors such as Lanfranc; Michele Bacci on the *Volto Santo*; Jordi Camps I Soria on Catalan *majestats*). Irish imagery on the high crosses (Ní Ghrádaigh) and Crucifixion plaques (Griffin Murray) reinforces the contextualization within the European Romanesque as expressed in the Anglo-Norman Trinitarian doctrine

expressed in the frescoes at Houghton-on-the-hill, Norfolk (John Munns); in the *croci depinte* of southern Italy (Katharina Christa Schüppel); and in Antelami's Parma Deposition (Elizabeth C. Parker).

University of London (Emerita) MICHELLE P. BROWN

The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–c. 1000. By Jesse D. Billett. [Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 7.] (London: Boydell Press, for the Henry Bradshaw Society. 2014. Pp. xxii, 463. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-90749-728-5.)

Historians have sometimes lamented that evidence for the liturgy of the Divine Office as performed in early-medieval England is so meager. This received wisdom has, one suspects, also discouraged attempts to piece together the clues that do happen to survive. As the author of this splendid monograph shows, both the quantity of relevant material and the coherence of the picture that it forms are greater than has often been perceived. Much more can in fact be said about the Office liturgy in England prior to 1000 AD, and Jesse D. Billett says it with impressive learning and clarity.

The book has two main parts. First (chapters 1–5) comes an external history of the Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England drawn from references, often brief and vague, in saints' lives, chronicles, wills, charters, and other nonliturgical sources. This survey proceeds chronologically, with chapters devoted to the pre-Viking-Age Church, the Viking Age through the beginning of the tenth century, and the later tenth-century period associated with the rise of "Benedictine reform." Although it is hard not to be a little disappointed that Billett's historical narrative ends around the year 1000, his reasons (stated on p. xi) for not wading into the more abundant but often still unedited sources from the eleventh century are understandable. The second part of the study (chapters 7–9) offers a close investigation of four manuscript witnesses to the tenth-century English Office chant repertory, preceded by a wonderfully concise, lucid essay (chapter 6) on the methodological difficulties in comparative analyses of such material. The book concludes with a series of appendices offering transcriptions of hitherto unprinted liturgical matter from the manuscript fragments discussed in chapters 8 and 9.

Both parts of the book support the foremost of Billett's conclusions—namely, that the form of the Divine Office now familiarly labeled the "Roman" or "secular use" was probably the only one performed in England down until the second half of the tenth century. Although much local variety pertained, and although the *Rule* of Benedict was certainly known and respected in England from an early date, there is no good evidence that the distinctively "monastic" form of the Office prescribed by the *Rule* was adopted in any English minster before the rise of the Benedictine reformers. Even then, as Billett convincingly argues from both external and liturgical evidence, implementation of the Benedictine cursus was by no means immediate or easy. Rather, in England, as elsewhere, "Benedictinizing" the Office often involved, at first, the ad hoc alteration and supplementing of available secular

Office chant books. The processes by which this was done, and the degree to which earlier traditions were suppressed, varied considerably from one place to the next, with the reformers themselves appearing to have taken differing approaches.

Although it acknowledges that there is much we may never know about the content of the Office in Anglo-Saxon England, Billett's careful book sheds new light on an important topic. Above all, his study complements other recent work that has productively complicated our views of what it meant to be "monastic" in England down to and, in many places, well beyond the tenth-century reforms. Consequently, this is a book not only for specialists in liturgical history but also for anyone interested in the varieties of Anglo-Saxon religious life. Because Billett writes so accessibly about even the most technical aspects of his subject, the results of his important research should reach a wide audience.

Ohio State University CHRISTOPHER A. JONES

Der Pontifikat Gregors IV. (827–844): Vorstellung und Wahrnehmung päpstlichen Handelns im 9. Jahrhundert. By Cornelia Scherer. [Päpste und Papsttum, Band 42.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag. 2013. Pp. xvi, 345. €158,00. ISBN 978-3-7772-1308-8.)

Few monographs treat early-medieval popes because the sources rarely permit separate treatment of a single man or reign. Alert to this issue, Sherer chooses to focus on conceptions and perceptions of both Pope Gregory IV and the papacy in his time. Most historians know Gregory because of his unfortunate journey to Francia during the rebellion of Louis the Pious's sons. Scherer rightly says that one event should not be allowed to define a seventeen-year pontificate. She devotes substantial chapters to Gregory as bishop of Rome, his dealings with the church in Italy, his relations with the Frankish rulers, and his dealings with the world beyond Rome. First, she looks carefully at the sources. Her aim is not to generate a biographical picture of Gregory; this cannot be done. She explores how various sources perceived Gregory and the papacy. She is especially attentive to the audience addressed by various writers, the dissemination of texts, and the manuscripts containing any particular text. Second, with learning and courtesy she engages in a continuous dialogue with the historians who have worked on the papacy in this period. She reaches back to older writers such as Johannes Haller but focuses primarily on Egon Boshof, Philippe Depreux, Johannes Fried, Klaus Herbers (her Doktorvater), Jörg Jarnut, and this reviewer.

Gregory can be known best as bishop of Rome; accordingly, Scherer studies liturgy, rulership, pastoral duties, and construction/donation records. She reads the *Liber Pontificalis* very carefully alongside letters, coins, inscriptions, and mosaics (especially the one installed by Gregory in San Marco where he had been title priest). The *Pactum Hludowicianum* (817) and *Consitutio Romana* (824) provided the political and legal framework within which Gregory worked. Although this reviewer made this point thirty years ago, it has been denied by scholars such as Marios Costambeys. Gregory showed concern for churches all over the city but

rarely for churches outside the walls. Scherer offers meticulous statistical analyses of Gregory's fifteen construction projects and sixty-nine donations, but she cannot explain Rome's evidently abundant resources. Roman sources offer keen insights on the pope in his local setting but never reach beyond the city. For instance, the *Liber Pontificalis* does not mention Gregory's trip to Francia. Roman sources perceive the pope as the local bishop.

Scherer then turns to Gregory's activities in Italy. These were limited to isolated dealings with Farfa, Ravenna, Naples, Gaeta, and Aquileia-Grado. No clear patterns emerge, and the Italian scene provides no opportunities to assess papal authority or influence.

Scherer's lengthy chapter on Gregory and the Frankish rulers is careful. Of particular note are her close reading of the Frankish sources and definitive analysis of the letters written by Gregory to the Frankish bishops on the affairs of Louis the Pious and Bishop Aldric of Le Mans. What emerges is a sharp sense of the prestige attached to papal authority.

Gregory had no official dealings with Byzantium or with any area of the West except Francia. Where the latter is concerned, the best "evidence" is a series of forged monastic privileges. These documents perceive the pope as guardian and protector not only of the true faith but also of basic rights.

In the end, Gregory's dealings with Francia always proceeded on the basis of Frankish initiative. Scherer argues that the "Rise of the Papacy" did not follow the collapse of the Carolingians but occurred in the dynasty's great days and was largely a Frankish, not a Roman, impulse. In her beautifully written and tightly argued book Scherer makes dozens of astute observations. One must read the book to appreciate these.

University of Notre Dame THOMAS F. X. NOBLE

John the Baptist's Prayer *or* The Descent into Hell *from the Exeter Book: Text, Translation and Critical Study.* By M. R. Rambaran-Olm. [Anglo-Saxon Studies 21.] (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2014. Pp. ix, 249. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-84384-366-5.)

M. R. Rambaran-Olm's edition and study of the Old English *Descent into Hell* is the first full edition and discussion of this important poem from the *Exeter Book*. This is an intelligent and interesting discussion and presentation of this poem. The book is approximately 250 pages long, and the poem as transcribed and edited from the *Exeter Book* is approximately 122 lines long, a bibliographical fact that gives some sense of the scope of this edition.

This new edition includes an introduction, followed by chapters on "Paleography, Codicology and Language"; "The Descensus Motif"; "Literary Analysis," and "Selected Comparative Studies and Analogous Literature." The volume ends with an afterword, as well as a text, translation of, and commentary on *The Descent into Hell*.

One immediate point about this study concerns the presumed audience. Rambaran-Olm devotes a substantial amount of space to outlining the development and significance of the Descent into Hell/Harrowing of Hell theme in the context of early-medieval Christian thought and provides an appendix in which she lists various authorities who expressed opinions about and definitions of this "event" in the history of salvation. Although a book about an Old English poem can presume that the students and scholars who consult it already know about the *Descensus* or can consult the usual handbooks or encyclopedias to confirm their knowledge of it, it is convenient to have this information gathered, and relatively few students will pick up this edition with a firm knowledge of the development of the *Descensus* theme in the early Church. Thus the extended discussion of this theme will be convenient for students, and those scholars who have studied this material in other contexts can pass over those chapters that summarize this material. One must observe, however, that a comment such as "Rabanus Maurus states the Descent in a matter-of-fact way" (p. 196) is hardly very useful even though the exact reference is convenient. The Descent is a clause in the Creed after all.

One major theme of this new study is that Rambaran-Olm feels that the traditional title of this poem *The Descent into Hell* does not adequately describe it and proposes a new title: *John the Baptist's Prayer*. There are, however, two problems with the new title. First, most of the narrative of the poem and the various speeches take place in "hell" or some more vaguely defined realm of the dead. The setting of the poem is important, and the newly proposed title does not indicate anything about the locus of the poem. More important is the problem with bibliographies and similar handbooks. Specialists in Old English can learn new titles easily enough, but a scholar whose primary interest is in Middle High German, Old French, or even Middle English (and such scholars might well be interested in this poem) would find it confusing and frustrating that "John the Baptist's Prayer" and "The Descent into Hell" are the same poem.

One pleasure of a new fully annotated edition of a poem like this is that it becomes much easier to re-examine and debate the editor's text and commentary. Thus, for example, she translates lines 99–102 "Oh! Jerusalem in Judaea! / How you remained fixed in that place! Not all living dwellers on the earth / who sing praise to you may traverse you." With all due respect, this translation does not make immediate sense—cities do not move around and not everyone on Earth can wander about a given city. It is more likely that the poet is alluding to the stasis motif—the idea that the world stood still at the birth of Jesus—and that the translation should reflect these ideas.

For the most part, however, the translation and commentary are quite good; and the appearance of a very useful edition of an interesting Old English poem should be celebrated.

Cornell University THOMAS D. HILL

The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200. By Jehangir Yezdi Malegam. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 335. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-5132-4.)

The Sleep of Behemoth follows the discourse about peace that framed the church reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Central to the project is the question of what "peace" actually meant. According to Jehangir Yezdi Malegam, true peace to reformist clerics did not mean tranquility, stability, and the absence of conflict. It meant right order, which would only be achieved when the ecclesiastical power governed the secular and laypeople participated in clerical modes of living (p. 22). Simple tranquility, when based on an accommodation between the Church and the world and on secular and especially imperial control of the Church, was not peace; it was violence clothed in a false stability. This "false peace" represented, in a phrase coined by Rufinus of Sorrento, "the sleep of Behemoth" (p. 3); within lay the disorder personified by the Old Testament monster. Creating and maintaining true peace required fighting the monster; it demanded insurrection against the status quo, conflict, and physical violence.

This vision of true peace, Malegam argues, explains the implacable behavior and unprecedented radicalism of Pope Gregory VII and his successors and their willingness to foment violence. Their opponents, the emperors, fought back by appropriating clerical ideas about peace for themselves; they presented themselves as protectors of true peace and the reform Church's peace as inherently violent. Both, however, were overtaken by changes taking place around them. Malegam focuses in particular on the development of the urban communes. To the Church, the communes, whose "peace" was based on internally generated ideas of proper order and on oaths of mutual protection, subverted the divinely sanctioned political order and therefore threatened authentic peace (p. 231). The Empire, too, viewed the communes as a threat and in the same terms. In his *Deeds of the Emperor Frederick*, Otto of Freising declared that Barbarossa's attack on the cities of Lombardy was necessary because they by nature threatened proper order: "their increasingly sophisticated structure breathed violence, for they overturned the rightful order of governance" (p. 272).

But by the thirteenth century, realities had forced accommodation. Rufinus of Sorrento also articulated the idea of an intermediate, worldly peace that lay between the peace of Behemoth and that of God: the "peace of Babylon" (p. 264). God's peace could never be realized on earth, he argued. The Church had to work together with secular authorities, including the communes, to maintain the stability on which human society depended.

Malegam presents an original and revealing picture of the worldviews and motives that drove the great conflict between Church and Empire. Inevitably he leaves questions open. For example, why does this ideology of true peace and false peace spring into view when it does? By tackling this question directly, as he did in describing the context for the formation of the communes and their attitudes

toward peace and order, he could have helped us understand better the larger context from which the conflict between Church and Empire sprang.

Such questions notwithstanding, *The Peace of Behemoth* is a very important book. It leads us into the mental world of church reformers as well as their opponents, and explores ways of understanding peace and violence that are quite different from our own. In the process, it gives us a fresh view of what the ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was all about and what drove both its protagonists and opponents to behave in the ways that they did.

California Institute of Technology WARREN C. BROWN

The Book of Emperors: A Translation of the Middle High German Kaiserchronik. Edited and translated by Henry A. Myers. [Medieval European Studies, Vol. 14.] (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press. 2013. Pp xii, 398. $44.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-935978-70-1.)

The twelfth-century *Kaiserchronik* ("imperial chronicle")—a Middle High German verse chronicle of some 17,280-odd lines in its fullest extant version—is one of the major historical, cultural, and literary sources of the central Middle Ages. It presents a history of the Roman Empire through biographies of individual emperors and, reflecting the ideology of its time, views the Western empire as the continuation of the ancient Roman Empire. Little of certainty, however, is known about the work's origins—despite the efforts of scholars such as Edward Schröder, Ferdinand Urbanek, and Edmund Stengel to make various claims on its behalf.

Myers's translation is the first into English, and so the *Kaiserchronik* will now be readily available to English-speaking students of history and literature. But although the increased accessibility of the *Kaiserchronik* is to be welcomed, Myers's work leaves much to be desired. The introduction lacks adequate grounding in the historiography of medieval Germany, medieval kingship, or medieval historical writing—a significant problem that manifests itself in frequent errors, both of detail and of concept. For example, the claim that the chronicler Frutolf of Michelsberg (d. 1103) was "a partisan of the interests of the Church against Emperor Henry IV" (p. 5) leads one to wonder whether Myers ever read Frutolf at all, whereas to characterize St. Peter's in Rome as a "Cathedral" (p. 15) betrays a worrying lack of attention to institutional and historical detail. Carelessness in detail begets inaccuracy in dealing with larger concepts, which is all too evident in Myers's handling of the Investiture Contest. His claim that supporters of Henry IV demanded an "independent secular sphere" and insisted "upon the primacy of the empire at the expense of the church" (p. 16) is anachronistic. Henry repeatedly justified his actions in terms of the ideology of sacral kingship, the imperial duty to reform the Church, and hopes for cooperation between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. These are not isolated examples, and Myers's capricious handling of the evidence is a constant distraction throughout the introduction.

The reader will find that the translation itself presents many missed opportunities. Myers has chosen not to render his translation in verse and prefaces each imperial biography with an historical summary of his own. These summaries are general and unreliable, as well as being virtually devoid of citation to relevant scholarly literature. The translation is also entirely without annotation: no effort has been made to help the reader by identifying the rich array of biblical and literary allusions, or any of the references to historical or fictional characters. The reader will find, too, that elements of the translation are problematic. A case in point is the choice invariably to translate *munster* as "cathedral." When Myers applies this to the church of St. Stephen in Bamberg (*ain munster zêran*, line 16,230), he shows that he has paid insufficient attention to the historical details of what he was translating, as St. Stephen's is a canonry and Bamberg's actual cathedral is dedicated to Ss. Peter and George. "Church" here might have been better.

In conclusion, Myers's translation of the *Kaiserchronik* is unfortunately vitiated by its unscholarly nature and frequent lack of attention to detail. It will not be nearly as useful as it could have been in introducing the text's literary and historical world, and in many respects is liable to lead the unsuspecting reader into error.

New College of Florida T. J. H. MCCARTHY

The Collectio Burdegalensis*: A Study and Register of an Eleventh-Century Canon Law Collection*. By Kriston R. Rennie. [Medieval Law and Theology, Vol. 6.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2013. Pp. xiv, 247. $95.00. ISBN 978-0-88844-185-0.)

Whereas most historians of medieval history make ample use of normative sources (including famous ones like the *Dictatus Papae* of Gregory VII, for example), the study of legal culture is often left to specialists. It is therefore particularly welcome that Kriston Rennie— an expert on medieval canon law—has published a book on the subject that is clearly not written only for specialists. Rennie presents and analyzes the so-called *Collectio Burdegalensis* (=*CB*), a substantial collection of canon law of the late-eleventh century, compiled (as Rennie argues) for La Sauve Majeure, a monastery some twenty kilometers east of the medieval city of Bordeaux.

In his introduction, Rennie sketches the church reform movement of the eleventh century as the background of collections like *CB*. He also gives a careful and balanced account of the scholarly literature on the collection itself and makes clear that *CB* should not, as has often been the case, seen as a product of a "Poitevin" law school. Rather, *CB* was a local collection in the sense that the compiler adapted widely spread collections of canon law to local needs and more specifically to the needs of a large monastery. That said, the collection does contain Poitevin material—namely the canons of the important Council of Poitiers held in 1078. (Oddly, this very council is missing in the register for the attribution of canons in the collection found on pp. 240–43.) Indeed, Rennie highlights the importance of this council and those held at Bordeaux in 1079 and 1080 for *CB*,

and goes on to suggest that the 1080 council was in fact held at La Sauve Majeure itself (p. 19). To convince a skeptic, more arguments would have been needed here, including perhaps a discussion of the foundation date for La Sauve Majeure. Yet even a skeptic can agree with Rennie that the collection was compiled after 1080 and specifically for a monastery, possibly La Sauve Majeure.

The main part of the book is the analysis. As the specialist will see immediately (and as Rennie, of course, makes clear), it is based on Linda Fowler-Magerl's database *Clavis canonum*, one of the most important tools in medieval canon law history. Rennie's analysis of *CB* is yet another proof of how much can be gained from this invaluable database (http://www.mgh.de/ext/clavis/). Rennie's canon-to-canon analysis provides basic information for those canons that can be traced back with certainty to well-known formal sources and gives fuller details for those texts for which this is not possible. The analysis is sound, but the choice of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions for almost all texts quoted is not convincing. For example, it is not clear why the canons of the Council of Poitiers (pp. 12–14) are quoted from the Mansi edition rather than *CB* with which Rennie was working. Likewise, for Burchard of Worms the *editio princeps* (also available online) clearly is to be preferred over the Migne edition.

Yet on the whole, the analysis is sound, and in the absence of an edition, Rennie's "register" is simply the best way to read the collection; together with the useful introduction, it makes *CB* much more available to scholarship than it ever was.

University of Constance CHRISTOF ROLKER

The Debate on the Crusades. By Christopher Tyerman. [Issues in Historiography.] (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press; distrib. Palgrave. 2011. Pp. xii, 260. $90.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-7190-7320-5; $30.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-7190-7321-2.)

This interesting and learned review of crusade historiography is one of a number of such surveys, by the same author and others, to have appeared in recent years. They cumulatively speak to the manner in which the academic study of crusading has reached an impressive critical mass over the last few decades, while they also acknowledge a concomitant and emergent sense of uncertainty about the future directions that research should take, especially given, as Christopher Tyerman aptly notes, the manner in which the crusades have been anachronistically mobilized in recent and uninformed, even historically illiterate, rhetoric about the "clash of civilizations." In fact, Tyerman's concluding remarks about the crude appropriation of the crusades as a model or parallel for modern conflicts, in both Western and Muslim discourses, are pertinent and well made.

The book's survey starts with the chroniclers of the First Crusade and their medieval successors. The central argument is that, from its beginning, crusade historiography has been engaged in various didactic and more or less polemical proj-

ects of world-creation, not world-reflection. This approach permits some thoughtful remarks on, for example, William of Tyre and on the "recovery literature" of the later Middle Ages. The first centuries of crusade historiography are reviewed quite summarily, however, setting up early examples of what will become a recurrent motif of the book's argument: that over the course of nine centuries historical writing about the crusades has been characterized by a tendency to loop back over familiar tropes—for example, the role of religion as motivating force, materialist explanations, and the crusades as a site of cultural collision—at least as much as by the sort of linear narrative of conceptual sharpening and methodological refinement that modern crusade scholars might imagine in their loftier moments.

Given this thematic emphasis, it is unsurprising that the strongest portions of the book are the central chapters that cover the period between the Reformation and the early-twentieth century, for here Tyerman summarizes the positions of key writers in turn and draws out their influences upon one another as well as their points of disagreement. A particular merit is that Tyerman does not limit himself to the obvious star names, although they naturally feature prominently, but also explores the work of what now seem lesser lights as revealing evidence of broader frames of cultural reference. The book's organizing principle and methodological orientation are that species of intellectual history that foregrounds an author's biographical and institutional circumstances as the essential analytical keys to the ideas found on the page. This biographist framework works perfectly well within its own terms of reference, especially in the discussion of early modern, Enlightenment, romantic, and Victorian scholarship. The downside, however, emerges in the necessarily more selective handling of the crowded historiographical scene of the last six or seven decades. For, in the treatment of some contemporary scholars, this same biographism can shade toward caricature in the service of the academic self-positioning that will be familiar to readers of other of Tyerman's works.

This is one of the better history-of-the-history surveys of crusade scholarship. There are omissions and imbalances: there is very little on Spain and Italy, for example, and too little on North American scholarship other than the Munro school, for which Tyerman has scant regard. Overall, however, this is a stimulating and thought-provoking discussion, in its density of contextualizing reference and allusion better suited to a scholarly readership, perhaps, than to undergraduates and general readers.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Marcus Bull

Partners in Spirit: Women, Men and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500. Edited by Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin. [Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, Vol. 24.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2014. Pp. x, 427. €100,00. ISBN 978-2-503-54096-2.)

Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500, offers a collection of excellent essays that brings into conversation three models for

studying Christian religious women in medieval Europe. Much recent scholarship emphasizes male suspicion of religious women and clerical efforts to control female behavior and representations of women's religiosity. Other studies depict an asymmetrical relation between religious men and women in which clerics offered sacraments to women and women offered clerical advisers accounts of religious experiences. A third model explores the administrative, familial, and political roles of religious women without considering their spiritual lives. The essays in *Partners in Spirit* recognize asymmetries of power and acknowledge that cooperation between men and women could elicit suspicion, but they argue that the *cura monialium* created opportunities for dialogue and cooperation between men and women. Women's communities provided important spiritual and administrative opportunities for men, and religious women could negotiate and invert the authority associated with clerical office.

The volume brings to an English-speaking audience recent scholarship studying religious communities in German-speaking lands. It is organized chronologically, but the essays also divide into three overlapping conceptual clusters. One cluster troubles both the idea of "double monasteries" and the convention that reformed male orders avoided the care of women. Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel finds otherwise invisible women in the necrologies of reformed Swiss communities; Shelly Amiste Wolbrink shows that thirteenth-century Premonstratensian canons provided spiritual care for women despite the order's prescriptions against the *cura monialium*; Jennifer Koplacoff Deane demonstrates that beguines in Würzburg negotiated successfully for pastoral care despite the prohibitions of the Council of Vienne; and Sigrid Hirbodian shows how Franciscan and Dominican women in late-medieval Strasbourg remained subject to the oversight and spiritual direction of the city's friars.

A second cluster of essays demonstrates that articulations of female authority and female cooperation with men changed over time. Using manuscript illuminations and evidence of book production from double houses in the southwestern empire, Susan Marti contrasts a twelfth-century ideal of cooperation with the realities of separate manuscript production; over time, a new ideal effaced the women, but evidence of book production shows their continued presence. Using visitation records, Eva Schlotheuber compares twelfth-century Saxon *Frauenstifte* with thirteenth-century Norman communities; she shows that the Norman women negotiated their independence from their provost in ways that the Saxon women could not. Sabine Klapp examines *Frauenstifte* in late-medieval Strasbourg, arguing that it was sixteenth-century socioeconomic changes that made male challenges to female authority more insistent.

A third cluster depicts the complex ways that men and women taught and ministered to one another. Fiona Griffith analyzes the ways that Guilbert of Gembloux valued his care of the nuns at Rupertsburg; Anthony Ray demonstrates that Thomas of Villers's advice for his sister depended on male Cistercian models of sanctity; Wybren Scheepsma argues that Hendrick van Leuven based his spiritual guidance for women on shared visionary experiences rather than clerical authority;

and Sara Poor analyzes devotional texts to show inversions in customary pastoral roles: women became teachers and advisors.

Finally, John Coakley's afterword considers the various ways that religious women could exercise authority. He suggests that different source materials might lead to different conclusions. Indeed, the authors of these essays work with manuscripts as well as edited sources, and they use documents of practice rather than prescriptive materials and saints' lives. The volume offers important suggestions for future research, and it demonstrates how an attentiveness to the possibilities of documents of practice can provide new insights into male-female interactions in medieval Christian religious communities.

University of Texas at Austin MARTHA G. NEWMAN

Lost Letters of Medieval Life: English Society, 1200–1250. Edited and translated by Martha Carlin and David Crouch. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. xxvi, 334. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4459-5.)

This elegant and scholarly volume reproduces a strong proportion of the model correspondence contained in two early-thirteenth century formularies, one surviving in the British Library and the other in the Bodleian. They both emanate, it seems, from Oxford, and both cater to the needs of business students. A crisp introduction covers, in addition to description of the manuscripts themselves, a history of such formularies; the political context; an introduction to contemporary Oxford and the study of letter writing there; literacy in early-thirteenth-century society; and, most interestingly, a study of epistolary conventions with particular reference to forms of address dictated by courtesy and social status. The subjects range from commercial transactions; processes of provisioning and accounting; and requests for assistance and creation of reciprocal obligation to issues concerning lordship, administration, war, and politics. One of the most fascinating sections concerns a knight's correspondence regarding the building of a barn. The context is one of those grants, so common on the Chancery rolls, where a royal servant is granted oak trees from the royal forest for building works. Few readers of these entries will have given much thought, one suspects, to what precisely happens next. Here, however, we have a sequence of events that might follow. The recipient writes to a forester, described as his friend, asking him to convey the gift to his men and requesting that the recipient supply the oaks but adding that he might increase the royal gift "as you can without betraying the king's trust" (p. 278). What does this mean? The forester's response is to comply, adding the crowns of the trees "and everything that belongs to the forester's office" (p. 280) for the knight's hearth, together with all assistance to his carpenters. In a third letter the forester instructs his sergeants to add a fifth oak "of our own gift" (p. 281) and to obtain assistance from the surrounding communities in carrying the oaks to the knight. The knight then hires a carpenter to finish his windmill and to build a barn and instructs his bailiff accordingly. The latter replies saying that all has been done as requested and

that he has borrowed money to cover the expenses. Finally, the knight writes to his wife, affirming their "indissoluble bond of love" (p. 289) and requesting her to join him at the manor concerned and to remain there once he has returned to court. Among the many interesting aspects is the latitude enjoyed by the forester. However, only so much latitude was allowed. Elsewhere in the volume, but unconnected with this sequence, is a writ to a sheriff ordering an inquiry into the activities of foresters accused of selling the king's oaks for their own profit.

Other entries reveal the limitations of letter writing as against face-to-face communication and the importance of an interaction between the two modes. Thus: a knight demands that a suspect bailiff appear before him to present his accounts; another "serjeant" justifies his refusal to obey his knight's wife; a man informs a friend that he has seen the latter's wife in bed with another man and sends her girdle as proof. None of these matters, one assumes, could have been settled by letter alone.

The letters are carefully edited throughout, with an English translation and lavish commentary. The commentary assumes no prior knowledge, ensuring maximum accessibility. Much of it is unassailable. The editors do, however, offer one especially contentious argument. Rejecting Michael Clanchy's argument that much twelfth-century literacy was functional, they contend that "casual correspondence was widespread and that literacy was well established in every social class in England by the early-thirteenth century, and probably by the late twelfth" (p. 14). Their argument requires more space, however, than is allotted here. What constitutes literacy? Do the editors envisage distinct levels of literacy in operation? Notwithstanding a degree of sophistication that is present in these model letters, they remain for the most part broadly functional. In providing the models, the business tutors were advocates and promoters of written communication. How far does this reflect reality? If literacy was so widespread, why was there the need for such specialized training? Arguments around literacy will continue to flourish, and this excellent edition will be turned to again and again on this and many other matters.

Cardiff University PETER COSS

Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologiae*: A Biography*. By Bernard McGinn. [Lives of Great Religious Books.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2014. Pp. xi, 260. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-691-15426-8.)

In 1265 the Roman Dominican Province assigned St. Thomas Aquinas to Rome to establish a *studium* at Santa Sabina. The resulting institution differed from the more famous Dominican *studia generalia* of Paris or Oxford in two important ways. First, it accepted students only from the Roman Province; in effect, it was what Dominicans would subsequently call a "*studium provinciale*." Second, its students were not generally regarded as gifted enough to train at the *studia generalia*. As a result, Aquinas had to think hard about how best to educate these students. To help them, he decided to write a textbook for beginners in theology.

Initially Aquinas thought a revised version of his Sentence-Commentary would best meet the needs of his Roman students. However, after trying that approach for about a year, he changed his mind. He concluded that even a revision of his Sentence-Commentary would be too difficult for beginners, and so he settled down to compose a new work, the *Summa Theologiae*. It became Aquinas's most famous work, and Bernard McGinn offers us a biography of it in this book.

McGinn's strategy is to introduce the reader to the *Summa*'s "intellectual gestation in the mind of Thomas, its structure and contents and some aspects of its impact on later history" (p. 2). The book's five chapters fit neatly into this pattern. Thus the first two focus on background information about the medieval world, Aquinas's life, and why he wrote the *Summa*: its "intellectual gestation." The third chapter discusses a number of different themes from the *Summa* itself: its "structure and contents." The last two chapters examine the *Summa*'s reception from 1274 until 1974: its "impact on later history."

Of course, given the relative sizes of McGinn's book and the *Summa Theologiae*, one might be skeptical that such a project could succeed. Indeed, McGinn himself acknowledges that it may seem "foolhardy to attempt a short book" (p. 2), His solution is to offer an account that is "selective and personal" (p. 3) but that tries to present "what an interested and curious reader might want to know about the *Summa* and its reception" (p. 3). By and large, McGinn succeeds; there are no obvious omissions in the material selected, and the reader approaching the *Summa Theologiae* for the first time will get a good sense of what that work is about and the influence it has exerted. Where one might take issue with the book is in some of the "personal" elements of McGinn's account. For example, McGinn's assessment of the Church's response to modernism as an "ecclesiastical reign of terror" (p. 180) and his remark that "fortunately the Vatican no longer possessed any machinery of physical coercion, imprisonment, or worse" (*ibid.*) seem rather too personal. They distract from consideration of the use made of the *Summa Theologiae* in the modernist crisis and instead encourage the reader to attend to McGinn's assessment of the modernist crisis.

Blackfriars, Oxford DOMINIC RYAN, O.P.

The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor: The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart. By Sean L. Field. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 407. $40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02892-3.)

With this volume, Sean Field has contributed a much-needed, common-sense exploration of the trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart to the scholarly literature of the Middle Ages. He has also created a work of history that reads like a detective novel; he has meticulously pieced together fragmentary and often ambiguous evidence into a fascinating reconstruction of a controversial episode. This is scholarly history at its best.

Most medieval historians are familiar with the events surrounding the story of Marguerite Porete. These have not gone untreated; scholars as diverse as Robert Lerner, Paul Verdeyen, Edmund Colledge, Noel Valois, John van Engen, Charles-Victor Langlois, Barbara Newman, William Courtenay, and even this reviewer have all spent time and ink on Marguerite. Drawing on these and many other historians, and carrying out an admirably thoughtful re-analysis of the primary sources, Field has produced what will surely be the definitive account of *l'affaire Marguerite* for a long time to come.

It is difficult to deal with Marguerite without taking sides: one either wishes to portray Marguerite merely as a stubborn fool who brought about her own unnecessary destruction and the royal and ecclesiastical officials who brought her down as merely doing their virtuous duty, or alternatively to view the clergy involved in her prosecution and execution as misogynist bigots and Marguerite herself as a paragon of misunderstood virtue. Field generally steers clear of such seductive traps, avoiding both a hagiographic attitude to Marguerite on the one hand or clergy-bashing on the other. Instead, he relies on patient and careful source work to allow his subjects to speak for themselves. The result is a picture of great subtlety—of all the complexity, along the moral spectrum, of which the human race is capable.

In the course of reaching this goal, Field shows how Marguerite had good reason—in her view—to persist in her attempts to have her book validated by the hierarchy and how cautiously William of Paris handled the matter, using it deftly to bolster both the rehabilitation of his own reputation and also to advance royal assertions of spiritual leadership. He ties Guiard's otherwise rather incomprehensible intervention convincingly into the wider world of fourteenth-century Joachite apocalyptic speculation (in the process making perfect sense out of Arnold of Villanova's otherwise peculiar interest in issues associated with Guiard) and illuminates the careers and interests of many of the players in this drama in ways that greatly improve our understanding of the affair.

Along the way, Field illuminates other aspects of early-fourteenth-century history admirably. He shows how the trials of Marguerite, the book *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (which, he notes, had its own free-standing trial), and Guiard of Cressonessart must be understood in the context of the contemporary trial of the Order of the Temple and in the wider context of the centralizing and even rather totalitarian agenda of Philip the Fair. Field's analysis shows how William of Paris relentlessly but subtly manipulated the masters of the University of Paris to gain their apparent (if not entirely genuine) approval both for his actions and those of his royal master. This leads to a depiction of the trials of Marguerite and Guiard as they should be seen: not as examples of institutional misogyny or bigotry but rather as chapters in the ruthless development of an intrusively powerful, late-medieval Capetian administration.

The volume also—and felicitously—contains translations of the major sources relating to these events, something that is most helpful not only to undergraduates and graduate students but also to harried scholars. Small criticisms might be made.

One of the achievements of this book is that it reorganizes and corrects the chronology of the events in question, which have gotten rather tangled over the years in places (pp. 3–6); it would have been useful to see a timeline, clearly setting out the corrected version. The discussion of the role of money in the Templar trial would benefit from reference to Ignacio de la Torre Muñoz de Morales's unfortunately neglected *Los Templarios y el Origen de la Banca.* But these are rather insignificant quibbles.

This is a bravura performance and highly recommended reading.

California University of Pennsylvania PAUL F. CRAWFORD

Doctrinas y relaciones de poder en el Cisma de occidente y en la época conciliar (1378–1449). Edited by José Antônio de C. R. De Souza and Bernardo Bayona Aznar. [Colección Ciencias Sociales, No. 94.] (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza. 2013. Pp. 386. €25,00 paperback. ISBN 978-84-15770-53-4.)

The editors of this volume start from the extended interest in Spain for historical novels and the dearth of knowledge about medieval philosophy and legal-political thought in that same population. They seek to remedy the situation in this collection of studies aimed at a Spanish audience in that all the contributions either were written in or translated into Spanish, and the secondary literature and even the original sources are presented for the most part in a Spanish translation. Within this limitation the volume provides an abundance of information and insights covering the major aspects of the conciliar era.

The introduction (by Bernardo Bayona Aznar) gives an overview of the relationship of the Church, its doctrine, and the secular world, including the Church's ideas on power and a discussion of the ebb and flow over the centuries especially in regard to the consolidation of papal power, the tendency to identify the Church with the pope, and the failure of reform. The chapters that follow confront and examine the key persons, events, and ideas. Chapter 1 (by José Antônio de Camargo Rodrigues de Souza) details the antecedents of the Great Western Schism, its immediate consequences, the fundamental question why the pope and cardinals at the outset did not grasp the gravity of their actions, and the dominance of political and territorial interests in the decisions and actions that followed over the decades. Chapter 2 (by Luís A. De Boni) takes up John Wyclif and his questioning of the power attributed to the papacy. The author notes that Wyclif must be considered in the context of the English situation (royal centralization versus outside interference) and the call for a return to a "poor Church." Chapter 3 (by Bernardo Bayona Aznar) provides an excellent introduction to Francesc Eiximenis, his world, and his ideas on power. This is most welcome, as he is a figure not well known outside of Spain. Chapter 4 (by Fátima Regina Fernandes) examines the Church from Pisa, which deposed claimants from both the Roman and Avignon lines for their failure to work for unity of the Church and then at Constance, which moved against a third claimant (John XXIII) not because he was not valid but

because he was found unworthy of the papacy. Chapter 5 (by Gregorio Piaia) centers attention on Franciscus Zabarella as the theorist of conciliarism from the legal perspective. It especially notes the significant revision in the evaluation of Zabarella since the Second Vatican Council. It stresses that in the "incipit" of Zabarella's tract *De schismate* his emphasis was how to achieve union and that it was the duty of all to work for this while maintaining a legal and theological basis in medieval corporation theory and canon law for any actions. Chapter 6 (by Thiago Soares Leite) addresses the conciliar theory of Pierre d'Ailly and what he wrote on obedience to the pope as well as obedience by the pope, whereas chapter 7 (by Alfredo S Culleton) is on Jean Gerson, his contribution to conciliar thought, and his efforts for unity and reform. In the context of this movement chapter 8 (by Marcella Lopez Guimarães) examines the case of Jan Hus, his ideas and actions, his connection with the ideas of Wyclif, the situation in Prague and Bohemia, as well as the context in which the Fathers at Constance condemned and executed him.

Chapter 9 (by Estaban Peña Esguren) steps back to take a broad look at Constance, the relation of pope and Council, the decrees *Haec Sancta* and *Frequens,* and the question of a middle view present at Constance (given its need to reach a decision acceptable to all). It also points to the recent scholarship on *Haec Sancta* that shows that a definitive version does not exist of this all-important document. In the aftermath of Constance and its only partially fulfilled hopes, chapter 10 (by Bernardo Bayona Aznar) examines a major figure of the next generation—John of Segovia—including his ideology and doctrines as well as his legacy to students at Salamanca so that they would have access to knowledge of the Koran and Islamic doctrine. No treatment of this problematic era could leave out Nicholas of Cusa, as chapter 11 (by Estevão C de Rezende Martins) details, especially his *De concordantia Catholica* written in the early stages of what became a heated split between the Council of Basel and Pope Eugenius IV. The article looks at not only what Cusa proposed there but also why Cusa in the subsequent decades moved away from his conciliarist thinking to become an ardent papalist. He sees the later Cusa, like many at the Council of Constance, as a pragmatist, which led him to break with the extremist tendencies at Basel—viewed by Cusa as pushing private issues at the cost of the common good.

Overall, this volume presents careful analysis and a good introduction for its intended readers. If the conciliar era's most pressing concerns were unity and power, it is a sad fact that, in subsequent centuries, these were secularized into modern nationalist and ideological movements at great cost in human lives.

State University of New York at Fredonia THOMAS E. MORRISSEY

Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages. Edited by Ian Christopher Levy, Rita George-Tvrtković, and Donald Duclow. (Leiden: Brill. 2014. Pp. xx, 256. €115,00. ISBN 978-90-04-27475-4.)

Nicholas of Cusa was an important and influential fifteenth-century theologian, an erudite humanist, and a key member of the conciliar movement. He also

wrote two works dealing with Islam: in *De pace fidei,* composed in the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453), he imagines a debate among sages of different religions, a dialogue between the world's wise men who can agree to the essential unity of their creeds and accept a diversity of practice. His *Cribratio Alchorani* (Sifting the Qur'an, 1461) is a close reading of the Qur'an in an attempt to find in the Muslim holy text the confirmation of Christian truth while explaining away its rejection of such essential Christian doctrines as the Incarnation or Resurrection. Together, these two unusual works make Nicholas into a rare and thoughtful voice in fifteenth-century Latin writings about Islam.

This volume assesses the importance of Nicholas's engagement with Islam and places it in various contexts, through fifteen essays written by specialists in Christian and Islamic theology and philosophy. With the notable exception of Thomas Burman (author of the excellent preface), none of the authors is a specialist of Christian-Muslim relations, and several of the authors are unfamiliar with key works in the field: Tamara Albertini, for example, is unaware of important recent work on one of the two Muslim authors she examines, Ibn Hazm; several authors who refer to Robert Ketton's twelfth-century translation of the Quran are also unfamiliar with recent scholarship in the field.

Part 1 contains six essays on "Cusanus and Islam." There is some overlap, since several authors describe the contents of the two key works. Readers may find particularly useful Pim Valkenberg's essay on the context of the two works in Cusa's development of the notion of the essential unity of the object of religion within a variety of rites. Part 2, "Historical Perspectives," consists of four essays comparing Cusa's works with those of other medieval Christian writers on Islam. Rita George-Tvrtković provides a thoughtful comparison of three medieval authors (Alan of Lille, Riccoldo da Montecroce, and Cusa) on the bathing rituals of Jews (*mikveh)* and Muslims *(wudu)* compared with Christian baptism: through this concrete example we see how Cusa attempts to downplay differences in rite in an attempt to affirm their fundamental compatibility with Christianity. Finally, part 3 consists of four essays dealing with "Muslim Responses to Christianity." Although these essays for the most part cover well-trodden ground, they offer useful and thoughtful introductions for those who are not familiar with the Muslim Jesus or with the key notion of *tahrif* (the idea that Jews and Christians have corrupted, willingly or not, the scriptures that God revealed to them).

This volume contains the work of top scholars in the field and constitutes a major contribution to several fields: Cusanus studies, medieval Christian theology, and the history of Christian-Muslim relations. It is a pity that, as usual, Brill has priced it far beyond the budget of most individuals who might be interested in buying it.

Université de Nantes and Academia Europaea John Tolan

Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages. By Kathryn M. Rudy. [Disciplina monastica. Studies on Medieval Monastic Life, 8.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2011. Pp. 475. €110,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-54103-7.)

This is a magnificent, revisionist study of an important topic. It examines the ways in which nuns, religious women, and even a few laywomen from the Low Countries interacted with texts, images, and objects to go on virtual pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem during the half-century or so before the Reformation. This much is well known; but much less so is the fact that although many were motivated by lack of resources and opportunity, not a few simply did not want to compromise their commitment to poverty and enclosure. At the book's core is Rudy's sensitive and nuanced discussion of seventeen manuscript texts, dating from the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, which were copied by nuns or devout women (mostly tertiaries). Several of these texts have been transcribed in their original language, Middle Dutch, with parallel English translation, in the extensive appendices on pages 263–448. As a corollary to the fact that these accounts, more often than not, drew on diaries or guidebooks written by those who had actually visited the sites in Rome and the Holy Land, their users—and this word is used advisedly, given the passive, modern-day connotations of "reader"—tended not to interpret pilgrimage metaphorically but sought to replicate the experience as physically and literally as possible: "not just with the imagination, but with the eyes, the hands, and the feet" (p. 21). A striking manifestation of the desire for "authenticity" was the importance of so-called "metric relics"—"the measured distances between holy places . . . which could then be remapped onto the local environment to construct personal Passion theaters" (p. 97). Rudy sets these phenomena firmly in the context of the influence in the Low Countries of the *devotio moderna*, which she considers responsible not only for spurring production of vernacular devotional literature in the century up to the Reformation but also for "the ubiquity of women's vernacular literacy" (p. 25) as testified by the survival of literally hundreds of manuscripts written in Middle Dutch with feminine pronouns and nouns. Although the lion's share of Rudy's attention is paid to the ways in which the Holy Land was evoked in text and image, as she notes, the earliest work that consciously sought to provide a substitute for physical pilgrimage was an early-fifteenth-century text, attributed spuriously to Jean Gerson, which explained how its readers could journey to Rome in their imagination. However, it was not only owing to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which made actual travel to the Holy Land much more difficult, that Jerusalem became the focus of attention. Key to this development was the direct association of visits to the specific locations where Christ walked, talked, suffered, and was crucified with spiritual reward in the form of indulgences. The master impresarios here were friars of the Franciscan order who had been given the role of custodians of the Holy Places by the pope in 1342. It was they who transplanted the spiritual boon of plenary indulgences—nine of which could be gained in Jerusalem alone (and four of those within the single site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre)—to Western Europe. Their vehicle was the so-called Portiuncula indulgence—named after the favorite church of St. Francis just outside Assisi

where he died—which was granted to those who underwent an overnight vigil within the church (based upon the prototype in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre). In due course, provided that papal permission was forthcoming, this spiritual boon could be earned wherever devout souls virtually "walked in Christ's footsteps" during Passion week; following as they did so the path of the first Christian pilgrim, the Blessed Virgin Mary, who daily relived her son's final suffering by tracing his last journey until she herself was taken up into heaven. A particularly impressive exploitation of this possibility was effected by Ursula Haider, late-fifteenth-century abbess of the Bickenkloster of Poor Clares in Villingen, a convent in the Black Forest. Not for nothing was she referred to as "chief builder of the Holy Stations and Roman Churches," since she had the names of all the indulgenced places in the Holy Land and Rome—some 210 in number—copied onto pieces of parchment and distributed throughout the convent before petitioning Pope Innocent VIII in 1491 for indulgences to apply to her labels. The success of her petition led to the making of more permanent memorials ranging from six stone altars to represent six of the seven principal churches of Rome (the seventh, the main altar in the convent's lady chapel, was already extant and stood for the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore) to the more than 200 tablets, some of which were in stone, but others painted in fresco, seventy of which survive to this day.

However, the most rewarding (and moving) parts of this study consist of Rudy's painstaking re-creation of how individuals—even occasionally laywomen—used the texts in her sample. Chapter 3, for example, provides a compelling account of how votaries might become, in effect, method actors by aligning the posture and actions of their bodies to match Mary's own responses to Christ's suffering. Often key to the success of such spiritual exercises was the insertion into such texts of (usually printed) images, not a few of which show evidence of having been "customized" by their owners—streaking Christ's battered body red was one such response—or in the case of a miniature showing St. Anne with the Virgin and Christ child (figure 85) the smudged faces of Mary and her mother suggests that they have been repeatedly kissed. By contrast, the owner of another manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 212, figure 17) was evidently so upset by a depiction of the Massacre of the Innocents that she tried to rub out the tip of Herod's scepter and obliterate the faces of the executioners. Such interaction with text lies at the center of Rudy's latest study, *Postcards on Parchment: The Social Life of Medieval Books* (New Haven, 2015), which, if it is anywhere near as thought-provoking as this study, should be well worth reading.

University of York Simon Ditchfield

Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell. Edited by Martha W. Driver and Veronica M. O'Mara. [Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, Vol. 11.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2014. Pp. xvi, 393. €100,00. ISBN 978-2-503-541-853.)

Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print, the eleventh volume in Brepols's Sermo series, is dedicated to Susan Powell, best known for her analysis and edition of John Mirk's *Festial* (Oxford, 2009). The focus of the volume, as the editors Martha Driver and Veronica O'Mara declare in their introduction, is "on Middle English and Latin material in prose and verse in late medieval England" and "how homilists and teachers in the Middle Ages preached the work of God in its widest possible sense" (p. 1). Their focus allows the contributors to examine works related to preaching in general, not just sermons, and to consider the diversity of languages and media in which sermons and works of religious instruction reside. The editors have organized the contributions into twelve "Studies" and three "Texts," and a list of publications by Powell. Their essays add to a growing body of scholarship on English preaching, such as H. Leith Spencer's *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), Alan Fletcher's *Late Medieval Popular Preaching* (Turnhout, 2009), Holly Johnson's *The Grammar of Good Friday* (Turnhout, 2012), and the many works by Siegfried Wenzel.

Derek Pearsall opens the volume with an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of G. R. Owst, the scholar whose works, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, UK, 1926) and *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, UK, 1933), opened up the field of medieval English sermons. Pearsall seeks to explain how Owst's original scholarship, which quoted from several important manuscripts, and which featured assiduous attention to detail and idiomatic translations from Latin into English, could co-exist with "such embarrassing banality … such commonplaceness of mind—and with such resentment of the academic world?" (p. 24). The answer is Owst's isolation as an outsider in the academic world and the baneful influence of Owst's mentor, G. G. Coulton, who had "a hostile and narrowly Protestant view of the established Church of the Middle Ages" (p. 2).

Other essays by well-known authorities in the fields of preaching and of Middle English include a study by Driver of the depiction of preachers in manuscript and print in the late-medieval and early Tudor periods, works on the transmission of devotional texts by Joseph Gwara and of Middle English sermon verse by Julia Boffey, and pieces about the punctuation and copying of sermon literature by Jeremy Smith and Stephen Morrison. Morrison's essay reminds readers that manuscript texts are usually not fixed and that scribes, as men of letters in their own times, had a feel for language that sometimes caused them to alter the texts of the works they were copying (p. 118). Essays by Margaret Connolly and R. N. Swanson show the mutual dependence of sermon literature and works of devotional instruction, as well as the rewards and difficulties of working with manuscript miscellanies, a genre with which medieval scholars have been grappling increasingly in the last twenty

years. Anne Hudson's essay on the manuscripts of John Wyclif's Latin sermons shows that "the copy made far from the proven place of origination can have better readings than that made close to the author's home" (p. 59). A piece by Vincent Gillespie examines the lections in the Latin *Martiloge* of the Syon Brethren, noting how they set an exceptionally high standard for clerical life, whereas essays by William Marx and John J. Thompson demonstrate how texts originally intended for oral presentation could be adapted for private, devotional use.

The three edited texts include an edition and study by Oliver Pickering of the text for All Souls' Day from the *South English Legendary*; extracts from the Syon Pardon Sermon, by Kari Anne Rand; as well as an edition of the "Boy Bishop" sermon, in addition to an examination of changing editorial attitudes, by O'Mara. These texts, as well as the essays, are valuable additions to the growing field of sermon studies and remind us of how necessary editions and manuscript analysis remain for the world of preaching.

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Kimberly Rivers

Early Modern European

Velo e Velatio*: Significato e rappresentazione nella cultura figurativa dei secoli XV–XVII.* Edited by Gabriella Zarri. [Temi e Testi, Vol. 127: Scritture nel Chiostro.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2014. Pp. xxx, 197. €36,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-6372-611-4.)

The last two decades have seen an increase of scholarly interest in the ways in which clothing both shaped and projected identity in early-modern Italy. Publications in English and Italian have addressed the economic, social, and cultural impact of the production, acquisition, material, style, and meanings of dress, generally focusing on laywomen. A fundamental source, Cesare Vecellio's *Degli habiti antichi et moderni* (Venice, 1590), capably translated into English by Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones (New York, 2008), provides a deceptively neat taxonomy that ties dress to status. With *Velo e* Velatio, Gabriella Zarri presents a collection of essays that engage a range of textual and visual evidence to reveal the difficulty of deciphering the status indicated by various kinds of veils, including but not limited to those worn by religious women.

Zarri's introduction analyzes the differences in appearance and significance of head coverings with regard to religious and gender identity. Establishing the head as a symbolic "place," she provides an analytical framework for assessing the discursive qualities of veils and the state of being veiled. Zarri surveys the head coverings worn by religious men of various conditions and ranks, and by servants, novices, and professed choir nuns living in convents. She studies fabric, color, shape, the occasions when particular head coverings were to be worn, and the relationship of head coverings to the complete monastic habit. This introduction helps to establish the veil's many meanings—betrothal to Christ, subjection, modesty, constancy, and communal (versus individual) identity, among others.

These associations are extended in both Valerio Guazzoni's chapter on Moretto's allegorical representations of faith and in Alessandro Martoni's study of the iconography of veils in paintings of Saint Flavia Domitilla. Refining our understanding of the meanings the veil conveyed, Isabella Campagnol's chapter provides important context for Vecellio's representations of sixteenth-century Venetians. Campagnol examines the veils and veiledness of unmarried, married, and widowed laywomen; courtesans, and both second- and third-order religious women. Her conclusion—that veils could simultaneously communicate, obscure, and confuse identity—beautifully captures the volume's unifying thesis. Angela Ghirardi's survey of veiling conventions for widows, shown in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraits, reinforces this point. Gianni Nigrelli's chapter focuses less on symbolism and more on how the veil connected the wearer with family and convent community in a unique cycle of portraits of nuns, now assembled at the Palazzo Chigi in Ariccia. Sixteen of the original thirty-nine portraits of Chigi nuns survive, and all are illustrated here; they serve as pendants to a cycle of thirty-seven portraits of Chigi laywomen, known as the "Belle." Nigrelli sets these paintings in the context of the nuns' convents in Rome and Siena, all three of which were patronized by the Chigi. Much is unknown about the circumstances of their commission and even their intended location, but these portraits, which represent Chigi women of many different ages, in different monastic habits, and at different points in their monastic careers—some of them multiple times—demonstrate that the sitters' accomplishments were valued at least as much as those of their kinswomen who established advantageous connections between the Chigi and other families through marriage.

Although the individual chapters are idiosyncratic, taken together they make a useful addition to the growing literature on the subject of dress and identity in early-modern Italy. Although more direct discussion of and engagement with these sources would have added greatly to the volume, *Velo e* Velatio fills a niche in the current scholarship by demonstrating the polysemous potential of a single article of clothing.

Drury University SAUNDRA WEDDLE
Springfield, MO

Worlds of Learning: The Library and World Chronicle of the Nuremberg Physician Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). Edited by Bettina Wagner for the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; translated by Diane Booton and others (Munich: Allitera. 2015. Pp. 168. €22,90. ISBN 978-3-86906-757-5.)

The World Chronicle of the German physician and humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), first printed in 1493, was a huge success in the publishing world. Its major allure lay in the illustrations: more than 1800 woodcuts depicted biblical and historical events as well as views of towns. Since the book was so costly, copies of it were also jealously preserved by their successive owners. This resulted in a particularly high "survival rate" and explains why 1300 copies of the Latin edition and 400 of the German edition are still extant in public and private libraries around the world. An exhibition at the Bavarian State Library in Munich marked

the 500th anniversary of the death of the Chronicle's author, seeking to shed light on Schedel's biography and presenting his private library that he used to compile his World Chronicle. The organizers arranged the exhibits chronologically along the course of Schedel's life, showing, for example, books he read as a student in Padua, texts he used to expand his knowledge as a physician in Germany, and many examples of his wide-ranging curiosity as a collector. His interests ranged from classical literature, philosophy, history, and geography to medicine, law, and theology. Among the most fascinating documents are, for example, booklists he obtained from Rome during his hunt for incunables (pp. 101–04). A core challenge of the exhibition was to elucidate the sources and working methods of Schedel in compiling his World Chronicle. This fascinating goal is not completely reached. We are not carried very far beyond what is already known—namely, that contemporary Italian writers such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Biondo Flavio, Bartolomeo Platina, and Giacomo Filippo Foresti strongly influenced Schedel. In *Worlds of Learning*, Bernd Posselt ("The World Chronicle and Its Sources," pp. 117–20) draws on his doctoral dissertation completed in Munich in 2013, touching on how Schedel's Chronicle integrated religious content (such as events in ecclesiastical history and Church-state relations) with world history (the six ages of the world, followed by the appearance of the antichrist and the Last Judgment).

This exhibition catalog presents many stimulating questions regarding the worldview of a private book collector of the Renaissance. Like Schedel's illustrated Chronicle itself (which was published in German and Latin), the exhibition catalog is beautifully illustrated and available in two languages (German and English). The English edition will be welcomed—like Schedel's Latin version of 1493—by an international audience.

University of York STEFAN BAUER

An Allegory of Divine Love: The Netherlandish Blockbook Canticum Canticorum. By Marilyn Aronberg Lavin. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts, Vol. 10.] (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2014. Pp. viii, 238. $85.00. ISBN 978-0-916-10179-4.)

The *Canticum canticorum*, a blockbook produced in the Netherlands around 1465–70, is a series (or Suite, as the author calls it) of eight double-page woodcuts comprising four individual pictures each, arranged in two registers per page. The woodcuts depict Christ; a crowned and haloed young woman (Mary); and various bystanders, mostly a group of three virgins (the daughters of Sion). The pictures contain banderoles with (xylographic) texts, taken from the Latin text of the Canticles but arranged in different order from the Vulgate. By being inserted in banderoles, the texts are turned into a dialogue between the persons depicted, with the pictures serving as a visual aid to understand and to meditate on the text. Although the sequence of the pages varies in some of the approximately thirty surviving copies, they are here reproduced in the "order accepted by the author as original" (p. 222). Each of the eight double-page spreads is presented first in a reproduction from the

(uncolored) copy held by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; subsequently, each of the four pictures is analyzed individually in minute detail, beginning with a reproduction from a 1949 facsimile, a description, an iconographic study of "visual parallels" (p. 16), transcriptions and translations of the Latin inscriptions, interpretations of the verses by modern and medieval authors (Marvin Pope, Giles of Rome, Nicholas of Lyra, Denys the Carthusian), and a brief summary (analysis). The book thus allows the reader to immerse her- or himself deeply into the fifteenth-century blockbook. It is very attractively designed, with more than 200 color reproductions of works of art that can in some way be compared with the (highly unusual) iconography of the blockbook. Rather than putting the blockbook solely in the context of medieval illustrated manuscripts of the Canticles, Marilyn Aronberg Lavin draws on copious material from other forms of art—mainly Italian paintings and frescoes. This method, of course, raises questions as to whether direct influences between such different works of art, which originated in different regions, are possible; but instead of studying antecedents, Lavin intends to make the reader familiar with a widespread iconographic repertoire that allowed fifteenth-century users to understand and contextualize the blockbook. In her very close reading of text and images, she succeeds in conveying to the modern reader a sense of the deep and often rather obscure meaning; she stimulates a profound involvement with the blockbook that may come close to its medieval usage—probably predominantly by (female) members of religious orders, who were induced to follow Mary's example in renouncing the world and achieving a spiritual union with Christ.

The book also provides the reader with a concise introduction to the blockbook as a printed medium and to the Song of Songs as well as with a conclusion outlining some general aspects of its function and readership. Although the overall layout is clear and appealing, the quality of the book is marred by numerous major and minor mistakes in the details. There are misprints on nearly every page (many more than listed on the errata slip), even in names of authors, institutions, and titles; factual mistakes (such as labeling figure 3's *Speculum humanae salvationis* as a woodcut blockbook instead of as a work containing typeset text); and particularly frequent errors in the transcriptions of the Latin verses that are accompanied by translations from the "Douay-Rheims Bible" of 1585–1610 rather than verbatim translations. The author seems unfamiliar with languages other than English and with book-historical terminology alike, and the result of her research would have been more convincing if experts in these areas and a reliable copyeditor had been consulted. It is particularly regrettable that the author was obviously unaware of a major project that has digitized and catalogued about ninety blockbooks held in Bavarian collections, including six copies of the *Canticum* (see http://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/xylographa-werke#canticum). The project Web site gives an insight into much more authentic versions of the *Canticum* than the (heavily modified) 1949 facsimile used by Lavin and invites further research in this fascinating genre of pictorial books, many of which served for meditation and religious instruction.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München BETTINA WAGNER

Iserloh: Der Thesenanschlag fand nicht statt. By Uwe Wolff. Edited by Barbara Hallensleben. (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag. 2013. Pp. xvii, 267. €25,00. ISBN 978-3-7245-1956-0.)

Next year, the Protestant and Catholic Churches will commemorate an event that probably did not happen. The dramatic story of Martin Luther at the church door in Wittenberg came under close scrutiny in the 1960s in the work of Erwin Iserloh who, with Joseph Lortz and others, helped to reshape Catholic approaches to the Reformation. Iserloh's thesis, the title of this volume, is only partially about the iconic portrayal of the heroic biblical scholar publicly issuing a challenge to the late-medieval doctrine of purgatory and its associated practices. More significantly, Iserloh's argument about October 1517 reassesses Luther's intentions by raising questions about the doctrines and practices of the Church and offers a path toward seeing the beginnings of the Reformation as a moment within Catholic history.

Uwe Wolff combines several pieces intended to set Iserloh's life and work in the context of mid-twentieth-century German Catholicism. Wolff's own biographical study of Iserloh, drawn from his recollections and research in the Iserloh archive at the Institute for Ecumenical Studies at Freiburg, shows us Iserloh's student years, academic training, ordination and the war years, and a distinguished career as priest and academic. This biography is the Catholic component of Wolff's "trilogy of believing hearts" (p. 120), the other two subjects being the prolific German writer Edzard Schaper and Walter Nigg, a Reformed theologian known for ecumenical engagement with Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy. Paired with this is Iserloh's own memoir (*Lebenserinnerungen*), published in *Römische Quartalschrift* in 1987 and his final publication; it appears as appendix E of the present volume.

The diptych of biographical sketches is the heart of this work, and there is bound to be duplication in the two accounts of Iserloh's life. But Wolff provides details (about Iserloh's mentors, for example) that Iserloh leaves out, whereas Iserloh's autobiographical observations allow us to see mid-century German Catholicism through the eyes of one of its major figures. Iserloh's own reminiscences are more colorful than Wolff's: the reader appreciates touches of irony interspersed in an account of tumultuous decades. Taken together, they offer an intimate look at the life of the Church, and the intertwined trajectories of ecumenical thought and historical scholarship, in the years between World War II and the Second Vatican Council.

Iserloh's work contributed to efforts to have Luther's ban of excommunication lifted, an ecumenical breakthrough had it occurred. Following Lortz, Iserloh saw Luther not as a heretic but as a deeply pious individual with a prophetic spirit. In these documents we have sources for the genealogy of an idea controversial at the time but now conventional in a church more ecumenical than when Lortz and Iserloh wrote. Historians of theology will especially welcome the careful assessment of Iserloh's work by Barbara Hallensleben (a 2011 lecture at Trier), the assessment by Lutheran bishop Friedrich Weber of Iserloh's contribution to church union, and Iserloh's original publication on the posting of the Theses. This last item is good

to present to a new generation that may be unaware of the circumstances surrounding the dispute about indulgences. Historiographically the question concerns the quality of the evidence available for an event that has been enshrined as a turning point in Western history; and Iserloh's research serves as a valuable case in the history of scholarship.

In an appendix, Volker Leppin of Tübingen offers a view from 2013 of the controversy of the 1960s and sustains the thesis that the iconic event at the door of the church was a fabrication. In the course of his discussion Leppin critiques the arguments of Bernd Moeller and other defenders of the legend. In Leppin's hands the controversial Catholic challenge of Iserloh, a *Thesenanschlag* of sorts in its own right, is now part of the dominant narrative of Lutheran historians of the Reformation.

University of Illinois at Chicago RALPH KEEN

Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation. By Massimo Firpo. Translated by Richard Bates. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2015. Pp. xvi, 261. $119.95. ISBN 978-1-4724-3977-2.)

The late Gordon Kinder once called the *alumbrados* of Castile "the goose that laid the golden eggs." Massimo Firpo's recent work shows just how far those eggs circulated throughout Reformation Europe. The book is a combination of two earlier articles in Italian that have been translated, updated, and expanded. Its major contribution is distinguishing Valdés's own religious doctrines from the dual and contradictory "Valdesian" heresies after his death in 1541. In so doing, Firpo provides a detailed account of how the leaders for religious compromise within the hierarchy of the Church, and some of the most radical reformation sects, all drew upon Valdés's *alumbrado* heritage.

Given the significance placed on the *alumbrados*, the analysis of them is rather thin. Their spiritual individualism, their intense rivalry, and their warped representation via Inquisition trial documentation, makes deconstruction of any systematic theology extremely difficult. Nonetheless, recent scholarship has increasingly emphasized their influence on Valdés's religious thought.

The second chapter somewhat abruptly switches from Valdés to the penetration of Protestant doctrines into Italy from the north setting up the heart of the study: Valdés's *spirituali* circle in Naples and its connections to other *spirituali*, including powerful cardinals influential in the ecclesiastical hierarchy before and during the Council of Trent. Insightfully, Firpo traces a complex and interwoven grid of communication that he believes peaked in power in the late 1540s after Valdés's death. The most thought-provoking part of the work is his closely reasoned argument that the demise of the Valdesian movement for internal reform resulted in part from radical Valdesian successors. In 1542, just a few months after Valdés's death, the Papal Inquistion targeted Valdesians, fearing their influence at the top of the church hierarchy. Firpo notes that the Papal Inquisition, in effect, shaped orthodox theology before the Council of Trent leading more Valdesians

into radical doctrines including anti-Trinitarianism and Anabaptism. The Radical Reformation, influenced by Valdés albeit postmortem, was as anathema to mainline Protestants as to inquisitors.

Throughout the book Firpo uses the term *Reformation* to identify both the work of internal and external Valdesian reformers, and classifies both as heresies. Although acknowledging that Valdés's religious thought was incompatible with Protestant theology, Firpo claims Valdés had absorbed some Protestant doctrines such as "justification by faith alone" (p. 40). Justification by faith was Valdés's key doctrine, but he never added Martin Luther's insertion of "alone" to the scripture. Stefane Pastore has highlighted the significance of the *alumbrado* doctrine of charity, and Valdés's doctrine of justification by faith was inextricably tied to his doctrine of charity. Valdés, his father, his older brother, and his heir and nephew all served as stewards of all the houses and hospitals of San Lázaro in the Diocese of Cuenca that cared for the poor sick. Further, as Firpo indicates, many of Valdés's followers joined the Confraternity of the White Servants of Justice, who supported the Neapolitan Hospital for the Incurables, to which Valdés generously donated in his testament. Throughout Europe, the concept of charity changed in the sixteenth century to martial resources for dealing with a rampant crisis in public health. The *alumbrados*, the Valdés family, Bernardino Ochino and the Capuchins, as well as the Neapolitan confraternity all seem to have been on the cutting edge of this change.

In conclusion, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation* is a major contribution to Reformation studies that should appeal to all scholars and graduate students in the field.

University of Central Missouri DANIEL A. CREWS

Punishment and Penance: Two Phases in the History of the Bishop's Tribunal of Novara. By Thomas B. Deutscher. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 215. $60.00. ISBN 978-1-4426-4442-7.)

Among the many actions taken by the bishop's tribunal in the northern Italian Diocese of Novara between 1563 and 1799, both "punishment" and "penance" played an important role. Thomas Deutscher's case study argues that the bishop's tribunal employed both rigor and compassion in responding to the misbehavior of those who appeared before the episcopate. The tribunal was interested in both clergy and laypeople, but it responded with varying degrees of severity to each, depending upon the time period and the context. Deutscher suggests that, in the early phases (1563–1615), the tribunal actively pursued both sacred and secular transgressors. In the later period, however, the persecution of laymen dropped off dramatically, a testament to the growing power of secular justice and the concomitant decline in the authority of the bishop.

The Novara episcopate—particularly in the post-Tridentine period—was dominated by St. Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan. Deutscher's opening

chapter surveys the geography and history of Novara, as well as the specific role of the vicar general and other offices within the diocese. The second chapter examines the extent of episcopal jurisdiction by focusing on how Novara interacted with other judicial bodies, including the Roman Inquisition, and especially on the oft-contentious relationship between the Lombard bishops and their secular counterparts in Milan. The next two chapters consider the immediate post-Tridentine period in detail, turning first to moral transgressions and criminal acts of the clergy (chapter 3) and then to similar failings of the laity (chapter 4). The reader's impression is of a tribunal eager to intervene and to implement Catholic reform but stymied by a series of obstacles, including a lack of qualified replacements for misbehaving clergy, an overburdened vicar general, and a strong desire to forgive (if not always to forget). The final chapter looks far ahead to consider the actions of the tribunal in the period 1745–99. Deutscher explicitly chose a comparative approach to measure change over time. He recognizes that the extant records, although similar, are not identical, and thus precise head-to-head comparisons are not possible. Nevertheless, there is certainly sufficient material to draw conclusions about changes in the strength, success, and targets of the bishop's tribunal.

It is clear from the introduction and opening chapters that Novara offers a good run of serial records, complemented by sources such as visitation acts; synodal decrees; a census of priests; and the extensive correspondence of Carlo Bascapè, Novara's bishop and Borromeo's close contemporary. Deutscher's study is very much a local one; in the introduction and the notes he briefly mentions case studies that have been done elsewhere, but there are relatively few of these, making his level of detail and careful study a welcome addition to the history of local Catholicism.

One of the most fascinating elements of this study is the rich narrative about rogue priests and the seeming inability of the bishop's tribunal to curb them. The introduction opens with the tale of Pier Paolo Burro, a curate in Novara who was charged with a dizzying and disheartening list of charges: concubinage, theft, gambling, avarice, assault, and failure to perform many pastoral duties. Despite the apparently overwhelming evidence, he escaped any serious punishment for nearly two decades before finally being suspended—but only for one year. These and other stories exemplify Deutscher's point that the effectiveness of the bishop's tribunal was often quite limited.

University of Massachusetts, Lowell CHRISTOPHER CARLSMITH

Storia di Clelia Farnese: Amori, potere, violenza nella Roma della Controriforma. By Gigliola Fragnito. (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2013. Pp. 329. €25,00. ISBN 978-88-15-24661-5.)

Gigliola Fragnito has produced a work sure to receive vociferous praise from her peers. Benedetta Craveri in the October 21, 2013, *La Repubblica* and Paolo Mieli in the September 3, 2013, *Corriere della Sera* raved about Fragnito's work taking massive archival information and finding the narrative rhythm necessary to

delight readers enamored of history. Her sixteen brief chapters constituted, for them, an extraordinary book about a woman caught in power plays at the pinnacle of a still-corrupted Roman noble and ecclesiastical world, years after the conclusion of the Council of Trent.

The story, as told by Fragnito, would make a great motion picture. With political machinations, discomfiting violence, intricate diplomacy, and sexual subplots—not to mention a female protagonist of extraordinary beauty—the tale, which is ultimately a genuine tragedy, has everything necessary to bring people to the theaters. Clelia Farnese (1557–1613) was the daughter of a famous art-patron cardinal and aspiring pope: *il gran cardinal* Alessandro Farnese (1520–89). The grandson of Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49), he hoped to be the second Farnese to hold the throne in the sixteenth century and repeatedly tried to use his daughter to help him attain the goal. He placed her into a first, disastrous marriage (February 1571) with Giovan Giorgio Cesarini, from a family that had three members in the College of Cardinals at the time. Giovan Giorgio turned out to be an adventurer on many levels: as a soldier, as a gambler, and as an adulterer. Clelia apparently arranged for the killing of one of his paramours inside the Cesarini household. This notoriety threatened the reputation of both noble families. Roman fascination with Clelia's beauty reached a crescendo as Giovan Giorgio's health was declining. So, when he died in 1585 at age thirty-five, Clelia's father aimed to remove the stunning widow with her young son from the city and from the Roman, papal-electing eye. She resisted with all her might, despite even imprisonment at the order of her father. In 1587 he steered her—quite in violation of Tridentine marriage legislation—into a still more disastrous marriage, as Clelia's new husband, Marco Pio di Savoy, brutalized her. After his death in battle in 1599, Clelia fled to a monastery in the Farnese duchy of Parma. She returned to Rome in 1601 and died there.

Alas, this is a movie highly unlikely to be made in Hollywood. Although sex, violence, and political intrigue all sell well with audiences, producers of films with historical content seem convinced that nothing sells like received narratives of the past. "Bio-pics" of early-modern characters like Martin Luther and Elizabeth I provide plenty of evidence. This book rightly casts aside the standard narrative on life in early-modern Europe. Conjugal and family relations surely did not constrain Clelia, as she defended her own position and the interests of her son with autonomy and determination. This illegitimate daughter unabashedly resisted her father, who happened to be one of the most powerful cardinals in the Roman hierarchy. Clearly not all women conformed to social conventions, often considered determining in early-modern gender relations. Clearly the heavy hand of the post-Tridentine Roman Church was not as heavy as suggested in the dominant narrative. Such truths make for a complicated story to bring to the cinema. Most readers of this journal would be satisfied with easier dissemination of Fragnito's brilliant work: a readily available English translation.

Bloomsburg University WILLIAM V. HUDON

The Lead Books of Granada. By Elizabeth Drayson. [Early Modern History: Society and Culture.] (New York: Palgrave. 2013. Pp. xv, 289. $95.00. ISBN: 978-1-137-35884-4.)

The human stories behind the multilingual and multigraphic parchment, relics, and "Lead Books" (*plomos*) of Granada, recovered from their hiding places in two episodes between 1588 and 1599, are endlessly fascinating. Elizabeth Drayson's new book describes in detail how the personalities and complex motives of individuals shaped the forgery, discovery, authentication, and repudiation of the *plomos*. Those texts and artifacts were found over the course of the decades following the second war of the Alpujarras and the expulsion of the *morisco* "new Christians" from Granada (1568–71). The purportedly early Christian relics and texts were intended by their creators to demonstrate an ancient Christian heritage for the recently converted city of Granada, as well as to cast aspects of the Islamic heritage of that same city (first and foremost the use of the Arabic language) as compatible and acceptable to the orthodoxy of Counter-Reformation Spain. These relics and texts were written or inscribed variously in Latin, Castilian, and a distinctive Arabic script described as Solomonic. The unique set of skills and expertise needed to create such artifacts, and the particular set of motives that would inspire a hoax geared to appeal to both Christians and Muslims, have inspired a spirited and long-standing debate among scholars as to the identity of the forgers. Drayson looks to the usual suspects, the *morisco* doctors Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna, and gives an account of the recent scholarship about these figures. Drayson, whose previous work has focused on the legends surrounding Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king of Spain, is especially drawn to the figure of Luna, the author of the *Historia Verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* (Granada, 1592), itself an invented history purportedly translated by Luna from the original Arabic text of one Abu al-Qasim Tarif ibn Tariq. Luna is a tremendously engaging figure with complex personal and professional motives, as Drayson and others who have worked on him have shown. One of Drayson's principal motives for writing the book, as she tells her readers in the preface and again throughout chapter 5, "Miguel de Luna—Hoaxer, Heretic, or Hero?" is to "bring to the fore a man who has not been regarded as a hero" (p. xiii). However, the story of Luna and his contemporaries that Drayson proceeds to tell is fascinating on its own merits and would not seem to require the invocation of a heroic ideal to justify its discussion and analysis.

Drayson's well-written book is a timely addition to a renewed scholarly interest in early-modern forgery and its role in the cultivation of new forms of critical inquiry along with the cultivation of religious and national heritage through antiquities (forged or authentic), as exemplified in the works of Katrina Olds and Katie Harris, among others. Along with her interventions in this scholarship, however, Drayson's principal contribution, beyond synthesizing the complex matter of the *plomos* episodes, lies in her portrayal of the lead books in contemporary Spanish culture (chapter 10). Her discussion of the imaginative portrayals of the episodes around the lead books in Spanish popular culture since the 1990s, in fiction and in film, introduces her readers to an aspect of contemporary Spanish culture that is as

important as the historical episode and historiography around the Lead Books. She shows how the recent flurry of scholarship and creative work inspired by the Granadan forgeries is in its own way a glimpse into the current engagement of both the Spanish academy and the Spanish public with the same questions for which the *plomos* were meant to serve as a response at the end of the sixteenth century: what is the place of Islam and Islamic culture in Spanish society and Spanish history?

Those who are particularly interested in the topic will wish to read Drayson's book in conjunction with the revised edition and English translation of Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, translated by Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden, 2013) and its rich archival references (Drayson cites the 2010 Spanish first edition). In addition, for non-Spanish speakers, Drayson's translations throughout the text and in the appendices will be of particular value.

Saint Louis University Claire Gilbert

Der Jansenismus—eine „katholische Häresie"? Das Ringen um Gnade, Rechtfertigung und die Autorität Augustins in der frühen Neuzeit. Edited by Dominik Burkard and Tanja Thanner. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 159.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2014. Pp. viii, 464. €56.00. ISBN 978-3-402-11583-1,)

The book contains eighteen essays dedicated to the controversy on grace and justification in the early-modern period that were discussed in the symposium held in Würzburg on May 12–14, 2011. The symposium examined Jansenism as a European phenomenon of various theological, historical, and political implications. Fourteen essays are in German, one is in French, and three are in English. The book includes an index of abbreviations and acronyms as well as an index of personal names.

Free will is one of the oldest questions of history. In the history of Christianity, it is found mainly in the early-fifth-century controversy between St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and Pelagius, and in its theological and ecclesiastical implications. Later the problem of divine grace and human freedom gave renewed rise to considerable theological debates. Finally, the question of justification, focused through the Reformation, acted as a catalyst. Between the emerging denominations in the wake of these debates also a struggle flared for the "heritage" and for the true hermeneutic of Augustine himself. The theological problems of grace led to violent intra-Catholic controversy that eventually culminated in the mid-seventeenth century in the conflict over the *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638). Immediately after the publication of this work, which claimed to be the authentic interpretation of the Church Father, came the prohibition of the *Augustinus* published by the Roman Index of Prohibited Books. The papal bull *Cum occasione* (1653) condemned five propositions, taken from the *Augustinus*, as heretical. The explosive

force of this act was enormous between theologians and seemed to condemn the theological position on grace of Augustine. The volume examines the complex, multifaceted phenomenon of Jansenism from the theological initial question and offers the analysis of the reception of Augustine's thought by main theologians of the modern period such as John Calvin and Martin Luther. The importance of Augustine's theological thought emerges in this well-documented and nuanced history of Jansenism.

Cornelius P. Mayer analyzes the evolution of Augustine's thought until the drafting of the *Confessiones*. Two essays present Augustine's hermeneutic and the relationship among Luther, Calvin, and Augustine: Otto H. Pesch discusses the ambiguous critique made by Luther, and Karin Scheiber analyzes the main contact points and differences between Calvin and Augustine. Karlheinz Ruhstorfer presents the dispute "*de auxiliis*" from its origins to the dispute between the Jesuit Luis de Molina and the Dominican Domingo Báñez (unfortunately the author ignores the Italian and French studies on this intriguing subject). Giovanna D'Aniello explains the link between Francisco Suárez and Augustine on the effectiveness of grace. Diana Stanciu's essay is dedicated to Jansenist concepts of habit and habitual grace, two concepts inspired by Aristotelian philosophy: Jansen could not accept the Aristotelian concept of human nature as defined by virtue or ability to exercise virtue before receiving the aid of grace, as it implied that humans could control salvation. Wim François discusses efficacious grace and predestination in the Bible commentaries of W. H. van Est, Jansen, and Libertus Fromondus. The three theologians could be considered as interesting representatives of a golden age of biblical scholarship in Louvain and Douai, but only Estius is considered by the author as the most skillful of the three, and he was the only who took a strikingly different doctrinal option on efficacious grace solely to the elect. Michael Kalus Wernicke explains the position on the Jansenist controversy expressed by the Eremites of the Augustine order Christian Lupus and Enry Noris. Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi dedicates his research to the presentation of theological ambiguity in the Catholic Thomism of the early-modern age, caused by the proximity of St. Thomas's position on grace to the Calvinistic one. The diplomatic aspect of the Jansenist controversy during the mission in Cologne of the nuncio Fabio Chigi (1640–51) is presented by Marcel Albert, whereas Dominik Burkard explains the background of the Five Propositions condemned by Rome, presenting the *Memorandum* sent to Pope Innocent X on August 28, 1652, and written by three Augustinian theologians—professors in the Theological Faculty in Paris. Burkard found this important document in the Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede and places it in the context of events. Tanja Thanner presents the origins of the history of the Bull *Cum occasione*, detailing the *censurae* written by the members of the Index's congregation from the Augustinian order (Philip Visconti and Celestinus Bruni). Els Agten attributes the impetus of the Jansenist milieu in France and the Low Countries to Bible reading in the vernacular languages between 1660 and 1735, presenting the main translated edition of the Bible or of the New Testament in French and Dutch. Nicole Reinhardt focuses on the theme of the royal conscience in the prism of Jansenist criticism, and Catherine Maire presents the reception to

the Bull *Unigenitus* (1713) as church law and the norm of the French state. Jan Rioegiers explains the political implications of the Jansenism and anti-Jansenism, among European plots, alliances, and political factions. Herman H. Schwedt presents the position of the Dominican Inquisitor Sebastian Knippenberg, who worked in Cologne at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The final essay, by Volker Reinhardt, traces the most important stages of the rejection of Jansenism by the baroque papacy.

University of Modena and Reggio Emilia MARIA TERESA FATTORI

Cunegonde's Kidnapping: A Story of Religious Conflict in the Age of Enlightenment. By Benjamin Kaplan. [The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2014. Pp. xxii, 290. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-300-18736-6.)

In this exemplary microhistory, Benjamin Kaplan weaves together a story of local religious conflict with broader themes of Enlightenment, toleration, and the political and social history of the Netherlands and Germany in the eighteenth century. Based on a treasure trove of documents in the Dutch National Archives, Kaplan's book connects the intimate details of a mixed marriage to the border politics of a confessionally mixed territory and the actions of the Dutch Republic's ruling elite. In so doing, Kaplan has provided us with a fascinating view of eighteenth-century religious and social history that will be of interest to scholars and general readers far beyond the field of Dutch history.

The kidnapping of the title refers to two related acts in 1762. In the first, a young Catholic woman from Aachen by the name of Cunegonde tries to halt the baptism of her infant nephew in the Reformed (Calvinist) Church of Vaals, a small village on the Dutch-German border (today located at the "Drielandenpunt" where Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands come together). Her feeble attempt to seize the child is stopped. Temporarily imprisoned in Vaals, she is freed by a small gang of Catholics from Aachen. This double kidnapping results in a series of escalating acts of religious violence and judicial actions in Aachen and the Dutch Republic. The legal proceedings against Cunegonde and against the Catholic pastor Johannes Bosten (the presumed instigator) form the backbone of the book.

One of the great strengths of this book is Kaplan's ability to use particular details from his story to present a larger social and intellectual portrait of the age. For example, the first chapter tells the story of the fraught marriage of the Reformed Sara Maria Effrans and the Catholic Hendrick Mommers. Kaplan writes about the couple's difficulty in finding a clergyman willing to perform the wedding ceremony and, in so doing, paints a larger picture of the nature of intermarriage in a religiously diverse landscape. The chapter presents a rich account of the various legal, social, and political implications of mixed marriages in the period.

Likewise, Kaplan's excellent chapter on the particular religious and political geography of Vaals and Aachen offers a fascinating discussion of borders in the

early-modern period. Because authorities in Catholic Aachen forbade Protestant worship, Protestants traveled on Sundays to Reformed Vaals for services. Borders, Kaplan notes, were not just restrictive but offered a liberating effect, producing a sort of religious "deregulation." The same freedom of movement that enabled the Catholic kidnappers to escape Dutch jurisdiction and offered occasion for religious violence *also* put pressure on ruling authorities to tolerate religious minorities who moved in and out of neighboring territories.

A later chapter takes the case all the way to the States General, which had final jurisdiction over the matter. In addition to offering a glimpse into the inner workings of the Dutch Republic, Kaplan presents an insightful discussion of the difference between local and national ruling elites as well as the various ways in which the Enlightenment affected political and religious decisions. In short, Kaplan's book serves as a wonderful introduction to issues of religious conflict and coexistence in the eighteenth century, and serves as a worthy pendant to his well-received *Divided by Faith*: *Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

Yale University MICHAEL PRINTY

The French Revolution. Faith, Desire, and Politics. By Noah Shusterman. (New York: Routledge. 2014. Pp. xiii, 265. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-66021-1.)

This new synthesis on the French Revolution from 1789 through the end of the Directory is self-consciously conceived for students and the general reader. It is written in a lively—at times almost chatty—style, and it gives ample attention to many of the most dramatic moments of this dramatic period. There are numerous pithy descriptions of Revolutionary figures, from major leaders like Maximilian Robespierre, Jean-Paul Marat, the Marquis de Condorcet, and Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve to more obscure individuals like the refractory parish clergyman Jacques-Pierre Fleury. It is particularly unusual in its extensive reliance on the works of nineteenth-century historians. References to the classic accounts of Alphonse de Lamartine, Adolphe Thiers, Thomas Carlyle, Edgar Quinet, and Jean Jaurès (although not Alexis de Tocqueville) appear frequently in both the text and the notes. Above all, the great romantic historian Jules Michelet is cited dozens of times, both for his vivid prose and for his interpretations. Although the author does not entirely neglect the vast amount of research on the Revolution published since the nineteenth century, he frequently follows the arguments and narrative line of these earlier historians. Perhaps it is for this reason that he chooses largely to pass over the "pre-Revolutionary" period (e.g., the Assembly of Notables of 1787, and the municipal mobilization, the great pamphlet campaign, and the tsunami of grain riots everywhere in France in 1788–89)—on which scholarship scarcely existed when Michelet and Carlyle were writing.

In addition to a strong emphasis on the political narrative, the author gives substantial attention—as his subtitle suggests—to the religious history and the his-

tory of women during the Revolution. He provides nice passages on several of the key female participants and explores some of the legislation advancing women's rights (although he never mentions the sweeping new rights granted over inheritance, property, and the control of children). He also underlines the considerable support given by many women for the counterrevolution. On the question of church history, there is an extensive analysis of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the oath required of all ecclesiastics with cure of souls (he mistakenly says "all clerics," p. 73), and of the huge impact of this legislation and the ensuing religious schism on the later development of the Revolution. Curiously, he chooses not to mention the great National Assembly debate in mid-April 1790 on the precise designation of the ecclesiastical property to be sold to pay off the state debt and on whether or not Catholicism should be declared the "state religion." The decrees voted in this debate were actually far more important than the vague decree of the previous November that made some Church land "available" to the state, and they were a major factor in further polarizing the Assembly and igniting religious riots across southern France. There is almost no mention, moreover, of the goals and activities of the Constitutional Church, of the vigorous and often idealistic support for the Revolution on the part of tens of thousands of clergymen. Perhaps most surprising, given the book's dual emphasis on women and religion, there is no mention whatsoever of women religious during the Revolutionary period (some 55,000 individuals): of their widespread backing of the refractory clergy and of the extraordinary difficulties they faced when they were compelled to leave their convents.

Obviously, however, no rapid overview of this kind can hope to cover every topic equally. Noah Shusterman's book can still serve as a useful and stimulating text for undergraduates in a course on the French Revolution.

University of California, Irvine Timothy Tackett

Late Modern European

Les religions et les cultures dans l'Occident européen au XIX^e^ siècle (1800–1914). By Gérard Cholvy. [Histoire des mondes chrétiens.] (Paris: Éditions Karthala. 2014. Pp. 397. €27,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-8111-1313-1.)

Gérard Cholvy, who taught history at Montpellier from 1962 to 2002, was one of the leading figures in the golden age of French religious history. He has written both general histories and more detailed studies, focusing especially on youth movements, popular religion, and the geography of French Catholicism. This new synthesis covers not only France but also Italy, Germany, and England, although the sections on France are the strongest. After a review of the situation *c.* 1800, subsequent chapters examine the religious impact of romanticism and positivism; the spiritual revival of the later nineteenth century; religious art; the religion of women; and Christian missions in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. The book ends with a review of the situation *c.* 1914. There is then a "Postface" that outlines Cholvy's career as an historian and the influences on him, starting with his time as

leader in the Catholic student movement in the 1950s. The main argument of the book is that in opposition to the familiar model of a linear process of gradual secularization—a model favored especially by those who see secularization as a by-product of a process of modernization—the period from the later eighteenth to the early-twentieth centuries saw an ebb and flow, with periods of religious decline followed by periods of revival. Thus he stresses the critical state of religion in France (and, indeed, in some of the countries occupied by French armies) as a result of the disruptions and persecutions inflicted by the Revolution. But after that there was a revival, peaking in the 1840s. The 1850s to the 1880s were the golden age of positivism, marked by growing anticlericalism and culminating in the secularizing legislation of the early Third Republic. But 1886 saw the start of a Catholic revival, which peaked in the years immediately before World War I. Cholvy's model works well for France, but whether it can be applied generally is more questionable: in fact, European religious history from the 1790s to the 1960s reflects national differences as much as, or even more than, common trends. For example, England saw remarkable church growth from the 1790s to the 1840s, stabilization from the 1850s to the 1880s, and decline from the 1890s. The most distinctive aspect of the book is perhaps the emphasis on key personalities. There are numerous portraits of these men and women, and Cholvy stresses the importance of their initiatives as theologians, social reformers, missionaries, or founders of religious communities. However, the multiplication of examples of notable individuals is sometimes taken too far—lending itself to a narrative approach that obscures wider issues of interpretation. This applies especially to the section on missions. His writing is especially vivid when his sympathies are most fully engaged. He describes with enthusiasm, as well as erudition, the many Catholic conversions among intellectuals in the early-twentieth century; the growing Catholic (and to a lesser extent Protestant) presence among students; and the vibrant Catholic youth movement, noted for the prowess of its soccer and basketball teams. Another highlight is the section on religious art, which includes not only Eugène Delacroix, the Nazarenes, and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (although not Emil Nolde) but also the "democratization of piety" brought about by mass production, notably of plaster saints selling for 12 francs. Written in an informal style but informed by Cholvy's vast knowledge of modern French religion and society, the book can be read with enjoyment by specialists but is directed principally at students and the general reader.

University of Birmingham HUGH MCLEOD

The Fantasy of Reunion: Anglicans, Catholics, and Ecumenism, 1833–1882. By Mark D. Chapman. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. x, 329. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-19-968806-7.)

Mark Chapman's new book casts an eye on the seemingly narrow topic of ecumenical relations between Anglicans and Catholics in the nineteenth century. Yet the study provides a window into broader questions of Christian doctrine and authority and their relationships to national identity, history, and international relations in the nineteenth century.

The narrative begins with ecumenical discussions during the Oxford Movement (1833–45), which involved rival understandings of catholicity and doctrinal authority. Tractarians situated catholicity in a supposed patristic consensus, whereas Roman Catholics emphasized a catholicity of the present under the authority of the papacy. The arrangement of these theological loci provided numerous occasions for misunderstanding in the nineteenth century. In chapter 2, Chapman examines the rise and fall of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity in Christendom (APUC) and highlights contributions of figures such as A. W. N. Pugin, Ambrose Phillipps, and Frederick Lee. Chapman examines the APUC against the backdrop of historical nostalgia and medieval revival in the romantic era. He shows how Roman officials never warmed to the ideals of the APUC, and the institution's emphasis on national communions ran afoul of the rising ultramontane movement. At Manning's prompting the Association saw official condemnation from Rome in 1865. The central chapters of Chapman's study examine Edward Pusey's various *Irenika* and efforts of men such as Bishop Alexander Forbes and Victor de Buck to find bases for reunion in the 1860s. These efforts were also destined for failure, largely because Anglicans continued to seek foundations for Christian reunion in a patristic consensus, whereas Roman Catholics increasingly emphasized communion with the papacy. Pusey and Forbes were aware that their efforts remained marginal even within their own communion. Authorities in Rome also rebuffed these efforts, save for a select few, such as Archbishop Georges Darboy and Bishop Félix Dupanloup, who may have been more interested in seizing the initiatives for their own intra-ecclesial purposes. Pusey and Forbes still maintained their efforts until the definition of papal infallibility in 1870. After this point, attempts for reunion with Rome disintegrated, and dialogue re-emerged on a different playing field.

The final chapters (8–10) of the book focus on the period after the First Vatican Council. Here Chapman broadens his scope to include figures such as Henry Liddon, Ignaz von Döllinger, and Frederick Meyrick and traces new ecumenical efforts involving numerous cross-relations among Old Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and the American Episcopal Church. Chapman shows how these efforts were also destined to failure by the early 1880s on account of factors such as nationalist tensions in the late-nineteenth century, divisive personalities, and the inability of Eastern and Western Christians to agree on the ecumenicity of the Second Council of Nicaea (787 AD).

Chapman's overall narrative forcefully contours the shortcomings, scope, and relentless rehearsal of misunderstandings in Anglican-Catholic ecumenism in the nineteenth century. In finishing the book, the reader can only agree with his choice of title. Yet the story Chapman tells offers a valuable contribution to our broader understanding of Anglicanism and nineteenth-century Christianity. Ecumenical exchanges focus light on precisely those questions, which many considered essential during a time of rapid social, intellectual, and geopolitical change. The approach isolates these concerns in debates about history, catholicity, doctrine, and understandings of church and state. *The Fantasy of Reunion* will interest scholars of

modern Christianity and should be considered essential reading for Anglican and nineteenth-century specialists. Rarely does such a narrow investigation cast so broad a light on the landscape of an age.

Seton Hall University C. MICHAEL SHEA

Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915. By Steven S. Maughan. [Studies in the History of Christian Missions.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2014. Pp. xvi, 511. $45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6946-3.)

Anyone working on Anglican missions in the Victorian and Edwardian periods will find Steven Maughan's study an invaluable guide to the theological debates, party strife, and personal rivalries that shaped the operations of the two principal voluntary societies that bankrolled the foreign missions of the Church of England: the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Although the title is drawn from a charge to British Christianity delivered by David Livingstone's African companion Jacob Wainwright in 1874, it is the metropolitan organization rather than the foreign operations of Anglican missions that is put under the microscope. As far as culture is concerned, the principal object of study is the internal culture of the Church of England.

Too often neophyte historians of Christian missions plunge into the archives with a very superficial understanding of the denominational peculiarities and governance structures of the missionary societies dispatching agents to far-flung corners of the globe. Maughan decisively demonstrates that the CMS and SPG spent much less time debating strategies for converting the heathen than defending their confessional and partisan turf. They struggled continually to resolve the contradiction between the episcopal governing structure of the Anglican Church and the voluntary philanthropic engines that kept the missionary societies financially afloat.

Broadly speaking, the CMS represented the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, whereas the SPG embodied the values of High Church and Anglo-Catholic Anglicans. However, the shifting tides of politics and public opinion ensured that the forces of various parties never settled into a comfortable equilibrium.

In the 1870s revivalist impulses from across the Atlantic infiltrated the church at all levels and fuelled enthusiasm for what became known as the Keswick holiness movement. Although this renewed passion for the cause of foreign missions among university students, it worked against the development of self-governing, self-propagating churches overseas. Maughan enhances our understanding of the processes identified by Andrew Porter in Nigerian Anglican missions that led to the dismissal of African leadership in the name of holy rectitude. He goes on to show how an ineffectual response to the holiness challenge stunted the growth and threatened the finances of the SPG.

Further complicating the socio-religious balance of forces were the voices of women frustrated by the inability of patriarchal structures in both the church and the voluntary societies to accommodate their desire to serve at home and abroad. Paradoxically the very receptiveness to evangelical passion that had strengthened the CMS in the 1880s and 1890s threw it into turmoil at the turn of the century when the male leadership recoiled against women's involvement at the higher levels of administration. About the same time the SPG embraced the cause of empire as an ideal of Christian service that might transcend the bounds of entrenched parties and the challenge of secularism.

Maughan's book is longer than it needed to be. The historiographical opening chapter adds little to the analysis, and there is a great deal of repetition, particularly in the long sections labeled "Conclusions." The writing and thinking, on the other hand, are of a consistently high standard. The archival work is immensely impressive, and all subsequent scholars will owe him a debt of gratitude for surefooted guidance across a treacherous terrain. We can only hope that someone may be inspired to do something similar for Catholic missionary orders and societies.

University of Western Australia NORMAN ETHERINGTON

The Moscow Council (1917–1918): The Creation of the Conciliar Institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church. By Hyacinthe Destivelle, O.P. Edited by Michael Plekon and Vitaly Permiakov. Translated by Jerry Ryan. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2015. Pp. xviii, 447. $36.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-0217-2.)

The local Council of Moscow of 1917–18 was a pivotal event in the history of the modern Russian Orthodox Church. The last council had taken place in 1667, when Tsar Alexis attenuated the reform movement that Patriarch Nikon had initiated. Peter the Great went further and replaced the patriarch with the Holy Synod, which was headed by a layman who reported directly to the government. That arrangement prevailed until Tsar Nicholas II abdicated in February 1917. The provisional government that succeeded Nicholas allowed religions to organize and manage their own affairs, and, in response, the Russian Orthodox Church convened the local Council of Moscow.

The purpose of the council was to elect a new patriarch and to launch a reform agenda once again, particularly in the light of historical changes related to modernization. The council was particularly interested in exploring more deeply the notion of *sobornost'*—that organic sense of conciliarity that tied together bishops, clergy, and laity in a unique relationship of love and service where each had its role, its special charism from God, and worked and sacrificed willingly to improve the community. However, council members never reached agreement on a definition of conciliarity. Some argued that it meant more lay involvement and more democratic procedure in the church, and others claimed that it related to defining functions for different groups that remained subordinate to bishops and a patriarch. The council

delved into a wide variety of topics, including church administration, missionary activity, liturgy, preaching, monasticism, schools, local churches, and parochial life. Many of the issues discussed by the council were critical for church reform and renewal, including the role of the laity, the place of women, the church's role in society, ecumenical relations, and church unity. Unfortunately, the Bolshevik Revolution cut short the council's work, but the challenges continued to be explored by a brilliant group of emigré Russian theologians and philosophers in interwar Paris, and their work and the original efforts of the Moscow Council are now being studied and used by the Russian Orthodox Church in the postcommunist era to move forward with a reform agenda.

Hyacinthe Destivelle, O.P., an official at the Oriental Section of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, has done an invaluable service for the Russian Orthodox Church and for the whole idea of Christian unity. His book, which is based on the council documents and was originally published in French, is a brilliant and insightful analysis of the Moscow Council and its many fascinating ideas and challenges. It is not only a fair and balanced treatment of Russian Orthodoxy's determination to make Christ's enduring message of love and justice relevant to a people experiencing radical changes in society but also an incredibly rich presentation of original source documents, including the publication for the first time in Western languages of *The Definitions and Decrees of the Sacred Council of the Russian Orthodox Church* and the *Statute of the Local Council of the Orthodox Church of All Russia.* Destivelle identifies many of the successes of the council (such as parish administration) and also points out a central problem that the council intended to confront—namely, separation of church and state—but never quite managed to address.

Texas State University DENNIS J. DUNN

The Polish Orthodox Church in the Twentieth Century and Beyond: Prisoner of History. By Edward D. Wynot Jr. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield. 2015. Pp. xiii, 123. $75.00. ISBN 978-1-7391-9884-1, clothbound; ISBN 978-0-7391-9885-8, ebook.)

This monograph depicts a portrait of the church whose appearance is compared to the birth of an "unwanted stepchild" (p. 1) and that managed to become the second largest Christian denomination in contemporary Poland. The author tells a fascinating story of this church as a part of broader issues of religion's accommodation to demands of secular politics, of relations between national identity and faith, and of minority activism in Poland. The research base is extensive, including documents from Polish state archives, published sources, and newspapers and magazines of the period. The analysis is supported with statistical data on ethnic composition of Poland, church network, numbers of Orthodox believers and clergy, and maps showing geographical disposition of Orthodox dioceses. The monograph is divided into four chapters and also contains a preface, select bibliography, and index.

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–19) provides a sketchy overview of Eastern Christianity in Poland prior to World War I. The author notes important milestones: inclusion of Ukrainian and Belarusian lands into the Polish state, the 1596 Union of Brest, and the struggle of Cossacks in support of Orthodoxy. The 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo is seen as a turning point, as "the 'Mother City' of Polish Orthodoxy [*Kyiv*] … now passed into the jurisdiction of the Russian Patriarchate" (p. 9). No longer simply a "minority faith," Orthodoxy in partitioned Poland became an "imperial Church" perceived with "the lasting enmity of Poles from all social strata" (p. 15). A non-specialist in early-modern history, the author freely uses anachronistic terms such as *Polish Orthodox Church*, *Polish Metropolitan*, and *Polish Orthodoxy*, which are misleading in relation to the historical events he describes.

Chapter 2 (pp. 21–56) examines the complex fate of the Orthodox Church in interwar Poland. The altered geopolitical situation forced the church to accommodate itself in the Polish nationalist state where Roman Catholicism became the established face. Answering pressures from below and from above, the hierarchy under Metropolitan Dionizy (Waledynski) strove to become independent from Moscow. Polish authorities' support was decisive in persuading Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory VII to bestow autocephaly on the Polish Orthodox Church in November 1924 (interpreted by the author as a "non-canonical act" [pp. 33, 38]). Simultaneously, state authorities saw this church as an instrument of Polonization and Latinization of the Slavic minorities. Yet another factor came on the scene in the period: clergy and lay activists of Ukrainian and Belarusian origin attempted to ensure the national character of their church and saw it as a crucial constituent of their respective national movements. The latter's loyalty to the state was open to doubt because of the treatment of the church by the ruling Polish majority (the author mentions campaigns of "pacification," forced conversions to Catholicism, and "Neouniatism"), criticized both inside the country (by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky) and abroad (pp. 42–43).

The focus of chapter 3 (pp. 57–82) is on the existence of the Polish Orthodox Church under communism. The World War II period, however, does not escape the author's attention either. The author's remark, "That the Church not only survived but actually somewhat prospered during this era is a testament to its skill at adapting to changes in its surroundings" (p. 57), is not without moral judgment. The church collaborated with the Nazis during the war (the author provides an oversimplified picture with some factual mistakes [pp. 58–59]) and Polish communists never failed to remind it of this to bring the church under tighter state control. To have an effective instrument in their hands, they obtained the approval of the church's autocephalous status from Moscow and tolerated its considerable expansion, financial gains, and growth in prestige. The church had to pay the price and therefore supported all governmental policies both domestically (from the "Operation Vistula" in the 1950s to the introduction of the martial law in the 1980s) and internationally (engagement in ecumenical activities and the peace movement). The church leaders—Macarius (Oksijuk) and Bazyli (Doroszkiewicz)—maneuvered quite successfully within allegedly hostile political and sociocultural condi-

tions and managed to transform the Orthodox Church into a "respectable ecclesiastical body which enjoyed comparatively more privileges than the Roman Catholic Church" (p. 68). The major internal challenge for the church remained the rising demand for its Ukrainization coming from below, which the (Moscow-supported) authorities were not ready to satisfy.

Chapter 4 (pp. 83–111) traces the latest developments in Polish Orthodoxy after the fall of communism. Accused of collaboration with the regime's security forces, the church could marshal few arguments to persuade Polish democrats of its legitimate grounds for functioning and could not compete with the Roman Catholic Church in social influence, church property, religious education, and the legal status of religious bodies. Nonetheless, the Orthodox Church managed to secure its own legal status (p. 95) and sociopolitical role, becoming a spiritual leader of national minorities' political struggle for their interests. Metropolitan Sawa (Hryuniak) also made several important gestures—from the introduction of the Polish language in church services to the launching of the church's own radio broadcast system—to answer the challenges of the new millennium. The mutual recognition of each other's baptismal rituals by the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches in 2000 is presented by the author as the beginning of a new page in the story of this former "prisoner of history" and "stranger" in the Polish lands.

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy NATALIA SHLIKHTA

Church of Spies: The Pope's Secret War against Hitler. By Mark Riebling. (New York: Basic Books. 2015. Pp. viii, 375. $29.99. ISBN 978-0-465-02229-8.)

Nearly sixty years have elapsed since the death of Pope Pius XII, but the documents relating to his pontification—apart from a selection for World War II, made available fifty years ago by four Jesuit scholars—are still immured in the Vatican archives and not yet open to public scrutiny. The result is that all of the numerous books and commentaries about Pius XII and his policies lack verification that this important, indeed indispensable, source could provide. When these papers are released, all of these studies will have to be rewritten or at least revised.

Mark Riebling is well aware of these shortcomings but has done a tremendous and most credible examination of a huge range of secondary sources. The strength of his journalistic skills is that he is able to evoke a most vivid picture of both the personalities and the places involved in this dramatic story down to even the details of the furniture of the pope's study. His thesis is that Pius XII, from the beginning of his reign in 1939, was involved in a secret war against Hitler, in alliance with the military members of the German Resistance who also wanted to overthrow Hitler's rule. This resistance movement had to contend with the popularity of Hitler's repeated successes, especially after the conquest of Poland. But they still hoped somehow or other that, if they succeeded in overthrowing Hitler, they could obtain peace terms from Britain and France, which would be much more lenient than those imposed by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. To assist

them, they sought the support of Pius XII and entered into highly secret negotiations with the pontiff in Rome.

Riebling's view is that this conspiracy is the real reason why Pius XII imposed complete silence in his pronouncements about the war. He was very conscious of the dangers to the Church and to his leadership if any hint of this partiality ever emerged. But he was at least prepared to suggest to the British authorities in great secrecy that this plot was a possibility. British Minister to the Vatican D'Arcy Osborne reported that the pope's conscience "would not allow him to ignore it altogether, lest there might conceivably be one chance in a million of its serving the purpose of sparing lives" (p. 85). Riebling's thesis is an alternative to the more commonly held view that Pius's silence was due to his desire to act as a mediator at a time when both sides needed his diplomatic skills to make peace. Many scholars agree there was a great deal of wishful thinking both on the part of the German military resisters and of the pope.

Riebling's view that the pope was engaged in a secret war is still hypothetical. Until the papers are released we must remain in doubt.

University of British Columbia JOHN S. CONWAY

The Church of Greece under Axis Occupation. By Panteleymon Anastasakis. [World War II: The Global, Human, and Ethical Dimension.] (New York: Fordham University Press. 2015. Pp. xiv, 349. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-8232-6199-4.)

The Nazi occupation of several European countries has remained a topic of interest to scholars, including the role played by the various Christian churches during this period. In his monograph, Panteleymon Anastasakis examines thoroughly the Orthodox Church in Greece, a country occupied by Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria from 1941 to 1944. This critical period in modern Greek history left a strong mark on subsequent generations, particularly because of the ensuing bloody civil war (1946–49) between communist partisans and pro-Western government forces.

Anastasakis has placed particular emphasis on the connection among church, state, and nation (chapter 1). Under Axis occupation, this became most evident in the person of Archbishop Damaskinos (Papandreou), who even undertook political functions as regent to fill the political vacuum, guarantee stability, and smooth transition (chapter 2). In addition, Anastasakis explores the growing societal role of the church and its internal problems preceding the Axis occupation (chapter 3); its tenuous and difficult relationship with the Axis (especially German) authorities (chapter 4); its multiple activities to assist the afflicted population (chapters 5 and 6); its policies in the Bulgarian-occupied area of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace; its relationship with Greek Jews and the Holocaust (chapter 7); and the involvement of the clergy in the armed resistance, spearheaded by the communist-led National Liberation Front (chapter 8). In the epilogue, the author briefly shows the role of the church after the liberation from Axis occupation and the escalation of the whole situation into civil war. Was the church the only institution capable of

holding the Greek people and society together during World War II? The author seems to argue in this direction, although without any hagiographical intention. This is perhaps a very strong argument that does not exactly reflect the polarized Greek situation at the time, especially with regard to the communists, who believed the church was an ally of the corrupt old establishment. This is not, however, to deny that the church as a whole was quite active, visible, and utterly important as a provider of manifold help during the Axis occupation for the nation, including problems that normally lie outside the ecclesiastical realm.

This book has many merits. First, the hitherto unpublished material that Anastasakis located in various Greek, British, and American archives is invaluable. Discussing critically older and recent historiography, he shows the multiple connections among the Orthodox and political, social, and other actors. He thus offers a balanced account of the multidimensional role of the Greek Orthodox clergy between active and passive resistance and brings to light the complex plurality of voices and actions by the various Orthodox actors toward all involved parties, the Axis forces, the Greek government imposed by them, and the resistance movements, including the National Liberation Front. Another interesting point is his comparison between the Greek Orthodox Church and other Christian churches and contexts (e.g., Catholic ones) in Axis-occupied Europe, finding both similarities and differences.

Because this is a comprehensive historical work, the author does not reflect more deeply and systematically (e.g., using sociological and other theories) on phenomena such as the particular closeness between church and state and the church's politicization; or on the intrinsic connection among church, nation, and nationalism, despite the Orthodox ecumenical past and tradition. Bibliographically, the book is well informed, yet various additional items could have been also taken into account; for example, the book by Theodosis Ath. Tsironis on the political role of the church between 1913 and 1941 (Thessaloniki, 2010). Finally, since the book deals with the Axis occupation of Greece, it also would have been useful to consult related bibliography in the German language or even to use material from original German archives.

Despite these critical remarks, this book is a major contribution not only to the church history of modern Greece but also to Greek social, political, and cultural developments in the first half of the twentieth century. It is not only a welcome addition to the growing interest within American academia in modern Greek studies including the Orthodox Church but also a book that should be read by all those interested in World War II, Axis-occupied Europe, the Holocaust, and church-state relations in the modern European context.

University of Erfurt VASILIOS N. MAKRIDES

American

La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds. By Amy G. Remensnyder. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. ix, 470. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-19-989298-3.)

For many, the archetypal image of the Virgin Mary reveals her cloaked in blue, her arms outstretched as she glows resplendently from an altar or a garden grotto, her face serene, her eyes cast downward. Alternately, in classic renditions of her bodily ascension to heaven, her eyes gaze brightly upward as she is enveloped in rosy crenulated clouds, while heavenly cherubs peer out from the crepuscular rays. In depictions of La Pietà, sorrow torments her countenance as she holds her dead son's body, her gaze often turned heavenward but this time with different intent. These various images of the Mother of Christ, popularly known as "Our Lady of Grace," contrast sharply with those of an alter ego—Our Lady of Conquest—that have emblazoned shields, crests, and banners taken into battle over the centuries and across the continents.

When and where did the soft cloaks and gentle demeanor of the earlier depictions transpose into battle garments—and battle cries? Or, as Amy G. Remensnyder asks in her book, choosing a striking example of the transformation of the Virgin's image: "What did such Madonnas mean to Spaniards as they invoked the past in service of the colonial present?" (p. 293). When Our Lady donned the mantle of La Conquistadora—to lead soldiers to victory for God and King—she began a journey that continues to this day. For this reason, Remensnyder's book will well serve students of both ancient and modern geopolitical struggles.

Remensnyder attempts to reconcile the dichotomy of the image of the Virgin Mother's suffering with the battle cry of war over which her image has often presided—a dichotomy made particularly striking against the backdrop painted by the author of Mary's divine love of the infant Jesus being deployed to convert conquered peoples. The author's academic remove allows her to delve into this type of nation-building without slipping into reveries on the pure theological symbolism of the Marian figure. The author's thorough exploration of the wide use of Mary's symbolism by governments and dynasties, particularly the Spanish monarchy, gives this book encyclopedic scope and makes it a fine reference on the numerous roles that Mary has played for civilizations that have artfully deployed her image in settings as diverse as medieval kingdoms and pioneer outposts of the New World. Remensnyder details the transformation of Mary's image from that of a passive, loving object of inspiration to that of an instrument of action and war—in short, how the cry of battle replaced a mother's tears for the loss of her son.

In examining the origins and evolution of the bellicose variant of the Virgin's image, Remensnyder provides a compelling world history of the "gilded era of conquest" (p. 293). Although the Virgin is often fixed in communal memory as a stationary object, the author's account of Mary's iterations, journeys, and conquests

highlights her ubiquitous and significant role in the spread of civilization, fraught as that may be for its interplay with the history of indigenous peoples. From this context, the author explores both cross-faith rituals of Marian devotion and manipulations of the image that lead the reader to ponder how the warrior function of the Queen of Heaven can be a lonely role indeed and that this kind of pilgrimage—the journey into the human heart—never ends.

Santa Fe, NM JAIMA CHEVALIER

America's First Chaplain: The Life and Times of the Reverend Jacob Duché. By Kevin J. Dellape. [Studies in Eighteenth-Century America and the Atlantic World.] (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 208. $75.00. ISBN 978-1-61146-143-5.)

Jacob Duché, a member of a prominent Philadelphia merchant family and Anglican minister, is primarily remembered by historians for his eloquent prayer delivered at the opening session of the First Continental Congress in September 1774 in Philadelphia. Three years later his initial enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause had diminished and dramatically changed. He expressed his revised sentiments and an extensive and cogent plea in a letter to General George Washington. It is Duché's initial encounter with national affairs and his abrupt change of opinion that is the subject of this intensively and diligently researched and engagingly written book.

A member of the first class of eight graduates of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1757, Duché traveled to England the next year and was admitted as a Pensioner at Clare Hall in Cambridge University. His attendance was brief as he was ordained a deacon in the Church of England by Edmund Keene, bishop of Chester, on March 11, 1759. Returning promptly to Philadelphia, he was appointed an assistant minister at St. Peter's Church and quickly demonstrated an eloquent preaching style in the pulpit. Three years later he returned to London for ordination as a priest by Thomas Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, in the chapel at Lambeth Palace on September 12, 1762. For the next twelve years, he honed his preaching manner in Philadelphia and earned deserved adulation from his congregation and the wider audience of the city's civic, educational, and religious leaders. Among the ranks of local preachers he was the obvious candidate to invite to open the First Continental Congress session in September 1774, with a petition for divine guidance in the assembly's proceedings.

The delegate charged to recruit Duché to open the Congress with a prayer was the sly, scheming, Massachusetts radical political leader and strategist Samuel Adams, who had his own agenda for the meetings and was no friend of the Church of England in New England. In a series of newspaper articles published in the *Boston Gazette* newspaper in 1768 he had honed his attack on the Anglican Church. Adams raised anew the condemnation of the presence of the English Church and episcopacy in the region that was launched by Increase Mather in the 1680s and recited regularly by subsequent generations of Congregational Church

leaders. In 1772 he enlisted the clergy of the Massachusetts Congregational Church to speak from the pulpit in support of the radical political leaders' objections to English policies. For Adams, the presence of Duché at the Congress delivering a prayer to an assembly of colonial radical partisans critical of England's imperial administration would be a significant display of manipulative political cleverness. Yet Duché was not alone among English parsons in early America objecting to the government's policies after 1763 to London ecclesiastical officials, but he was the most visible and prominent Philadelphia clergyman to do so. His eloquent and dramatic opening prayer on behalf of the Congress's purpose and deliberations earned the admiration, applause, and respect of Adams's second cousin and fellow delegate: the Boston lawyer John Adams.

Within a year after the first session of the Congress Duché began to entertain uncertainties regarding the drift of colonial civil objections to England's imperial policies. Perhaps he became aware of Adams's critical newspaper essays regarding the New England English Church and finally recognized the duplicitous character of his recruitment. But he was also distressed by the unsettling military consequences of the War for Independence in 1776 and 1777 and its impact on the Philadelphia community. Three months after the Declaration of Independence, Duché abruptly and boldly resigned his position as chaplain of the newly independent congress. His letter to Washington proposed and pleaded for a new and more conciliatory and peaceful procedure for addressing the political differences between the new states and the mother country. Regrettably diaries, journals, account books, and correspondence are absent that may illuminate Duché's evolving private feelings and ruminations regarding the unfolding civil and military affairs. Without reservation, he was a victim in rapidly changing local, state, and national political and military events. The subsequent odyssey of exile and turmoil for Duché and his family in England and their ultimate return to America reflect his turbulent and disappointing personal encounters with the dramatically changing and unsettled times.

Rothermere American Institute JAMES B. BELL
Oxford University

Establishing Religious Freedom: Jefferson's Statute in Virginia. By Thomas E. Buckley. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 359. $39.50. ISBN 978-0-8139-3503-4.)

There is a certain pristine clarity to Thomas Jefferson's "Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom." After a series of preliminary justifications for liberty of conscience, the Statute guarantees that

> no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry … nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief … all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of Religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.

And yet, as Thomas Buckley points out in this scrupulously researched and intricately narrated treatment of religious politics in Virginia, "dissolving the innumerable links between religion and government proved much more complicated than anyone had anticipated," and Virginians' "struggle to achieve separation curtailed the very religious freedom they sought to establish" (p. 2). The first of these claims is perhaps uncontroversial, although Buckley shows in extraordinary detail the complexity involved in pursuing disestablishment in a place like Virginia. The second claim is far more provocative and opens up a range of questions regarding the meaning of religious liberty in both historical and contemporary terms.

Establishing Religious Freedom opens with a chapter laying out the contours of the colonial religious establishment and the ways in which insurgent groups like Quakers, Presbyterians, and Baptists sought to use the 1689 Toleration Act to secure a foothold in the Old Dominion. He stresses the role of the Revolution in fostering toleration and the complex legislative history of Jefferson's Statute, which was finally adopted by the Virginia General Assembly in January 1786. Motivations for separating church and state varied; evangelicals warmed to Jefferson's call for religious freedom even if they did not share his rationalist, Unitarian sympathies. Much to Jefferson's chagrin, evangelical Protestantism flourished as he aged, and Buckley narrates the history of church-state relations in Virginia as a story of the crumbling of Jefferson's rationalist vision before the forces of evangelical Protestantism. By the mid-nineteenth century, "Protestant Christianity increasingly assumed the characteristics of a functional establishment with ever-increasing state support for, and endorsement of, religion in general [since] Virginians believed that religion encouraged the public virtue they regarded as essential for republican government" (pp. 184–85). None of the lofty language of Jefferson's Statute was ever applied to African Americans, as Buckley perhaps too briefly points out (pp. 180–81).

Perhaps the most contentious area of church-state relations in Virginia had to do with the disposition of church property after the Revolution, a long-running debate that culminated with repeal of the state's glebe laws—which Baptists argued "was necessary to fulfill the implicit promise of [Jefferson's statute]" (p. 103)—at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet the legislation, which Buckley describes as "the most radical step taken by any one of the new republics against the property rights of any individual or group in the aftermath of the Revolution" (p. 113), proved not to be the decisive step that many envisioned. Instead, it "created a legal situation that would vex the churches, courts, and legislatures throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth" (p. 117).

Behind all these details lies a more fundamental question: what do we mean by religious freedom? Do the rights of conscience attach primarily to individuals and the beliefs they hold about issues of ultimate significance? Or are there particular aspects of corporate religious *practice* that make special treatment of religious institutions permissible, perhaps even mandatory, entailments of a commitment to such liberty? Much of the rhetorical power of Jefferson's statute—and of the early-

modern movement for toleration in England and America, so heavily influenced by Protestant anti-Catholicism—derives from the "specter of an incorporated Catholicism" (p. 139), *bête noire* of Enlightenment rationalists and evangelical Protestants alike. But how relevant are such fears in later decades or even centuries? Religious freedom, as it manifested itself in Virginia in the rhetorical shadow of Jefferson's Statute, Buckley claims, "invariably discriminated against the churches … [and] churches and religious groups were less free in the Old Dominion than anywhere else in the Union" (p. 255).

Establishing Religious Freedom is not a quick and easy read. Some readers will tire of the blow-by-blow descriptions of speeches in legislative sessions or at ecclesiastical assemblies. Buckley provides detailed portraits of the many domains in which church(es) and state, to say nothing of religion and politics, overlapped and intertwined. He explores in great depth the role of religion in the state's educational institutions, as well as the part played by political and ecclesiastical leaders in morals legislation, Prohibition, censorship, sexual morality, contraception, sterilization of the mentally ill, Sunday closing laws, divorce, and gambling. There is, in brief, an enormous wealth of information in these pages. Buckley has left almost no stone unturned; *Establishing Religious Freedom* is a comprehensive and impressive account of one episode in the long and contentious history of religious liberty in America.

Rutgers University ANDREW R. MURPHY

Witness: Two Hundred Years of African-American Faith and Practice at the Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem, New York. By Genna Rae McNeil, Houston Bryan Roberson, Quinton Hosford Dixie, and Kevin McGruder. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2014. Pp. xii, 708. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8028-6341-6.)

Harlem, designated by many as a black cultural capital, finds its spiritual center in the Abyssinian Baptist Church. At its height during the Great Migration, Abyssinian's sacred edifice on 138th Street was home to 14,000 members and was pastored by such luminaries as Adam Clayton Powell Sr. and his son, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (D–NY). Under such impressive leadership, Abyssinian emerged as a national pulpit that fused the social gospel with a commitment to political protest and community empowerment. In this meticulously researched tome, coauthors Genna Rae McNeil, Houston Bryan Roberson, Quinton Hosford Dixie, and Kevin McGruder chronicle the ebbs and flows of Abyssinian's 200-year history, contributing significantly to congregational histories of the African American religious experience.

Witness traces Abyssinian's birth to the independent church movement among free blacks in the wake of the Revolutionary War. In June 1809, fifteen African American members of First Baptist Church in New York, responding to the discriminatory practices of white parishioners, requested that they be dismissed to form their own congregation. The opening chapters explore these early years as

Abyssinians tentatively sought to achieve autonomy and institutional stability as well as address the broader social and religious concerns of their community. By the dawn of the twentieth century, Abyssinian's fortunes had stabilized, and its 1000-strong membership began to contemplate moving uptown to follow the growing waves of migrants from the post-Reconstruction South. The congregation relocated first to the Tenderloin district before finally settling in Harlem in 1922 during the pastorate of the elder Powell. The book's most compelling chapters arguably center on the pivotal leadership of the Powells, who championed Abyssinian as a "model church" capable of addressing the holistic needs of Harlem's black community. Consistent with the social gospel theology and institutional church framework of Reverdy Ransom, the Powells adopted "a broad conception of urban ministry" that included the provision of extensive social services combined with a strident political advocacy (p. 99). As *Witness* demonstrates, this tradition continued to define Abyssinian's mission in the post–civil rights era as the church sought to address the challenges of growing class inequalities, unemployment, mass incarceration, and declining federal support for social services.

Scholarly studies of leading black congregations are, unfortunately, few and far between. As leading scholars in African American religious studies have lamented, "[C]hurch history generally and denominational history in particular are out of fashion … [making] progress [on black churches] … painfully slow."[1] In this context, *Witness* represents an important addition to African American congregational history and joins more recent scholarly studies such as Clarence Taylor's *The Black Churches of Brooklyn* (New York, 1996) and Houston Bryan Roberson's *Fighting the Good Fight: The Story of the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, 1865–1977* (New York, 2005) in tracing the contours of the nation's leading black churches.

University of Wyoming KERRY PIMBLOTT

Missionaries of Republicanism: *A Religious History of the Mexican-American War.* By John C. Pinheiro. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. xii, 240. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-19-994867-3.)

Any scholarly work that ties evangelical Christianity to a long tradition of bigotry, ignorance, racial intolerance, and ethnic arrogance is already far along the path to warm acceptance from the mainstream academic community just by showing up. This will no doubt be the case with John C. Pinheiro's examination of how evangelical Protestants made anti-Catholicism the centerpiece of American expansionist ideology during the Mexican-American War.

Although antebellum Protestant anti-Catholicism is familiar scholarly terrain, Pinheiro coaxes from this well-tilled ground a more potent hybrid he calls the

1. Albert J. Raboteau et al., "Retelling Carter Woodson's Story: Archival Sources of Afro-American Church History, *Journal of American History*, 77 (1990), 183–99, here 186.

"Beecherite Synthesis." Assigning pivotal significance to Lyman Beecher's *Plea for the West* (1835), Pinheiro argues that the Presbyterian leader's work became a virtual roadmap for evangelicals in the 1840s. They uncritically accepted its deafening alarms of an impending Catholic (largely Jesuit) assault on American republicanism with the vulnerable American West as ground zero for the arrival of a new order of religious tyranny and vanquished individual liberty. Pinheiro's Synthesis is not simply an interpretive structure to house routine expressions of evangelical angst about Catholics or their doctrines. Rather, he claims it as a tightly integrated world view that essentially excised Catholics from the Christian family and blended evangelical fervor, Anglo-Saxonism, racialism, and republicanism as the only ideological alliance that could turn back a Jesuit army committed to a "a papal orchestrated takeover of the United States" (p. 5).

For Pinheiro, it is the war against a Catholic *nation* that elicited visceral reaction among evangelicals, consolidating their commitment to Beecher's *Plea* and making anti-Catholicism the prime mover in missionary outreach. Samuel F. B. Morris's *Foreign Conspiracy* and *Imminent Dangers*, as well as the editorializing of Lewis Levin and other Native American Party leaders, amplified Beecher's message. Although war fever pleased some evangelicals and angered others, Pinheiro contends that anti-Catholicism became the tie that binds. Pro-war factions wanted to deprive Jesuits of a Mexican haven, whereas their more reluctant peers found consolation in new fields for spiritual harvest.

Credit Pinheiro for embedding his anti-Catholic voices in the rich details of the war itself, American recruitment strategies, the soldier experience, and the broader political battles that pitted President James K. Polk against adversaries who would sully his decidedly materialist and expansionist war aims with religious distractions. Pinheiro's culminating claim is that by war's end, the Beecherite brand of anti-Catholicism had trumped Polk's secular vision to become the prevailing cultural defense of Manifest Destiny and American republicanism. These pillars of political and cultural arrogance, Pinheiro concludes, had become "unintelligible without it" (p. 146)

Despite claims for the broad reach of the Beecherite Synthesis, the author finds his surest footing for this analytical path on the terrain of New-School Presbyterians and Native American Party loyalists in the North. Outside that circle, however, the Beecherite Synthesis had serious competition. Explosive growth in the evangelical community by this time centered on Baptists and Methodists, not Presbyterians. Protestant denominations split in the 1840s over slavery and needed no anti-Catholic incentive. Unlike Beecher, pre-eminent evangelical revivalist Charles Finney consistently steered clear of anti-Catholic waters. Rank-and-file evangelical ministers invested much more in the transcendent destiny of individual souls, not republican millenniums or anti-Catholic crusades. Far more often than Catholic political conspiracies, the sermons, tracts, and literature of the 1840s cited a broader and more insidious threat in crude cultural materialism and sundry free-thinking philosophies that threatened religion itself with irrelevance. One need not

accept the Beecherite Synthesis as a controlling evangelical consensus, however, to recognize that Pinheiro's uncovering of this virulent strain of anti-Catholicism adds significantly to our understanding of the myriad voices seeking to define the nation's destiny during the Mexican-American War.

Truman State University MARK Y. HANLEY

Catholic Borderlands: Mapping Catholicism onto American Empire, 1905–1935. By Anne M. Martínez. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2014. Pp. xviii, 293. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-8032-4877-9.)

The onset of the Mexican Revolution sent shockwaves through the Catholic Church in the United States, particularly as it took a decidedly anticlerical turn. Anne Martínez provides us, in *Catholic Borderlands*, an intriguing examination of the interplay between titanic forces: the Revolution itself; the political and ecclesial elites of Mexico and the United States; the Vatican; and Bishop Francis Clement Kelley of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, founder of the Catholic Extension Society. In Martínez's hands, the definition of *borderlands* is broadened beyond the mere geophysical to include the spiritual.

Martínez very effectively places her work within a broad historiography, and carefully and artfully articulates the significant influence of Catholicism in the context of U.S.-Mexican relations in general and Kelley's influence on these relations from the 1910s to the 1930s in particular. Kelley's work, moreover, in Martínez's hands, takes on a much deeper level of significance in positioning American Catholicism as central to the American identity in the early-twentieth century, including its instrumental role in forging the U.S. response to the Mexican Revolution. *Catholic Borderlands*, therefore, limns not only the boundaries of both U.S. and Mexican history and identity but also a place (both geographic and ideological) where Kelley could work to redefine what he believed it meant to be "American." As such, these borderlands proved much more metaphoric than geopolitical, as evidenced by Martínez's contention that the location of the 1926 International Eucharistic Congress made "Chicago the center of the Catholic borderlands" (p. 27).

Kelley established the Catholic Extension Society as a way to defend the Church against a rising tide of Protestant challenges in the burgeoning West. Among the "frontiers" to which Catholic Extension dedicated its efforts were the U.S.-Mexican border region, the American Southwest, black and creole missions in the Deep South, the islands of the Caribbean, and the Philippines. In effect, anywhere that Kelley considered Catholicism threatened by Protestant proselytizers in schools and communities was targeted for what Martínez calls Kelley's "religious Monroeism" (p. 124). Kelley's travel schedule indicates the reach of Catholic Extension's net: to the Vatican in 1915 to lobby for a new archbishop of Chicago, to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 to lobby on behalf of the Mexican hierarchy, and to London in 1920 to work on securing Catholic missions in the former colonies lost by Germany following World War I. His diplomatic work culminated

with the effort to secure peace among the Mexican government, the Catholic *Cristero* rebels, and the Mexican hierarchy.

The implications of Kelley's definition of Catholic borderlands are identified in Martínez's discussion of *mestizaje* within the context of the 1910s and 1920s eugenics movement. For eugenicists, mixed-race Mexicans in the Southwest were agents of degeneration and degradation. For Kelley, however, the Spaniards were the focus of this story, and Mexicans—the *mestizo* race that emerged from the noble Spanish effort to Christianize the natives—were the results of that effort and thus were to be honored, although only through their linkage to the *conquistadores*.

Anne Martínez's *Catholic Borderlands* is a skillfully written, meticulously researched, and engagingly diversified examination of what it meant to be a Catholic and an American from the perspective of Kelley. By expanding the concept of borderlands from geography to ideology, Martínez challenges her readers' understanding of the place of Catholicism in the modern world. As such, it deserves a wide readership in postsecondary classes where students examine the concept of American political, social, cultural, and religious imperialism.

Montana State University Billings MATTHEW A. REDINGER

Expanding Horizons: Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary 1919–1943. By Ann M. Harrington. (Dubuque, IA: Mount Carmel Press. 2014. Pp. xii, 185. ISBN 0-974-8082-2-9.)

Expanding Horizons is a history of the Sisters of the Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVMs) during the first half of the twentieth century. As historians of women religious increasingly turn their attention to the role of the Second Vatican Council in the lives and work of sisters and nuns, Ann M. Harrington explains that it is important to understand "what life was like before the changes" (p. 2). During the years covered by this study—1919–43—the congregation was affected by World War I, the Great Depression, and the first years of World War II, events that played important roles in the lives of all Americans, including the members of this community and their leaders.

In 1885, the congregation was placed under the jurisdiction of the Holy See rather than a local ordinary; this signaled the beginning of a period of change that encompassed the administrations of Mother Mary Isabella Kane (1919–31) and Mother Mary Gervase Tuffy (1931–43). Harrington frames her study around the administrations of these two women to "provide more convenient access to history through timelines inherent within the congregation's history" (p. 3). Within this framework, two themes are especially important: the role of the leadership in the life and work of the congregation, and the ways in which canon law and papal rulings affected the BVMs.

Chapters 2 through 8 are devoted to the history of the congregation between 1919 and 1943. In these pages, readers will find information about the expansion

of the BVM educational ministry, including the establishment of Mundelein College in Chicago, the ways in which members of the community participated in and were impacted by larger societal events, and issues related to the internal affairs of the BVMs such as religious life and the congregation's Constitutions.

Although *Expanding Horizons* is not intended to be a comprehensive history of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, readers will find it to be an excellent source for material related to the work of one congregation of women religious in the very important period leading up to the beginnings of the Sister Formation Conference and the Second Vatican Council.

La Salle University MARGARET M. MCGUINNESS

White Elephants on Campus: The Decline of the University Chapel in America, 1920–1960. By Margaret M. Grubiak. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2014. Pp. xii, 167. $28.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02987-6.)

By presenting the history of the plans for and construction of chapel buildings on private university campuses, Margaret M. Grubiak advances the argument that colleges and universities in the United States became secularized in the twentieth century. With the end of mandatory chapel services, more religiously diverse student bodies, and the rise of scientific perspectives, religion, she argues, moved from the center of the university's mission to its periphery. What is new about this secularization argument is the author's use of campus architecture to make a case.

Focusing, for the most part, on "elite Protestant universities that had the choice of continuing a religious identity or negotiating a new relationship with religion in the modern era" (p. 3), Grubiak contends that seemingly contradictory circumstances of the building of huge new chapels (University of Chicago and Harvard), the canceling of plans to do so for financial reasons (Yale and Johns Hopkins), and the building boom of smaller and more neutral chapels in the post–World War II era (Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Illinois Institute of Technology) *all* constitute evidence for secularization. This line of reasoning seems thin in some places: if canceling building plans for financial reasons indicates a removal of religion from central campus priorities, why does not the building boom of the 1950s indicate a return of religion to top priority lists? And how does the hiring of two of the most important modernist architects to build smaller-in-scale chapels—Eero Saarinen at MIT and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe at Illinois Institute of Technology—indicate that these universities somehow slighted these chapels? In addition, claims about chapel buildings and secularization require that the author include more thorough histories of reception and building utilization.

The specific histories of the planning and building of several university chapels are an excellent contribution. Especially interesting is Grubiak's inclusion in her study of nonchapel buildings that were given religious meaning and design:

the Cathedral of Learning skyscraper at the University of Pittsburgh and Yale's neo-Gothic Sterling Memorial Library.

University of Northern Iowa (Emerita) Betty A. DeBerg

Change and Conflict in the U.S. Army Chaplain Corps since 1945. By Anne C. Loveland. [Legacies of War.] (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2014. Pp. xviii, 349. $64.00. ISBN 978-1-62190-012-2.)

In *Change and Conflict in the U.S. Army Chaplain Corps Since 1945*, Anne Loveland has produced an exhaustively researched monograph that traces the cultural transition of the U.S. Army Chaplain Corps from 1945 to the present. Her work presents an in-depth analysis of how society had significant input on the policies and even the day-to-day activities of Army chaplains. This monograph makes a significant contribution to a rather sparse corpus of literature on the subject. Loveland shows how the intersection of three cultures—civilian religious community, the military, and the chaplaincy—specifically intersected in a way that provided direction for chaplain services from the end of World War II to the present.

Loveland organizes her monograph chronologically and thematically in eleven chapters and an extensive epilogue. She chronicles how an extensive moral breakdown within the ranks of the U.S. Army after World War II led to the development of a program of character guidance and a code of conduct for soldiers. The 1960s is described as "a watershed decade for the Chaplain Corps and the U.S. Army" (p. xvi), with such significant events as the Vietnam War, the significant rise in secularism, and a major shift in American life away from traditional mainline denominations, illustrated best by a rising percentage of Americans placing themselves in the "none" categories of religious preference. Vietnam was especially a difficult time, for it challenged chaplains to find their way through the morass of antiwar sentiment and forced them to find a way to minister to all soldiers, including conscientious objectors. The result was confusion in the chaplain's role between minister and military officer. Consistent with the cultural shift in the country, the late 1960s and 1970s was a period of decline in discipline and morale in the Army, due to incompetent leadership and the erosion of professional military ethics. Chaplains were called upon to be the "conscience of the Army" (p. 103). As the twenty-first century dawned, the chaplain role shifted again during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; chaplains were forced to engage a sense of religious pluralism that they had not known earlier. The Chaplain Corps encouraged soldiers to engage in spiritual fitness. The new century also experienced a culture war as the traditional role of the chaplain as minister and evangelist was challenged by some who believed religious freedom included freedom from religion.

Loveland's work captures in broad and specific strokes the impact and influence of America's cultural shift on the Army Chaplain Corps. It was impossible for the Army to stand aloof and not be affected by the massive cultural shift experienced by the country over the last sixty-five years. In handling the main theme of

her monograph, Loveland has done a more than creditable job in achieving her goal. The generally chronological narrative, interspersed with themes, is effective, but this reader found it a bit difficult when programs from past generations were repeatedly raised afresh in later chapters, requiring the reader to connect themes, which at times was difficult to do. As might be expected in the military context, a host of acronyms is utilized by the author. It would have been helpful if an introductory page of the monograph had listed these acronyms for ready reference.

Loveland's work is a significant contribution for several groups but most especially military scholars, those studying military chaplaincies, and possibly even sociologists who would be interested in the interaction between cultural shifts in the United States and their impact on the military. In its cogent analysis of how cultural trends affected the chaplain's role, the monograph contributes significantly to the literature.

Stonehill College RICHARD GRIBBLE, C.S.C.
Stonehill, MA

America's Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation. By Grant Wacker. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2014. Pp. x, 413. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-674-05218-5.)

This is not a standard biography, but a book on "Graham's place in the great gulf streams of American history in the long second half of the twentieth century" (p. 1). Grant Wacker, one of the deans of American Christian history and a "boss" in what is sometimes called the "evangelical mafia," has spent many years trading heavily in the study of both Graham and his roles in American public life.

Many other recent scholars have tended to fixate on Graham's storied friendships with presidents and Hollywood celebrities. But Wacker rightly focuses on Graham's life work: mass evangelism and spiritual advice to supporters—and has taken a lot of heat from reviewers as a result. He grants that Graham sought to leverage U.S. presidents, celebrities, and culture in his work. And of course, this often led to sycophantic public statements and rhetorical support for conservative politicians, social strategies, and values. But Wacker stresses Graham's knack for using those values for his own, spiritual ends (showing that Graham also grew less conservative with age). "From first to last," Wacker argues in the book's thesis statement, "Graham displayed an uncanny ability to adopt trends in the wider culture and then use them for his evangelistic and moral reform purposes" (pp. 28, 316). Critics often spurn him as a pawn in the culture wars. But Wacker's Graham proves to be a bishop more than a pawn—in a battle more spiritual than cultural. He functioned as a pastor on the international stage—"America's pastor," as George H. W. Bush once declared (p. 23).

Wacker makes good use of Graham's syndicated column, "My Answer," to demonstrate this pastoral role. He also makes wonderful use of the letters to

Graham written by people from all around the world, which totaled in the millions. Graham claimed at one point near the apex of his crusade held in Madison Square Garden in 1957 that he was getting more than 10,000 letters every day. Although this statement came at a high point of his national popularity, the letters kept coming. In the late 1970s, he was still receiving nearly 2.5 million a year. Several thousand of these survive. As Wacker makes clear, "they offer a direct reading of how partisans perceived and constructed Graham as pastor." That is, they "reveal the emotional exchange *between* Graham and his audience. They enabled him to keep his finger on the pulse of broadly evangelical Americans and at the same time enabled them to know what he thought about their fears and aspirations" (pp. 266–67, emphasis in original).

This is a marvelous monograph. Wacker exhibits a finer feel than previous scholars for Graham's importance to his converts and middle-American fans, explaining why these followers became so influential during the late-twentieth century. A stronger emphasis would have been advisable on Graham's acute concern—sparked by colleague Dawson Trotman in the late 1940s—for the spiritual maturation of the millions who walked the aisles at his stadium events. Wacker states that, for Graham, "the goal was converts, not disciples" (p. 44). In a sense, this is true. Graham devoted more time, and spent a lot more money, on evangelizing strangers than on educating friends. But he also championed "follow up" on those who signed his pledge cards, performed by local Christians representing local churches—sometimes even Catholic churches—but facilitated by Graham. Too much attention to the wide array of churches and their leaders (both clerical and lay) who helped to organize and execute these massive urban meetings might have blurred the book's focus, but a word or two about them would have strengthened Wacker's emphasis on Graham's expanding ecumenical vision.

Trinity Evangelical Divinity School DOUGLAS A. SWEENEY
Deerfield, IL

What They Wished for: American Catholics and American Presidents, 1960–2004. By Lawrence J. McAndrews. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2014. Pp. xiv, 503. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-8203-4683-0.)

Historian Lawrence McAndrews provides a welcome addition to a growing body of scholarship that incorporates the Catholic experience more fully within U.S. history. McAndrews's experience—as the author of several books and articles on Catholic schools and education policy in the United States—provides gravitas to this work, which effectively navigates Catholicism's complexity. Scholars of post-1960 U.S. religion and politics will find this book a critical starting point for research.

One of the central questions confronted by McAndrews is: Who speaks for the Catholic Church in the United States? *What They Wished for* attempts to explain the varying degrees of weight represented by the international voices of

popes and Vatican officials; the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops; and individual priests, nuns, and Catholic laypersons of varying education level and political status. In seeking to identify the causal relationship between Catholic appeals and presidential decisions, McAndrews also demonstrates mastery of the chronology of recent U.S. history.

What They Wished for analyzes the impact of Catholic opinion on presidential policy in three areas—defined by McAndrews as war and peace, social justice, and life and death. Chapters are organized around presidential administrations beginning with John F. Kennedy and concluding with the first term of George W. Bush. The elections of 1960 and 2004 serve as useful bookends, because the former resulted in the election of the nation's first Catholic president, and the latter ended with the voters' rejection of John F. Kerry—another Catholic senator from Massachusetts with the initials JFK. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, McAndrews believes, Catholic viewpoints received much more consideration in presidential politics than at any other time in U.S. history.

Regarding war and peace, McAndrews's argument appears most persuasive. During Ronald Reagan's presidency, for example, U.S. Catholic bishops developed a powerful moral critique of the administration's plans to modernize and expand the U.S. military. Rather than ignore the clerics, Reagan officials actively engaged in correspondence and discussions with U.S. bishops. McAndrews attributes the dovish turn in Reagan's second term to Catholic lobbying. This idea seems generally convincing, although the Catholic bishops were not alone in calling for nuclear disarmament.

In life-and-death issues such as abortion, McAndrews concedes the limits of his theory that presidents adhered to Catholic appeals. Despite more than forty years of organized opposition to *Roe v. Wade*, Democratic presidents rebuffed direct, personal pleas—even from Mother Theresa—for protection of the unborn. Republican presidents—who professed to agree with the Catholic Church's official stance that abortion is morally wrong—refused to prioritize pro-life policies. Most glaringly, George W. Bush failed to pass any substantial anti-abortion legislation, despite working with a Republican Congress during his first term.

Social-justice issues prove the most difficult for McAndrews to measure the impact of Catholic lobbying. His definition of social justice includes the push for racial equality and national health insurance. Although the Catholic hierarchy demonstrated exceptional unity and consistency in opposing abortion and nuclear weapons, Catholic bishops and laypersons differed significantly in their ideas about the pace of racial integration.

Although graduate students and other researchers may find this book especially useful, undergraduates would likely struggle with the book's structure. The narrative flow is disrupted by a tendency to explain causal relationships through long lists of factors. Nonetheless, McAndrews's broad use of archival and oral-history resources has provided historians with an excellent foundation for future study.

Whereas pundits and scholars of this period have recently focused primarily on secularization and the Religious Right, *What They Wished* for offers useful insights into Catholicism's multifaceted role in this conversation.

Springfield College THOMAS J. CARTY
Springfield, MA

Saint John's Abbey Church: Marcel Breuer and the Creation of a Modern Sacred Space. By Victoria M. Young. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2014. Pp. xxi, 216. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-8166-7616-3.)

Architectural historian Victoria M. Young wastes no time early in this study reminding readers of the degree to which Marcel Breuer's famous abbey church for the Benedictines of Collegeville, Minnesota, deviates from the building conventions of Catholic monasticism. She is just as quick to note that the church, completed in 1961, was intended from its inception to support the most ancient ritual practices of its users. Herein lies part of the "paradox" that resurfaces throughout Young's behind-the-scenes account of how Saint John's Abbey Church came to stand amidst the groundswell in Catholic liturgical reform of the mid-twentieth century.

Young devotes considerable attention at the outset of her book to the abbey's physical appearance prior to Breuer's arrival in the early 1950s for the purpose of designing a centenary church. The brothers of Saint John's had twice modified their existing place of worship to bolster participation by the lay assembly that regularly joined them in prayer. In preparation for the 1956 anniversary of their establishment as a community of educators on the outskirts of St. Cloud, Minnesota, however, they proposed erection of an entirely new edifice reflective of such recent instructions on the renewal of sacred worship and art as had been promulgated in Pope Pius XII's *Mediator Dei* (1947). Young chronicles this effort in detail and explains in one of the book's most intriguing sections how it was that a committee of "Twelve Apostles" selected the Bauhaus-trained Breuer (1902–81) to serve as architect from a field of celebrated modernists. Aided by previously unpublished photographs and drawings, she likewise records the experimental give-and-take of ideas that prevailed between the members of Breuer's New York-based firm and their Collegeville clients as the project unfolded.

Young's facility for dissecting the formal components of architectural expression is evident in her analysis of the novel interior scheme ultimately devised by Breuer for his church, which accommodated lay worshipers in shallow ranks of pews splayed outward from a centralized altar. She properly notes Breuer's enthusiasm for wrapping the whole of this ritual setting in vast expanses of reinforced concrete, although her suggestion that the medium's inherent plasticity represents "a metaphor for the vision the Benedictines had" and even an essential ingredient for "shap[ing] liturgical reform" (p. 33) may be too literal an interpretive stretch. Young situates the Abbey Church project nicely within the evolutionary history of twentieth-century church architecture, however, and correctly measures the

breadth of its effect on Catholic church-building universally in the wake of the Second Vatican Council.

Young's book is quite handsome, and the archival material it unveils will likely appeal to students of Breuer's work or high-modernist architecture in general. If the study suffers minor weaknesses, however, they appear primarily in those places where its author strays from a strictly historical/analytical treatment of her subject into the abstract realm of sacramental theology. This is not to say that Young's speculations on the spiritual-aesthetic effect of Breuer's church on the typical worshiper—lay or ordained—are without merit. Neither is it to claim that her passing references to the role of the "congregation" in the Church's "ritualistic actions" (p. 109) are anything but near-misses of usage apt to trouble only the prickliest liturgists or guardians of Catholic parlance. Nonetheless, the author's handling of the theological underpinnings of the Abbey Church seems considerably less nuanced than her observations regarding, say, the tactile qualities of masonry or metal—which may explain why she finds paradox in the amalgam of forces that shaped the building rather than evidence for the kind of s*ynthesis* that has characterized Catholic art from the start. Young steers clear of the polemics burdening much written nowadays on the architectural dimension of liturgical prayer, although her obvious admiration for Breuer's creation will likely render her guilty by association among readers yet to be convinced that anything but a building dressed in period costume can properly house the transcendent. The release of her book by a secular, academic press, however, assures Young an audience beyond the ideological disputes that preoccupy some segments of Catholic scholarship, at least, and given to identifying the sanctity of a landmark building like Breuer's more with its underlying function than with conformity to any predetermined style, form, or typology.

Gannon University MICHAEL E. DESANCTIS
Erie, PA

Built with Faith: Italian American Imagination and Catholic Material Culture in New York City. By Joseph Sciorra. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2015. Pp. xlii, 262. $65.00. ISBN 978-1-62190-119-8.)

One of Joseph Sciorra's goals in *Built with Faith* was to examine Italian American "Catholic expressive culture" and "religious artistry" with "seriousness and attention to detail" (p. 196). The University of Tennessee Press has boosted Sciorra toward that goal with this handsome publication: well sized for the photographs it contains, with in-text source citations and explanatory endnotes proper to Sciorra's academic discipline, an extensive bibliography, and a detailed index. Still, the production does not seem to justify the cost of the book.

Sciorra's research is comprehensive. He read widely in Italian- and English-language primary sources such as early accounts of Italian immigrant devotions; in the scholarship in his own specialty, folklore; and in many other disciplines as well. The most significant sources, however, are Sciorra's interviews with devotees and

his reports on participant-observer fieldwork. The research is conveyed in prose that makes theoretical analysis as clear as descriptions of Italian American religious activities. *Built with Faith* may become a primary source for information on Italian-American religious practices in New York City from the 1970s to the 2010s.

Sciorra researched lawn and sidewalk religious displays, *presepi* (Nativity scenes), Christmas lights, Staten Island's grotto of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and processions near his home in Brooklyn's Greenpoint/Williamsburg section. He makes the case that these are religious artworks testifying to beliefs. Lawn statues proclaim their owners' faith that saints do watch over them. *Presepi*-builders demonstrate their understanding of the Christian message; Sciorra gives the example of the woman who added extra sheep to her display as a reminder to "have reverence for animals" (p. 87). The Mount Carmel grotto is an example of *lavoro ben fatto* or "work well done": an aesthetically pleasing, competently executed, socially useful creation that reflects the dignity of those who made it.

Sciorra is alert to multiple interpretations of his material. *Presepi* are works of art combining family heirlooms with found objects—or reminders that money does not buy class. Christmas lights are gifts of holiday cheer to the neighborhood—or consumption at its most conspicuous. Lawn statues and processions identify sacred space—and warn away "outsiders."

Attention to nuance is especially important when considering the implication of the research for pastoral care. Sciorra recounts conflicts even among Italian Americans over processions' emotional intensity and secular aspects (p. 196). Sciorra quoted one devotee as saying, "the Catholic Church loses members every day . . . but we're still here" (p. 196) and another as writing the local prelate, "Pastors should also listen to different ideas from their people" (p. 215n24). Are these power struggles—or reminders of the need to provide proper pastoral care to people with different ways of practicing the Catholic faith?

Although a footnote (p. 220n4) recounts an occasion on which a colleague dismissed Sciorra's work as "ahistorical," Sciorra is attuned to change over time such as the new conflicts arising from gentrification. There is still room for a history of these devotions. *Built with Faith* is not that, but the evidence it gathers and the issues it raises are important to historians, and therefore it is recommended for them, as well as for students of art (especially folk art) and those who study Italian and American culture, New York City, and popular devotion.

Marymount Manhattan College and the Center for Migration Studies, New York
MARY ELIZABETH BROWN

Walking Where Jesus Walked: American Christians and Holy Land Pilgrimage. By Hillary Kaell. (New York: New York University Press. 2014. Pp. xiv, 267. $79.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8147-3836-8; $28.00 paperback, ISBN: 978-1-4798-3184-5.)

This book is a lively and densely textured ethnography, with a relatively light theoretical frame, of a number of trips to the Holy Land by pilgrim groups from the United States between 2007 and 2012—both Catholic and Protestant. Clearly its strengths lie not in generalization or the sociological big picture, but in the personal accounts, richly presented, empathetically caught, and traced over several years with a number of individuals, which form its substance. The result is a revealing, sometimes moving portrait of confronting the "other" and making sense of the events of life in relation to that. Mainly lower- or lower middle-class religious Americans conducted this quest; about two-thirds of them were women, with many who had seldom left their country until their pilgrimage to Palestine. Hillary Kaell is consistently sympathetic to the subjectivities of the subjects of this book—writing revealingly about the ways in which a majority tends to block out questions of conflict and to espouse a kind of estrangement from politics (which emulates an estrangement for their local American politics also, but is striking in the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict). At the same time the text makes space for these issues and for other approaches or responses (both Zionist and pro-Palestinian) among the pilgrims it follows. That the anthropologist is Jewish, with a specific personal take on such issues, is an interesting irony.

The book is structured through six chapters framed by an introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1, "Knowing the Holy Land," sets out some of the frames and limitations underpinning American attitudes over the last century—not least the rise of the State of Israel and its closeness to some Evangelical Christians and the changes in Roman Catholicism (including in attitudes to the Jews) in the aftermath of World War II and the Second Vatican Council. Chapter 2, "Soul Searching," explores some of the reasons given by American pilgrims for making the choice to travel to the Holy Land. Chapter 3, "Feeling the Gospel: Evangelicals, Place and Presence," and chapter 4, "The Middle Generation: Catholics, Scripture and Tradition," map some specificities and differences of response in Catholic and Protestant groups. Chapter 5, "God and Mammon, God and Caesar," examines responses to the local commercialism of pilgrimage sites. Chapter 6, "The Long Voyage Home," picks on rituals of return, memory, show and tell, and souvenirs.

For an author keen to reveal many personal elements so as to clarify potential biases in approach such as Canadian origins and Jewish background, Kaell is strikingly reticent (and perhaps not consciously so) about one thing: his or her gender. This is not made explicit until page 24, when Kaell is cast by pilgrims "as idealized granddaughter or daughter" who shares a room with Dorothy on Pastor Jim's trip (p. 27). This makes for slightly uncomfortable reading until readers have a sense of the author's voice but is powerfully in tune with the oral-history element and the ethnographic informality of the text (in which the speaker's presence in person

would, of course, define issues of gender and age instantly). This is an intelligent and thoughtful book, as well as an excellent ethnography—well worth reading by anyone with an interest in pilgrimage and modernity or in the role of the Holy Land in the contemporary American imagination.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford JAS' ELSNER
The Divinity School, University of Chicago

LATIN AMERICAN

Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas. By Jeanette Favrot Peterson. [Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2014. Pp. xvi, 332. $60.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-292-73775-4.)

This handsome volume, beautifully illustrated by a pre-eminent art historian of Colonial Mexico, combines the appeal of a coffee-table book with scholarship. It covers a wide range of topics involving one of the foremost Marian devotions in the Catholic Church.

Jeanette Favrot Peterson's purpose is stated in the introduction, "The Subjectivity of Seeing": "I examine briefly the essential place of visual culture and the development of Christian images as a potent weapon of indoctrination in the evangelization and colonization of the Americas" (p. 9). She accepts the idea that Tepeyac was a preconquest religious site dedicated to the mother goddess Tonantzin. The evidence for this is scant and can be traced to the Franciscan missionary Bernardino de Sahagún. Even copies of sacred images retained the power of the originals—hence the importance of touching or physical contact.

She deals with the vexed and challenging depictions of the Black Madonnas. One explanation is that the color was accidental, the result of fire or environmental conditions. Another explanation is that it derived from pre-Christian cults. This involved an inherent contradiction and gave rise to a multitude of rationalizations.

Chapter 2 deals with Diego de Ocaña and the efforts of the Jeronymite friars of the Extremaduran Guadalupe to control satellite shrines.

Chapter 3 begins with Sahagún's famous condemnation of Guadalupe in the *Florentine Codex*. The decline of the missionary enterprise toward the end of sixteenth century brought with it a realization of the tenacity of the old religions. On page 76 she has a valuable summary of Aztec religious thought, especially the *ixiptla*, the representation/personification of the ancient deities. She also gives a detailed and lengthy description of the Aztec gods and their functions.

In chapter 4, she gives a careful analysis of the painting, one that is useful and enlightening. She describes the position of native artists in postconquest society. On page 113 she begins an account of the Bustamante-Montúfar controversy,

involving a public condemnation of the devotion by the Franciscan provincial. Also, she gives an extensive treatment of Marcos, putative painter of the image, although there is only one source for a native painter as the artist of the tilma. There are many early depictions similar to Guadalupe, especially by Dürer.

Chapter 5 has a good treatment of Samuel Stradanus's engraving (*c.* 1613–15). She also describes the marginalization of the native peoples: "Beneficiaries of its miracles are Spaniards or creoles" (p. 157). She speaks of Guadalupe's "heavenly origins" (p. 158), although this was not made clear until 1648. The image was considered miraculous, not because of its origins but because it worked miracles.

She also treats the painting of the first miracle (the mock battle and procession at the transfer of the image to the first chapel): "What is new in this painting is that indigenous people are showcased both as ritual participants and as direct beneficiaries for the first time" (p. 207). There was a difference between the fictive native of times past and the contemporary reality.

With regard to the patronage by viceroys, especially the dukes of Alburquerque, Peterson points out the antagonism between viceroys and bishops (p. 235) but does not mention that the crown used this as a form of checks and balances. The author has an excellent treatment of the eighth duke of Albuquerque (viceroy of New Spain, 1653–60). This chapter also includes an informative and interesting explanation of native dances.

Happily there are only a few typographical errors: Lorenzo Boturini y Benaducci (p. 73); Cathedrático (p. 183); Aviles for Avilés (p. 189; fig. 7.5); Ramirez for Ramírez (p. 205); Ursua for Usúra (p. 269). More problematical is the use of technical terms such as *ekphrastic* (p. 174); or neologisms such as objecthood (p. 179), "ocularcentric modality of proof" (p. 193), and "Alterity" (p. 226). This use of technical terms can be confusing to the average reader and may unfortunately limit the readership of this fine study. A glossary would have been helpful.

This book is a monumental piece of scholarship, one that deserves a wider readership than it will have.

Los Angeles, CA STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres. By Celia Cussen. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Vol. 99.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2014. Pp. xvi, 292. $90.00. ISBN 978-1-107-03437-2.)

Black Saint of the Americas is a vital addition to current scholarship on popular religion and the construction of sanctity in colonial Latin America. Readers will associate Martín de Porres (1579–1639) with recently studied contemporary holy women, particularly the Americas' first saint, Rose of Lima, and the Afroperuvian visionary Úrsula de Jesús. A mulatto born illegitimately to a former slave woman

and a Spanish father, Martín could aspire to enter the local Dominican monastery only as a *donado* (lay servant). Yet, he quickly gained renown for his efficacious healing, charity, humility, and mystical prayer. After his death, friends among the local elites and the Dominican order promptly began to promote Martín as a candidate for sainthood. Celia Cussen first reconstructs Martín's historical biography in the context of colonial Peru. She then examines how printed hagiographies, beatification hearings, and pictorial images represented the *donado*'s African origins, healing mastery, and piety in the decades and centuries following his death.

The book consists of two parts, each containing four chapters. In part 1, Cussen synthesizes extant archival information about Martín's historical life, thereby sketching for the reader Martín's birth and childhood, service in the monastery, and death. Of special value are Cussen's vivid depictions of colonial life in Lima. As she details personal connections, social interactions, medicinal practices, and religious devotions, she situates Martín in a vibrant, diverse, and multifaceted urban milieu. When Martín intercedes on behalf of his niece and helps her acquire the necessary dowry to marry a Spaniard, for example, the episode illustrates gender relations and potential racial mobility in colonial Peru. Cussen also suggests that Martín's African roots, in conjunction with his spirituality, bolstered the perceived efficacy of his healing abilities.

Part 2 examines the enduring, dynamic devotion to Martín after his death. Both locally and internationally, Martín's cult intertwined the holy man's coexisting identities as healer, mystic, and mulatto. Biographies and images promoted Martín's holiness, and miraculous healings via relics and prayer were attributed to his efficacious intercession. Images for wide circulation commonly emphasized the *donado*'s humility and charity, but occasional paintings showed Martín in mystical ecstasy, levitating toward the crucifix to receive Christ's embrace. Martín's mulatto identity figured prominently in most representations, although with changing meanings: originally a model of humble virtue for Lima's lower social classes, more recently Martín has been invoked as defender of the oppressed and promoter of racial harmony.

Cussen offers valuable insight into the role of saints and holy models in colonial Peru: varying depictions of Martín reveal changing cultural and social values while affirming the healer's ongoing relevance in his followers' daily lives. Cussen's research will be of additional significance to readers interested in racial diversity and African presence in seventeenth-century Lima; colonial Catholicism and popular piety, including relationships between saints and devotees; and the politics of canonization. Furthermore, Cussen affirms the ability of past holy figures to speak to current concerns as she details the portrayals of Martín leading to his canonization in 1962. The Afroperuvian healer was repeatedly invoked to endorse racial equality in both Church and society; the twentieth-century discourse surrounding this celebrated colonial saint continues to resonate as we grapple with race relations today.

Albion College
Albion, MI
Teresa Hancock-Parmer

Nahua and Maya Catholicisms, Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan. By Mark Z. Christensen. (Stanford: Stanford University Press; Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History Press. 2013. Pp. xiv.318. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8047-8528-0.)

Mark Christensen elaborates here on a fine array of Catholic liturgical texts, confessional guides, and baptismal guides composed, preached, and disseminated by the mendicant orders throughout the colonial period in the major Mesoamerican indigenous languages of the Nahuatl and Maya. The texts were taught and assimilated in two distinct geographical areas and from two highly differentiated cultures: the Nahuas of Central Mexico and the Maya of Yucatan. Furthermore, this cultural-geographical divide also serves the author to both distinguish and highlight the degree of impact of, absorption of, and interpretations of Catholicism(s) by the indigenous populace (p. 48). A complex variation existed in the immersion of Catholicism among the indigenous groups, primarily between centers and peripheries (p. 17).

The book is divided into three parts: "Creating Catholicisms," "Prescribing Catholicisms," and "Reflecting Catholicisms." However, the major contribution of this book is in the distinction among three types of texts: Category 1 texts, which are "printed religious texts written by ecclesiastic authors and/or their religious aids and aimed for a broad readership of both ecclesiastic and native populations" (p. 53); Category 2 texts, which are "unpublished texts written by ecclesiastics and /or their native stewards for more local audiences including religious authorities" (p. 80), and Category 3 texts, which are "unpublished, unofficial texts written by natives for natives" (p. 84). The genre of the testaments, as primary sources for the study of the degree of spiritual accommodation of Catholicism in the indigenous mind and soul to their day of death (chapter 7), were, however, overwhelmingly both monolithic and formulaic in their nature, and their contents were largely dictated by the local priest, via the notary, to the testators. Therefore, such sources do not really serve well the scholarly efforts of trying to identify spiritual dynamics or progress, as the rest of the sources studied here.

These category classifications, however, raise questions. First, there is doubt whether any broad readership of religious Catholic texts existed among the native populations, except for the very few among the postconquest Aztec nobility who were brought up in the Franciscan and Dominican convents. Second, with regard to the Category-3 texts, Christensen rightly observes that there were "various Catholicisms" (p. 13)—that is, that the indigenous populace were able to, and indeed did, create differential, autochthonous versions of Catholicism such as the well-known Maya *Chilam Balam* Books (codices) of the late-seventeenth century. Christensen acknowledges that scholars working lately with parallel texts in indigenous languages, have reinterpreted indigenous responses to Christianity and highlight the close protection and renewal of complex spiritual tenets. However, regarding the major Nahua text cited, the *Vision of Saint Paul* (p. 197), he writes, "All such unorthodox elements originate from one of two sources . . . the above derives

from the tale's inclusion of Nahua-specific elements into the account. The second stems from misrepresentations of the biblical and medieval accounts" (p. 208). Such "unorthodox intrusions" into the original version of such texts are, however, the most distinct marks of indigenous authorship to be found and should have been discussed further.

Some of the lengthy translations from Nahuatl and Maya (some of which have already been published elsewhere), although commendable, could have been either trimmed or moved to the footnotes without affecting this book's complicated contents.

University of Haifa Amos Megged

The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History. By Julia J. S. Sarreal. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2014. Pp. xviii, 335. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8047-8597-6.)

Although the colonial frontiers of South America have received relatively little attention from historians, the Guaraní missions of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay are an exception. They have fascinated the general public from the eighteenth century's *Candide* to the twentieth century's *The Mission* and have inspired inquiry among scores of South American, North American, and European scholars. In a crowded historiographical field, Julia Sarreal has managed to add something new to our knowledge with *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History.*

Sarreal's introduction includes a valuable survey of this historiography. The book's nine chapters cover the history of Guaraní-Spanish interactions from the contact period through the first years of the nineteenth century. The first two chapters describe the founding and sociopolitical life of the missions. A chapter on the Jesuit mission economy is followed by another (based almost entirely on secondary sources) describing the Guaraní War and the Jesuit expulsion. The most important new contributions of the book are found in chapters 5 through 9, dealing with various aspects of the decline of mission society after the Jesuit expulsion. Here Sarreal makes use of new primary sources including a wealth of accounting records generated by the post-Jesuit administration.

Sarreal describes her approach to Guaraní mission history as realistic, and there is a definite material emphasis to her work. She states that Jesuit success in founding missions depended above all on their ability to provide food and other material comforts, especially beef and *yerba mate.* The realistic and material emphasis is even more apparent in the post-Jesuit chapters. In businesslike language, the author explains how the missions went bankrupt because of the loss of Jesuit unity of management, the loss of a de facto subsidy provided by the Jesuit trade network, and a great increase in overhead expenses due to the separation of temporal and spiritual administration that required twice the administrative personnel. While Guaraní leaders continued to live relatively well and stayed in the missions, many

other Guaraní left the missions for wage labor in Spanish settlements or joined nearby independent Indians. The post-Jesuit economy was a hybrid of market and communal structures, and mission leaders struggled (ultimately unsuccessfully) to profit enough from the market to fund the communal redistribution of goods that provided a safety net for the less fortunate and an incentive to remain in the missions. Sarreal describes in depth how two missions, particularly rich in cattle, tried to profit from a booming Atlantic market in hides, yet lost most of the profits to Spanish employees and administrators. Whereas previous studies argued that mission decline was primarily the result of corruption and overexploitation by Spanish administrators, Sarreal insists convincingly that the story was much more complicated. In the end, no one could find a way to make the post-Jesuit missions break even economically.

A thread of Guaraní agency runs throughout the book. Sarreal is especially interested in the part played by caciques, the hereditary lineage heads who formed a sort of middle layer in Guaraní society. She shows Guaraní elites and commoners as actively pursuing their own interests and making rational economic choices. Unfortunately, these choices were beneficial only in the short term, and Guaraní leaders ended up using up all of the assets accumulated in the Jesuit period.

Experts in the field will appreciate Sarreal's book as a valuable supplement to the previous literature, which sheds new light on the role of Guaraní caciques and the process of decline in the post-Jesuit period. For English-language readers who want to read one book on the Guaraní missions, *The Guaraní and Their Missions* is an excellent choice.

University of West Georgia GARY VAN VALEN

The Lawyer of the Church: Bishop Clemente de Jesús Munguía and the Clerical Response to the Mexican Liberal Reforma. By Pablo Mijangos y González. [The Mexican Experience, Vol. 28.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2015. Pp. xxxii, 335. $45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8032-5486-2.)

Pablo Mijangos y González's *The Lawyer of the Church* is an excellent addition to the literature on the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the nineteenth-century Atlantic World. Structured as a biography of one of the central figures in Mexico's Reform period (1855–67), this study contributes to the scholarship on the Mexican Church in particular and on the church-state "culture wars" then being fought in Europe and the Americas in general.

Regarding the Catholic Church in Mexico, Mijangos has an ambitious goal: to place his work of intellectual history alongside that of the eminent historian Charles Hale, whose study of the rogue cleric José María Luis Mora has served as the essential English-language guide to Mexican liberal thought since its publication in the late 1960s. In this, Mijangos succeeds. He does well by selecting Clemente de Jesús Munguía, bishop and later first archbishop of Michoacán, as the liberals' foil for two reasons. First, it was the ecclesiastical hierarchy, not conserva-

tive politicians, who presented the most coherent response to self-styled liberal reformers since the 1830s. Second, Mijangos convincingly argues it was Munguía who shaped and led that response, eclipsing his fellow diocesans and even the archbishop in his calls for clerical independence within a liberal, Catholic state. Here, Mijangos joins a growing number of scholars—Brian Connaughton, Pamela Voekel, and Brian Larkin among them—who point to the development of "religious modernity" in Mexico since the eighteenth century. Far from advocating a return to the colonial *modus vivendi* between the church and state, Munguía embraced a confessional republicanism. He pursued a Catholic nationhood, in which an independent church functioned within the state as a moral authority, able to define and interpret the law. This, in fact, is the crux of the book and its most original contribution. Although the Reform period in Mexico is typically viewed as the ultimate clash between tradition and modernity, Mijangos instead tells us "it was a conflict over the right to define what a modern nation was" (p. 235).

Furthermore, Mijangos situates this conflict within the broader cultural struggle throughout the Atlantic World. He does this in two parts. In chapters 2–4, he details the development of Munguía's thought in conversation with numerous European (primarily French and German) thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chapter 4 is perhaps the most significant here, as Mijangos describes in broad-brush Munguía's *El derecho natural* and thus the culmination of his political philosophy. Then, in chapters 5 and 6, we learn how Munguía's political theory was tested in an increasingly hostile environment on both sides of the Atlantic. In Mexico, radical liberals sacked churches and pushed through a series of anticlerical measures in the 1850s, ending in the nationalization of church property and the legal separation of church and state in 1859. Regrettably, Mijangos does not afford nearly as much discussion of the Church's promotion of aggressive measures, few as they may have been. He ignores the archdiocesan loan in support of the 1847 "Polkos" rebellion, for example (p. 119). Nevertheless, this is a minor complaint in an otherwise comprehensive study. As Munguía traveled Europe in exile, he witnessed further anticlerical maneuvers and became convinced of a transnational conspiracy "driven by the world's 'deep hatred of the Christian religion'" and propelled by liberalism, "the doctrine of the Revolution … 'that upsets [and] destroys everything, leaving nothing standing'" (p. 186).

In short, this is an essential read for scholars of Mexican history, and scholars of constitutionalism and the nineteenth-century Catholic Church will also find much of interest.

Hope College K. AARON VAN OOSTERHOUT
Holland, MI

BRIEF NOTICE

Furry, Timothy J. *Allegorizing History: The Venerable Bede, Figural Exegesis and Historical Theory*. (Cambridge, UK: James Clarke. 2014. Pp. xi, 162. $39.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-227-17424-1.)

In this short book for theologians Timothy J. Furry seeks to see "what *kind* of theology [the *Historia*] is" (p. 141, emphasis in original). In chapter 1, "(Re)framing History: A Contemporary Historiography of Bede's *Historia*," Furry surveys a selection of twentieth-century interpreters with special attention to how they deal with the contradictory or paradoxical juxtaposition in Bede's *Historia* of facts and miracles as we understand them: how can Bede be both intelligible in modern terms yet supply many narratives of supernatural occurrences? Furry privileges the discussions of Charles W. Jones and Jan Davidse, and dwells on Bede's invocation of a, or the, *vera lex historiae*.

In chapter 2, "Can History Be Figural?," Furry analyzes the *Historia* alongside the biblical commentary *De Templo*, which Bede was writing at the same time. He concludes that "Bede chooses not to make figural [or allegorical] connections between the bible and the history he recounts" (p. 10).

In chapter 3, "Interpreting Genesis," Furry compares Bede and St. Augustine in their literal commentaries on Genesis 1. He highlights their different philosophical and theological readings, showing that theological and philosophical notions and arguments matter for literal and historical reading and writing" (p. 10).

In chapter 4, "Anachronism and the Status of the Past in Bede's *Historia* and Figural Exegesis," Furry discusses the rise of an awareness of anachronism in the Renaissance. Bede lacked concerns about anachronism. His "ignorance of anachronism helped enable Bede to write the *Historia* as an intentional piece of theology..." (p. 11).

In chapter 5, "Bede and Frank Ankersmit," Furry relates Bede to the thinking of Ankersmit (b. 1945), professor of intellectual history and historical theory at the University of Groningen, and author of the book *Historical Representation* (Stanford, 2001). Among other things, Furry applies "the logic of representation [i.e., interpretation] that Ankersmith articulates to Bede's figural [i.e., allegorical] exegesis" (p. 11).

In the conclusion, Firry states "that the relationship between Bede's *Historia* and exegesis is theologically precarious . . ." (p. 145). WALTER GOFFART (*Yale University*)

Report of the Editor

Volume 101 of the journal consisted of 1004 pages of articles, essays, book reviews, brief notices, and the quarterly sections Notes and Comments, Periodical Literature, and Other Books Received, with an additional twenty-four pages of preliminary material. It also contains two centennial supplements: the first of 111 pages, the second of 285 pages. Three indices (one general and one each for the two supplements) added 31 pages, so that volume 101 totaled 1455 pages. Subsidies from authors and contributions from others made directly to the journal allowed for the addition of pages above those budgeted. Professor Paul F. Grendler of Chapel Hill, NC (emeritus of the University of Toronto), once again generously made such a contribution.

Of the fourteen regular articles published, one treated a medieval topic, two early-modern European, four late-modern European, four American, one Latin American, one Caribbean, and one Canadian. Half of their authors came from American institutions; the other half came from Belgian, Canadian, Chilean, Grenadan, Italian, Polish, and Portuguese universities. In addition, there were two essays in the series Journeys in Church History: one from a scholar of the ancient period, the other of the early modern. Two Forum Essays—one dealing with a book on the ancient period and another on the early modern—had contributions by scholars from Canada, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The authors of the three Review Essays came from Italy, the United States, and Vatican City. Two Centennial Retrospective articles by an American scholar traced the history of the journal and its relationship to the American Catholic Historical Association.

The two Centennial Supplements were dedicated to different themes. The first, edited by Maureen C. Miller, treated Catholic Material Culture and included six articles. The second, edited by Nelson H. Minnich, was a retrospective of the journal's contributions in eight areas of church history. The contributors to these centennial supplements were from among the leading scholars in their fields.

In 2015 the journal published 202 book reviews and two brief notices. The book reviews can be subdivided into the following categories: general and miscellaneous (21), ancient (9), medieval (53), early modern (50), late modern (24), American (24), Latin American (14), Asian/Australian (4), Canadian (2), and African (1). Their authors came mostly from institutions in the United States (130 or 64%), but those in other countries were also represented: in England/Ulster/Wales (31 or 15%), Canada (10 or 5%), Belgium (4), Germany (4), Italy (4), Scotland (3), Australia (2), and The Netherlands (2), with one each from Argentina, Finland, France, Ireland, Israel, Malta, Mexico, Poland, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. The two brief notices were by authors at institutions in the United States. Please see table 1.

TABLE 1. Book Reviews and Brief Notices Published in 2015

Area	Winter	Spring	Summer	Autumn	TOTAL
General	1	2	8	10	21
Ancient	1	1	5	2	9
Medieval	6	9	24	14	53
Early Modern	8	8	22	12	50
Late Modern	6	8	5	5	24
American	3	5	10	6	24
Latin American	0	4	7	3	14
Canadian	0	1	0	1	2
Far Eastern/ Australian	2	0	0	2	4
African	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	27	38	81	56	202
Brief Notices	0	1	0	1	2

The book review editor, Msgr. Robert Trisco, reports:

> Readers of the journal must have been dismayed to find listed in "Other Books Received" 121 titles of valuable books that scholars have accepted but neither reviewed nor returned to the editorial office. One must wonder about their professional ethics.

The journal received thirty-four new submissions of articles in 2015. They came primarily from the United States, but also from Australia, Belgium (2), Croatia, the Czech Republic, Germany (2), Ireland, Israel, Italy (2), Poland (2), South Africa, Tanzania, and the United Kingdom. Table 2 shows the current disposition of these submissions. During 2015, fourteen articles earlier accepted were published.

During 2015 the journal published two Forum Essays, featuring books by Liam M. Brockey and Peter Brown, and the two "Journeys in Church History" essays by Elizabeth Clark and Robert Bireley, S.J. Review essays by Cardinal Walter Brandmüller and Alberto Melloni gave differing assessments of the two tomes published by Brepols that included critical editions of the medieval ecumenical and general councils.

The Catholic University of America Press published *Journeys in Church History: Essays from* The Catholic Historical Review, a collection edited by Nelson H. Minnich of six autobiographical essays spanning 2007–15. It contains the contributions of Elizabeth Clark; Caroline Bynum; Jean Delumeau; John W. O'Malley, S.J.; Margaret Lavinia Anderson; and Philip Gleason.

The editorial staff of the journal remains much the same. Msgr. Trisco serves as the skillful book editor, while continuing to compile the sections Periodical Literature and Other Books Received. Over the academic year he has been ably assisted

TABLE 2. Manuscripts Submitted in 2015.

Area	Accepted	Conditionally Accepted	Rejected or Withdrawn (W)	Pending	Published in 2013	TOTAL
General			1			1
Ancient			1			1
Medieval			2	5		7
Early Modern			3, 1(W)	6		10
Late Modern	1		4	4		9
American	2		2 (W)			4
Latin American						0
Canadian						0
Far Eastern			1			1
Middle Eastern						0
African				1		1
TOTAL	3	0	15	16		34

by Ms. Katya Mouris and over the summer months by Ms. Bonnie Brunelle. Ms. Elizabeth Foxwell has continued as the dedicated staff editor, taking on without complaint the additional burden of editing the two centennial supplementary issues. After many years as a dedicated advisory editor, Dr. Maureen C. Miller has found that her responsibilities as director of the medieval studies program at the University of California, Berkeley prevent her from serving the journal and has reluctantly resigned. The journal remains much indebted for her outstanding service. Dr. Scott G. Bruce of the University of Colorado Boulder has graciously agreed to join the Advisory Editors' Board.

At the editorial board meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 9, 2016, the following mission statement was adopted for the journal:

> Founded in 1915, *The Catholic Historical Review* (CHR) is a quarterly journal owned by The Catholic University of America Press and later adopted as the official organ of the American Catholic Historical Association. With an international readership and a global array of contributors, the journal publishes significant, original, and preferably archivally-based articles in English on topics related to the history of various lived Catholic experiences and their intersections with cultures and other religious traditions over the centuries and throughout the world. In addition, CHR publishes reviews (single, *fora*, essays, and articles) written by experts of important books in the field, lists relevant articles that appear in other journals, and includes the section "Notes and Comments" containing news about the Association and other items of interest to readers. Any scholar may submit a manuscript, which is subjected to a rigorous double-blind evaluation.

NELSON H. MINNICH
Editor

Notes and Comments

Association News

At its Executive Council meeting in Atlanta on January 7, 2016, Father Bentley Anderson, S.J., was offered a new five-year appointment as executive secretary and treasurer of the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) that will extend his term to 2021.

The Association will not hold a spring meeting this year, but planning for the next Annual Meeting in Denver, Colorado, scheduled for January 5–8, 2017, is moving forward. Proposals for individual and panel presentations that concern any aspect of Catholic history should be submitted on the ACHA online submission portal by April 15. Acceptances will be announced by May 15. Membership in the ACHA and registration for the Annual Meeting are prerequisites for presenting or participating in panels.

On January 9, 2016, at the ACHA's 2016 Annual Meeting in Atlanta, the Association presented the following 2015–16 prizes with their citations:

2015 John Gilmary Shea Prize

Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200*

In awarding the Shea prize to Miller, the committee commented that "[i]t is common for historians to speak metaphorically of following threads and weaving together stories. But for Maureen C. Miller, textiles and their production offer more than just a language to explain the historian's craft. They instead serve as crucial texts themselves, providing new and valuable insights into the past. In *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue, and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200*, Miller deftly demonstrates the importance of clerical vestments for understanding how religious authority was conceived and exercised. As she reveals, the gradual rise in the status of the clergy from the early to high Middle Ages was accompanied by ever more elaborate forms of clothing, even though this development stood in contrast to the repeated calls for reform among certain quarters of the clergy. Eventually, the reformers adopted the type of magnificent vestments that have been the markers of clerical power down to the modern era. Relying on a wide array of physical evidence, Miller reveals the level of effort invested in producing these vestments and how the styles changed over her period as a reflection of changing ideas about clerical virtue and power. She further demonstrates the role of female patrons and producers in making the vestments, showing how women actively shaped clerical culture. Miller's work exemplifies the

value of the study of material culture and offers a compelling argument that deepens our understanding of medieval Catholicism and its legacy."

The selection of Dr. Miller's work is doubly significant because this marks the first time that an individual has been a two-time recipient of this honor. Dr. Miller had previously been awarded the 1993 Shea prize for her book, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Cornell University Press). We congratulate her on her fine accomplishments.

2015 Howard R. Marraro Prize for Italian History

Nino Zchomelidse, *Art, Ritual, and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy*

This beautifully-produced book offers an in-depth and fascinating portrait of the Easter liturgical celebration in medieval southern Italy, based on a study of ecclesiastical furnishings and manuscripts produced between the 10th–14th centuries. Zchomelidse's interdisciplinary analysis focused on ambos, monumental candlestick holders, and exultet rolls brings to life the theatrical reenactment of Jesus Christ's death and resurrection during Easter week, as well as the changes brought to the liturgical practices in the Norman and Angevin eras.

2015 Peter Guilday Prize

Scott Berg, "Seeing Prussia through Austrian Eyes: The *Kölner Ereignis* and Its Significance for Church and State in Central Europe"

The Peter Guilday Prize for 2015 is given to Scott Berg for his article "Seeing Prussia through Austrian Eyes: The *Kölner Ereignis* and Its Significance for Church and State in Central Europe," which appeared in CHR, 101, no. 1 (Winter 2015), 48–73. Heavily based on archival and printed primary sources, this study analyzes the complex issues surrounding "mixed-marriage" civil legislation in the states of Prussia and Austria that led to the arrest in 1837 of the archbishop of Cologne, Clement August Droste zu Vischering (1836–45) for opposing the attempt of the Prussian king Frederick Wilhelm III (r. 1797–1840) to impose a "Protestantization" of his realm by requiring in 1803 and 1825 that all of the children of a Protestant father in a mixed marriage be raised as Protestants, a requirement contrary to Roman Catholic canon law governing marriage. There was similar legislation in Austria, requiring the children of a Catholic father in a mixed marriage to be raised as Catholics. But there were differences. Prussia was an absolutist confessional state that allowed no exceptions to its legislation. Austria was a nonconfessional state whose Edict of Toleration (1781), Marriage Patent (1783), and civil code of 1811 defined marriage as a civil contract and allowed mixed-confession couples to have their marriage performed before a non-Catholic minister should the Catholic priest refuse to preside because the spouse would not take an oath to raise the children Catholic. Some priests would discreetly perform the ceremony for such couples but not give the nuptial blessing, the priest's role being considered the passive assistance of a state official at the ceremony.

For a variety of reasons, the arrest of the archbishop of Cologne sparked widespread riots and resistance in the Rhineland to the point that the Prussian government sought a negotiated settlement of the problem with a re-energized Catholic Church, a settlement that had to await a new king, Frederick Wilhelm IV (r. 1840—61) and the good offices of the Austrian foreign minister, Klemens Wenzel von Metternich-Winneburg (1773–1859, f.m. 1809–48), who negotiated with Pope Gregory XVI (r. 1830–41) a resolution of the conflict whereby Droste received an apology, was released from imprisonment, and ceded the administration of his diocese to his coadjutor Johann von Geissel (1842), and, in addition, priests were officially allowed to assist passively in marriage ceremonies in which the Protestant father refused to promise to raise the children Catholic. The pope showed great flexibility in dealing with a secular state on disciplinary matters. The Prussian state had backed down from its earlier stances and the settlement was seen as favorable to the Catholic Church. Because of its earlier tolerant civil legislation, Austria was spared any unrest from its Catholic population over its marriage laws. Berg's study of the *Kölner Ereignis* in a wider context reveals an Austrian Catholic Church that enjoyed legitimacy and stability in a nonconfessional state and that adapted its discipline to a modern state, a model that the supposedly "reactionary" pope Gregory XVI adopted for the resolution of the conflict with Prussia. For these fresh insights, the Peter Guilday prize is given to Scott Berg.

2015 John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award

Jennifer Callaghan, Northwestern University

In awarding Callaghan this award, the committee noted that her project "Critical Mass: The Fall and Rise of Latin in the long U.S. Catholic Liturgical Movement" "interrogates 20th century discussions of Catholic liturgical reforms" from the 1930s to the present, and explores "how the administrative process of implementing reforms contributed to the construction of a post-conciliar American Catholic actor prepared to participate actively in both Catholic liturgical and U.S. civic life." Furthermore, the committee was impressed by the ways in which Ms. Callaghan's research adds nuance to historical narratives of liberal/conservative polarization in the conciliar era. Her work resists presenting the Latin Mass as either a political statement against the Second Vatican Council and modernization in the Church or as a pure exercise of religious piety. Instead, Callaghan's dissertation interrogates the complex constellation of religious and political elements which combined to form Catholic religious practices in the late 20th century. Her study considers both regional aspects of the grassroots efforts to resurrect the Latin Mass in the Chicago area as well as larger national landscape of Catholic liturgy.

2016 ACHA Distinguished Scholar Award

Walter S. Melion, Emory University

The work of Walter S. Melion, the Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Art History, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, has covered the field of Renaissance and

early modern European visual culture broadly. He has demonstrated the links between image and spirituality, between representation and religious meaning. His works address how early modern people understood images and used art to convey profound messages, especially in the field of doctrine and exegesis. Melion has worked on art from across Europe but especially printed images, showing the links between readers, viewers, and artists. In addition to monographs on Jerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (2003–2007) and on Scriptural illustration in the 16th-century Low Countries (2009), his books include *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's 'Schilder-Boeck'* (Chicago, 1991) and *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625* (Philadelphia, 2009). He has also been the patron of many scholars working in the field of Renaissance and early modern art history, organizing volumes of essays and promoting discussions across disciplinary boundaries. His work on devotional images has greatly enhanced our understanding of Catholic culture in the period of the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation, and has inspired a new generation of scholars to reconsider Catholic artistic culture at both elite and popular levels. In 2010 he was elected Foreign Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

2016 ACHA Distinguished Teaching Award

Rev. Clyde F. Crews, Bellarmine University

Fr. Clyde F. Crews of Bellarmine University is a graduate of that institution, having earned his B.A. from the then-named Bellarmine College in 1966. As a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship recipient, he received his MA and PhD in History of Christian Thought at Fordham University. Ordained a priest for the Archdiocese of Louisville in 1973, Fr. Crews returned to Bellarmine that same year where he then taught theology for the next thirty-plus years. His scholarly, academic, and teaching interests have ranged from investigating local southern Catholic history to English Catholic modernism and on to American Catholic popular culture. During his career, he routinely earned the rarest of academic accolades: the virtually unanimous admiration and respects of his students. Over the years, Fr. Crews proved to be a teacher who understood Catholic higher education's formative role. As an instructor, his courses were well subscribed, his teaching style engaging, his attention to student needs admirable. His authentic teaching and his commitment to formation mutually reinforced. For those reasons, the University recognized his excellence in teaching by naming him a Wyatt Fellow. Clyde F. Crews has been a teacher, a mentor, and a friend to many generations of Bellarmine students. He retired from Bellarmine's theology faculty in 2007 and remains professor emeritus.

2016 ACHA Distinguished Service to Catholic Studies Award

Members of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, Our Lady of the Holy Spirit Monastery, Conyers, Georgia

Since their arrival in the state of Georgia in 1944, the members of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, better known as the Trappists, have wit-

nessed to the Gospels in a region of the United States that was not that familiar with monasticism or the Roman Catholic Church. Through their labor and their lives of prayer, the Trappists have ministered to the people of North Georgia regardless of race or creed. Theirs has been a missionary undertaking. For over seven decades, the Trappist monks of Our Lady of the Holy Spirit Monastery have provided a place of prayer, of worship, and of solitude for all. Their ministry has provided a link between the past, the present, and the future of the Christian faith, offering insight into the history of monasticism, providing knowledge of the ancient practices of prayer and meditation, and demonstrating to the world that the God who is, who was, and who will be dwells in our midst. It is for their witness, their ministry, their service to the Church and all God's people that the ACHA awards its 2016 Distinguished Service to Catholic Studies award to the Trappist monks of Conyers, Georgia.

CAUSES OF SAINTS

On January 21, 2016, Pope Francis received in a private audience Cardinal Angelo Amato, S.D.B., prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, during which he authorized the Congregation to promulgate the following decrees.

> Regarding miracles: Blessed Stanislaus of Jesus and Mary (1631–1701, born Jan Papczyński), Polish founder of the Congregation of Marians of the Immaculate Conception; Blessed José Gabriel del Rosario Brochero (1840–1914), Argentine diocesan priest; Blessed José Sánchez del Río (1913–28), Mexican child martyr; Venerable Servant of God Francesco Maria Greco (1857–1931), Italian diocesan priest and founder of the Congregation of the Little Workers of the Sacred Heart; and Venerable Servant of God Elisabetta Sanna (1788–1857), Italian layperson, widow, and member of the Third Order of St. Francis and of the Catholic Apostolic Union founded by St. Vincent Pallotti.
>
> Regarding martyrdom: Venerable Servant of God Engelmar Unzeitig (1911–45, born Hubert), German professed priest of the Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill; Servants of God Genaro Fueyo Castañón (1864–1936), Spanish diocesan priest, and three laypersons; and the Servant of God Iustus Takayama Ukon (1552–1615), Japanese layperson.
>
> Regarding heroic virtues: Servant of God Arsenio da Trigolo (1849–1909, born Giuseppe Migliavacca), professed priest of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin and Italian founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of Mary Most Holy Consolatrix; and Servant of God Maria Luisa of the Most Holy Sacrament (1826–86, born Maria Velotti), Italian member of the Third Order of St. Francis and founder of the Franciscan Sisters Adorers of the Holy Cross.

RESEARCH TOOLS AND WORKSHOP

The MeMO-project is sponsoring the Medieval Memoria Research (MMR) Web site devoted to liturgical vestments, http://memo.hum.uu.nl/liturgischege-

waden. The vestments can also be viewed in English on a database found on http://memo.hum.uu.nl.

The Huntington Library of Marino, California, has made available a database (compiled since 1999) that chronicles the lives and deaths of an estimated 120,000 persons based on some fifty-year-old microfilms and original mission books containing the records of 101,000 baptisms, 28,000 marriages, and 71,000 burials from twenty-one Alta California missions stretching from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara and from the coastal area extending from San Diego to Marin County. The records show the extraordinarily high mortality among Indians exposed to European diseases such as measles, influenza, and smallpox. They document such information as the names of family members, their village of origin, ethnic background, trades, interracial marriages, and cause of death. Access to these records can be found at http://www.huntington.org.

The Newberry Library of Chicago will host the 2016 Mellon Summer Institute in Italian Paleography from June 27 to July 15. Instruction will be in the Italian language given by Maddalena Signorini of the Univeristà degli Studi di Roma. It will provide intensive training in the accurate reading and transcription of handwritten Italian texts from the late-medieval through early-modern periods. It will also offer an overview of the system of Italian archives: public, ecclesiastical, and private. The institute is open to fifteen scholars from American and Canadian institutions, with eligible applicants including advanced doctoral candidates and junior faculty members, professional staff from libraries and museums, and qualified independent scholars. The deadline for application is March 1. Recipients will be notified by April 1. Successful applicants will receive a stipend of $950; those from outside the Chicago area will receive an additional $2500 to defray costs of travel, lodging, and food. There are no fees associated with the institute. For further details, visit http://www.newberry.org/renaissance or telephone 312/255-3514.

The National Endowment for the Humanities is sponsoring the summer institute "Teaching the Reformation after Five Hundred Years" directed by Karin Maag, Katherine Van Liere, and David Whitford and enriched with visiting lecturers. It will take place at the Meeter Center of Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on July 11–29, 2016. Applications for scholarship support for faculty members and graduate students are due by March 1, 2016. For more information, visit http://www.calvin.edu/meeter/NEH/2016.

CONFERENCE

The arrival of the Carmelite Order in Mexico 450 years ago was the topic of an international congress that took place in Mexico City on October 7–9, 2015. Despite the Carmelites' initial intentions to participate in the evangelizing mission, the presence of other orders dedicated to that task and the reluctance of its head in Spain led them to change directions. The Carmelites became an urban order dedicated to promoting its charisma. A newly minted book by Jessica Ramirez Mendes

tracing that transformation in Mexico was welcomed at a special session of the congress. The Carmelites founded seven convents for women and fourteen convents for men throughout colonial Mexico and practically disappeared in the nineteenth century as a result of the political circumstances of the new nation.

Most of the papers delivered at the congress by thirty-one historians dealt with the period prior to 1820 due to the abundance of sources. Among them were the training of novices, the artistic expressions in the form of relics and iconography, the writings by Carmelites or inspired by Carmelite notables and saints, the architecture of convents, and the foundational processes supported by endowed Masses and chaplaincies, as well as willing bishops. The international papers dwelt on the history and artistic patrimony of Peruvian Carmelites, the figure of a notable Colombian nun, and the history of the order in Guatemala, as well as the continental devotion to a black saint, St. Iphigenia, who wore a Carmelite habit. There was no specific emphasis on the celebration of St. Teresa of Ávila's 500th birthday, but several works examined some of the rich nuances of her writings and even her representation in cinematic works. A Carmelite member, José de Jesús Orozco, traced the order's decline in the nineteenth century and its auspicious renaissance toward the end of the first half of the twentieth century. The organizing committee plans to publish a book with the presenters' contributions in the hope of consolidating the historical knowledge of the order in the new historiography of the Catholic Church in Spanish America.

—Submitted by Asunción Lavrin, Arizona State University (*Emerita)*

The University of Notre Dame is sponsoring an international academic conference on "The Promise of the Vatican Library" on May 8–10, 2016, with prominent plenary speakers who will address issues of Greek, Byzantine, and Latin manuscripts; Latin philosophy and theology; music; numismatics; Renaissance humanism and philosophy; and the urban history of Rome. For additional details, contact Chuck Lamphier at lamphier.1@nd.edu or tel. 574/631-1728.

The Istituto Sangalli of Florence and the Famiglia Artistica Reggiana Studioum Regiense Foundazione of Reggio Emilia are sponsoring the conference "Orlando Furioso: 1516–2016" to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the publication of the *editio princeps* of Ludovico Ariosto's masterpiece's in Ferrara. The conference will take place on May 19–20, 2016, at Reggio Emilia and Florence. The author and his poem will be discussed by scholars from multidisciplinary perspectives. For more information, contact segreteria@istitutosangalli.it.

On June 1–2, 2016, the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will hold its 83rd Annual General Meeting at the University of Calgary with papers devoted to the theme "Energizing Communities," studying religious communities, the energized Canadian Church in the post–Second Vatican Council era, and Catholicism in Western Canada. Proposals for individual papers, panels, or roundtables should be sent to program chair Robert Dennis at rdennis@upei.ca.

The Sixteenth Century Society and Conference will be sponsoring a conference on August 18–20, 2016, in Bruges, Belgium, at the Martins Hotel, the Crown Plaza Hotel, and the Provinciaal Hof. Proposals for panels, roundtables, and workshops featuring precirculated papers, thorny translation or paleography questions, or large issues should be submitted by February 15, 2016. For more information, contact conference@sixteenthcentury.org.

Publications

A dossier of articles on "La Liturgie Hispanique" has been edited by Thomas Deswarte for the October–December 2015 issue (vol. 58) of *Cahiers de civilization médiévale*: "L'introduction de la liturgie romaine dans les monastères de Silos et de San Millán à travers leurs manuscrits" by Miguel C. Vivancos (pp. 337–69); "Concurrence des rits et jugement de Dieu: une origine espagnole?" by Alain Rauwel (pp. 371–76); "Existe-t-il une liturgie «mozarabe»?" by Cyrille Aillet (pp. 377–86); "Les six paroisses mozarabes de Tolède" by Miquel S. Gros i Pujol (pp. 387–93); and "Asymétrie temporellle: Les «renaissances» du rite wisigothique et leur valeur identitaire" by Susana Zapke (pp. 395–406).

In commemoration of the quincentenary of the birth of St. Teresa of Jesus (also known as Teresa of Ávila, 1515–82), four articles on her relations with St. Augustine and the Augustinians have been published in the September-December 2015 issue (vol. CCXXVIII, no. 3) of *La Ciudad de Dios*: "La conversión de Santa Teresa y el influjo de San Agustín" by Salvador Ros García, O.C.D. (pp. 613–41); "Lo agustiniano en Santa Teresa de Jesús: San Agustín, las agustinas, los agustinos y Santa Teresa" by Teófilo Viñas Román, O.S.A. (pp. 643–74); "Presencia de Santa Teresa de Jesús en Quito. «Llegó» con sus hermanos y sus hijas espirituales, las carmelitas" by Félix Carmona Moreno, O.S.A. (pp. 675–708); and "Presencia de Santa Teresa en los agustinos de El Escorial" by Modesto González Velasco, O.S.A. (pp. 709–36).

"Antisémitisme(s): un éternel retour?" is the theme of the April–September 2015 (vol. 62, no. 2/3) issue of the *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*. The first section, "La religion, aux sources de l'enseignement du mépris?", contains three articles on the role of Christianity: "La hantise de la théologie dans l'historiographie médiévale de l'hostilité antijuive" by Elsa Marmursztejn (pp. 15–39); "La captation de l'enfant de converti. L'évolution des normes canoniques à la lumière de l'antijudaïsme des XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles" by Isabelle Poutrin (pp. 40–62); and "Tradition catholique et matrice de l'antisémitisme à l'époque contemporaine" by Nina Valbousquet (pp. 63–88).

The issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for summer 2015 (vol. 33, no. 3), as the editor, David J. Endres, writes in his foreword, "considers the role of language in U.S. Catholic history" (p. i). Five writers develop this theme: Patrick W. Carey, "The Confessional and Ex-Catholic Priests in Nineteenth-Century Protestant America" (pp. 1–26); Herbert D. Miller, "Protestant Hermeneutics as the 'Infidel

Principle' in Disguise: Bishop John B. Purcell's Case against *Sola Scriptura* in His Debate with Alexander Campbell" (pp. 27–49); Mary Elizabeth Brown, "The Theory and Practice in Scalabrinian Parishes for Italian Immigrants in the United States, 1887–1933" (pp. 51–68); Carlos Hugo Parra-Pirela, "Babel or Pentecost? Language-Related Issues in Catholic Involvement in the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions" (pp. 69–98); and Mariana Portolano, "'Shun not the struggle': The Language and Culture of Deaf Catholics in the U.S., 1949–1977" (pp. 99–124).

The next issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* (fall 2015) contains the following four articles: "Filibusterism and Catholicity: Narciso López, William Walker, and the Antebellum Struggle for America's Souls" by Andrew Denton (pp. 1–26); "Beyond the Black Legend: Catholicism and U.S. Empire-Building in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, 1898–1914" by Katherine D. Moran (pp. 27–51); "Patrick Peyton, C.S.C., and the International Rosary Crusade, 1948–1959" by Richard Gribble, C.S.C. (pp. 53–78); and "William Donovan, the Office of Strategic Services, and Catholic Intelligence Sources during World War II" by Michael Graziano (pp. 79–103).

The articles in *Historical Studies*, the journal published by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, for 2015 (vol. 81) all deal with "Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War," as follows: S. Karly Kehoe and Darren Tierney, "'Like a Kind Mother': Imperial Concerns and Britain's Changing Perception of Rome, 1783–1815" (pp. 11–31); Peter Ludlow, "'Disturbed by the Irish howl': Irish and Scottish Roman Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1844–1860" (pp. 32–55); Terrence Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism: the Irish Catholics of Halifax, 1839–1858" (pp. 56–81); Colin Barr, "'Behold St. Patrick's Kingdom': The Global Context of Holy Cross Cemetery, Halifax" (pp. 82–104); Bruce S. Elliott, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontanism, and Irishness: The Creation of Holy Cross Roman Catholic Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia" (pp. 105–38); James F. E. White, "Mobility in Place: The Irish Catholics of Victorian Halifax" (pp. 139–66); Katherine Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability: The Charitable Irish Society in Victorian Halifax" (pp. 167–94); Patrick Mannion, "Halifax Catholics' 'Patriotic Work': Responses to Irish Nationalism, 1880–1923" (pp. 195–223); and Mark G. McGowan, "The Imperial Irish of Halifax: Irish Catholic Recruitment and the Wars of the British Empire, 1899–1919" (pp. 224–61).

PERSONALS

James Jay Carney of the Theology Department of Creighton University has received the annual Bethwlll Ogot Prize of the African Studies Association for his book *Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era* (New York, 2014).

Obituaries

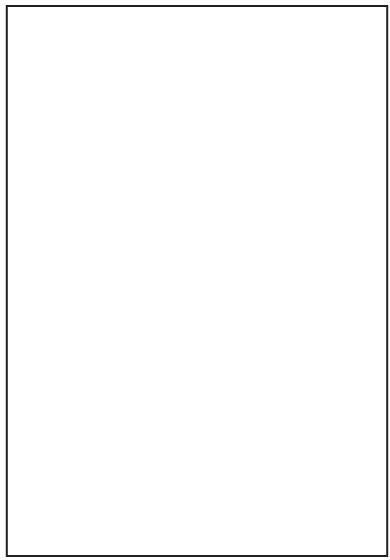
John Antony Bossy (1933–2015)

"The Tigers of Wrath are wiser than the Horses of Instruction." Not many writers could get away with invoking these words of the visionary poet William Blake to preface a book. However, the historian John Bossy, who died aged eighty-two on October 23, 2015, in York, was no ordinary writer. Moreover, the book in question—*Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (New York, 1985), his masterpiece—was no ordinary book, for it was nothing less than a visionary reimagining of a religious "world we have lost," whose consequences still shape the mental and emotional landscape of the twenty-first century.

In a series of articles—as brief as they were brilliant—that culminated in *Christianity in the West*, Bossy showed how Christianity ceased to be "a body of people" and became merely "a body of beliefs." He developed the idea, which had also been sketched by his doctoral supervisor, H. Outram Evennett (in the latter's posthumously published *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* [Cambridge, UK, 1968], with a postscript by Bossy), that Protestantism and Catholicism shared a similar agenda in a way that, characteristically, invited debate rather than assent. For Bossy, the instrument of the catechism reduced Christianity to what could be taught and learned, whereas the introduction of that new item of church furniture, the confession box, made secret a sacrament—of penance—that had been previously semi-public and thus subjected "the average soul"—one of Bossy's many memorable phrases—to a regime of moral surveillance unprecedented in degree. Such insights continue to offer an important corrective to the still widely held popular assumption that the "Reformation" witnessed the supersession of "bad" religion by "good."

Bossy's concern with understanding how actual social behavior was affected by these changes had been the leitmotif of his first book, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London, 1975), in which, drawing creatively on the insights and methods of social anthropology and particularly French religious sociology, he showed how the "community" in question constituted a "body of people . . . with its own internal structure and way of life" (p. 296). This wholly original book, which after forty years still bears reading, also broke significantly with the existing approach that had cast the story of English Recusant Catholicism essentially in terms of isolated, embattled victimhood.

The third of Bossy's books that still has strong claim on the attention of the reader is the double prize-winning *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven, 1991). The fact that the awards in question were the Wolfson History Prize and the British Crime Writers' Association Gold Dagger for nonfiction (in the same year that Ruth Rendell won the equivalent award for fiction) indicates that Bossy had achieved a remarkable hat trick—in having written three succes-



John Antony Bossy. Photo by David Wooton.

sive books of such remarkable originality and distinction, with each one utterly different in style and method from the last. In this historical whodunit Bossy turned his considerable skills as a writer to examine the specific challenges posed by historical narrative. Although he later had to retract his claim that the Italian philosopher Bruno was linked to a mole codenamed Henry Fagot inside the household of the French ambassador to the court of Elizabeth during the 1580s, this does not detract from the bravura and skill of its author's evocation of the cloak-and-dagger world of Elizabethan London. He mined the same rich seam of extreme international uncertainty with his last book, *Under the Molehill: An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven, 2001). At the time of his death, he left an incomplete, although long-meditated and substantial, study of Elizabeth I's "favorite Catholic"—Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton—which, it is hoped, will see the light of day in due course.

During his early years at York, Bossy's engagement with anthropology led to the publication of his edited seminal volume, *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (New York, 1983). It was inspired, he said, by

> the idea of a social history which would be a history of actual people; a feeling that the record of law and especially litigation was a good place to find something about them; some experience in the social institutions of Christianity as peace-making rituals, and a wish to pursue the subject of arbitration and peace-making as an important matter in itself; and in interest in the theory of marriage represented in *Romeo and Juliet.* (p. 287)

He returned to these themes again in *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, UK, 1998). Bossy's ideas opened up a whole new field of historical inquiry, and he became a revered figure among a younger generation of social historians, ensuring that his legacy remains alive not only amongst historians of religion.

Bossy was born in Edmonton in north London to Catholic parents. His father, Frederick, was an accounts clerk in the city but also taught English in evening classes. His mother, Kitty (née White), came from a touring theatrical family based in Nottingham. After an unhappy experience as an evacuee in Hertfordshire during World War II, John spent a happy time at the Jesuit school St. Ignatius College in north London's Stamford Hill. At Cambridge, he encountered the historian of medieval political thought Walter Ullman, who "converted" him, as Bossy put it, into a serious historian. After national service (1954–56), he returned to Cambridge to undertake a doctorate (1961) on the relations between Elizabethan Catholics and France. His love for French culture, to begin with at least, encompassed Jean-Paul Sartre as well as his beloved Michel de Montaigne, and the "total history" approach of scholars associated with the journal *Annales* greatly influenced his approach to early-modern Christianity.

His first academic post was at Goldsmiths, University of London (1962–66), before his move to Queen's University, Belfast (1966–78), where he arrived a Republican at the start of the Troubles and left a Unionist, considering the latter community to be seriously misunderstood, and a conservative unaffiliated with an ideology. He became a professor at York in 1979 and remained there until his retirement in 2000. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1993.

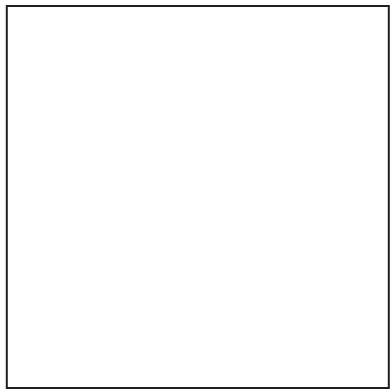
He viewed friendship as being close to a sacrament and, since he did not wish to formalize it, rejected the traditional teacher-disciple relationship. This was arguably why he never had any "official" PhD students. His undergraduate teaching, too, was founded upon complete equality and mutual respect: he would consider the ideas of a first-year undergraduate as carefully and critically as those of an established scholar. A seriously playful contrarian who suffered from bouts of depression, Bossy was a man of great personal warmth with a sense of fun and irreverence, and he showed enormous kindness to other scholars in reading their draft manuscripts.

Bossy never married. He is survived by his sister, Marjorie, and his brother, Michael, who is a member of the Society of Jesus.

University of York Simon Ditchfield

Dennis Dale Martin (1952–2015)

Dennis D. Martin will always be recognized as a medieval scholar, specifically related to monasticism and the Protestant Reformation. However, it is important to analyze his academic production within the trajectory of his own spiritual jour-



Dennis Dale Martin

ney—what he once called a search for a church "rooted in history" and a "thirst" for a "tradition worth believing in, worth dying for, worth living from."[1]

Martin was born in Elkhart, Indiana, and was descended from early-eighteenth-century Mennonites in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He learned later in life that his heritage traced back to Canton Bern, where his forebears suffered during the Anabaptist-Mennonite persecutions. His immediate family lines were rooted in Mennonite, Brethren, and United Missionary Church (Mennonite Brethren in Christ) soils in rural Elkhart County. He attended Grace College in Winona Lake, Indiana, and Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany, and completed a BA degree in history at Wheaton College. Martin earned a MA degree in history at the University of Waterloo in Ontario. As a Fulbright-Hays scholar, he studied at Eberhard-Karls Universität in Tübingen, Germany. In 1982 he earned a PhD degree in history at the University of Waterloo. His dissertation focused on the monastic theology of the fifteenth-century Carthusian Nicholas Kempf.

Martin specialized in late-medieval reform movements, medieval monastic history and social context, and monastic spirituality and mysticism. At the time of his passing, he was associate professor of theology and member of the graduate faculty at Loyola University Chicago. In addition, he lectured on current topics within Catholicism, including the Second Vatican Council and Pope John Paul II. He had been a visiting fellow at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin, and visiting scholar at the Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame. Prior to coming to Loyola in 1991, he was assistant professor of church history at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Elkhart.

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1. Dennis D. Martin, "Retrospect and Apologia: Radical Reformation and the Search for Credible *Radices*," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 76 (2003), 167–96, here 169–70.

Martin's books include *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf* (New York, 1992) and *Carthusian Spirituality: The Writings of Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte* (Mahwah, NJ, 1997). Of late, he was working on a new book: *From Cloister to Chronicle: Mundane Carthusian Spirituality, 1175–1500*. Early in his career, he coedited the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* vol. 5 (Scottdale, PA, 1990), and the *Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, 1983). In addition to authoring multiple academic journal entries, he contributed regularly to the book review section of *The Catholic Historical Review*.

Martin's confessed "love affair with history" can be traced to his early Brethren and Mennonite surroundings. However, it was his Christian faith in search of history that helped guide him into the Catholic Church in the middle of his scholarly career. Martin once recalled that he was first drawn to medieval history by the beauty and color of the era, as well as its striking display of the mundane. As his scholarship progressed, he realized that the conventional Protestant account of medieval Catholicism was wrong. He discovered that the medieval Catholic Church, as in all ages, was replete with people who loved Christ sincerely. The Catholic Church provided Martin with both spiritual and material continuity, and helped complete his search for a church "rooted in history." Martin's own lived history in Protestant and Catholic communities made him irreplaceable at Loyola. Many Catholic students appreciated his accurate knowledge and love of church history. Additionally, several Protestant students at Loyola, including this author, found in him a mentor who was empathetic to their immediate contexts.

Martin was a faithful member of Saint John Cantius Church in the Archdiocese of Chicago. He is survived by his wife, Carol, director of the Writing Center at North Park University; and two brothers, Gary E. Martin of Goshen, Indiana, and Stanley W. Martin of Bonners Ferry, Idaho.

Loyola University Chicago Robert Andrews

Letters to the Editor

It is clear from Ian Ker's review of *The Antagonist Principle: John Henry Newman and the Paradox of Personality* (*ante*, 101 [2015], 947–49) that he has no interest in conveying to a reader what my book actually is about. Instead, he uses it as a springboard for yet another one of his by now depressingly familiar assaults on Frank M. Turner's biography of Newman's Anglican years, *John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion* (New Haven, 2002).

Ker writes that "the nearest . . . that we get to a thesis is Poston's assumption that Newman studies are dominated by a clash between so-called hagiographers and iconoclasts, and that he sees himself standing *in via media*" (p. 948). Rehearsing the well-known history of the threats to the Church emanating from the reformist Whig government of the early 1830s, a threat that sparked the creation of the Oxford Movement, Ker declares that the truth of such a case "is not to be

decided by attempting to compromise between the iconoclast and the hagiographers" (p. 948). Of course not. My reference to Newman's biographers and critics (hardly a thesis) is based on the late Martin J. Svaglic's observation, in his chapter on Newman in the MLA's *Victorian Prose: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1973), that "Newman continues to attract or repel readers quite strongly, with the result that disinterested writing about him is relatively rare" (Svaglic, p. 117), which I quote in the first paragraph of my introduction.

But Ker's reframing of my purpose frees him to go after bigger game:

> Turner's thesis that Newman's role in the movement was dictated by hatred of the Evangelicals and not by opposition to the liberals does not make any historical sense: for why should such a movement suddenly begin in 1833 when the Evangelical party was long established in the Church of England and posed no such threat as did the liberal party allied to the Whig government? (p. 948)

If Ker had been more attentive to my discussion of this question on pp. 85*ff*, in a chapter subsection titled "The Slippery Slope: From Evangelicalism to Liberalism," he might have seen that my line of argument is quite different from Turner's. In several writings of the mid-1830s, Newman was exploring what he felt was a kinship between Evangelicalism and *religious* Liberalism. After all, in the *Apologia* he was to say—contrasting the Evangelicals of his day with the "simplicity and unworldliness" of their predecessors—that "I thought little of the Evangelicals as a class; I thought they played into the hands of the Liberals" (*Apologia*, ed. Svaglic [Oxford, 1967], p. 40). In my book, I follow this quotation with the observation that "just as Evangelicalism, in Newman's view, pried intrusively into the believer's heart . . . so did Liberalism as a form of theological inquiry pry indecorously into the meaning of terms" (p. 85). Although Ker continues to believe, somewhat overheatedly, that Turner was accusing Newman of lying, my own objection to Turner's thesis is that he tends to belabor a distinction without a difference—or rather, a distinction that, although valid in itself (since Evangelicalism and religious Liberalism obviously begin from very different starting premises), collapses in terms of their respective end results.

Ker's continuing obsession with a book published in 2002 by an author who died five years ago suggests that he regards it as a kind of lingering radioactive threat to scholarly generations yet unborn. His penultimate paragraph makes the most of a parenthetical comment of my own ("Turner overstates the case") to mount a vigorous challenge to Turner's statement that Newman became a Roman Catholic so that he could remain a monk in his Littlemore community. Ker's primary opponent here is Turner, not me; but in seeing me as clinging hopelessly to my alleged "*via media* thesis," it is evident that, in Ker's view, any attempt to lower the polemical temperature reflects a lukewarm commitment to the primary task of stamping out pernicious historiography. Presumably even to express gratitude to Turner for his early encouragement, as I do in my preface, is already to have gone over to the Enemy. In Ker's world, you are either for Newman or against him; and

nothing else, it seems to me, so surely demonstrates the continuing validity of Svaglic's judgment.

In his parting shot (p. 949), Ker writes, "A retired professor of English, Poston reveals his lack of theology in his absurd assertion that Newman advised Catholics that they were not required to give 'adherence to a specific definition *de fide* as long as they had made an active avowal of faith in the Church's teaching.'" What I actually said was, "His argument in counseling *troubled* Catholics was that *confession did not demand* adherence to a specific definition *de fide*" as long as they had made such an avowal (p. 219, emphasis added). My statement is embedded in a paragraph on the question of papal infallibility in which I cite John R. Page's study, *What Will Dr. Newman Do? John Henry Newman and Papal Infallibility, 1865–1875* (Collegeville, MN, 1994). In that study, Page argues that Newman

> believed that faithful Catholics had an obligation to accept the definition. But those who needed time should not be bullied and threatened. . . . A Catholic who had made an act of faith in the Church's teaching authority need not confess doubts about the definition unless he or she had willfully dwelt on them. (p. 409)

Whether what is at issue is more biographical than theological, turning primarily on a question of ecclesiastical discipline, is a matter I will leave to others to decide.

University of Illinois at Chicago (Emeritus) LAWRENCE POSTON

Ian Ker replies:

Lawrence Poston condemns my "depressingly familiar assaults" on and my "continuing obsession" with Frank M. Turner's book on Newman. I did review it when it came out, unfavorably like most of the other reviewers. And I responded to a letter he sent to the *Times Literary Supplement* complaining about my review.[1] I also reviewed in this journal Turner's edition of the *Apologia pro Vita*, where he makes the same charges as in his book (CHR, 95 [2009], 405–07). In my recent book *Newman on Vatican II* (Oxford, 2014), I devote seven pages to a discussion of various criticisms of the historical accuracy of Newman's *Apologia*, including two pages on Turner's criticisms. Finally (since I cannot recall writing about Turner anywhere else), I refer to his book in my review of Poston's book because Poston refers to him and because I thought it was highly relevant to the one thesis that I thought I had detected in Poston's somewhat rambling book. I think that record speaks for itself and that Poston grossly exaggerates my so-called "obsession."

I might add two other relevant facts. First, at least two reviewers of the *Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman* (Cambridge, UK, 2009) complained that

1. Ian Ker, "Slow Road to Rome," TLS, December 6, 2002, 32; Frank M. Turner, "John Henry Newman's Conversion," TLS, December 20, 2002; Ian Ker, "John Henry Newman and the Tractarians," TLS, January 3, 2003.

none of the contributors had referred to Turner. If I suffer from an "obsession" with Turner, it is odd that, as coeditor, I did not ensure that Turner's book was criticized in the *Companion.* In fact, there was only one chapter where a reference to Turner's book might have been appropriate; neither I nor my coeditor gave any instruction to its author as to whether there should or should not be any such reference. It seems that you are damned if you do refer to Turner but also damned if you don't refer to him! Second, I did not respond to Simon Skinner's attack on me and other so-called "hagiographers" for daring to criticize Turner's book—which, in the event, was answered by the eminent Cambridge historian Eamon Duffy.[2]

I gather from Poston's letter that the thesis that I thought I had managed to glean from his book is not what his book "actually is about." In that case, I can only confess that, having read the book carefully, I am now quite in the dark as to what it is supposed "actually" to be about.

University of Oxford IAN KER

2. Simon Skinner, "History *versus* Hagiography: The Reception of Turner's *Newman*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61 (2010), 764–81; Eamon Duffy, "The Reception of Turner's *Newman*: A Reply to Simon Skinner," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63 (2012), 534–48.

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