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Reformation Conference Address

Europe in the Age of Reformations: The Modern State and Confessionalization

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The author examines the effects of secularization and confessionalization on political states, the Catholic Church, and other religions since the Reformation.

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The End of Confessional History or History Writing?

As the 500th anniversary of the Reformation approaches, we are reminded that history is one long transition. As with all civilizations handing over the baton, it is not outside agencies that are killing the West but the West killing itself. But what is specific to our times is that we have lost sight of the shore from which we set out: at most, through a thick fog we glimpse heaps of rubble that we have shed in the last century or so, from the Decalogue to the atomic bomb and the Shoah. On a lighter note, you will smile to hear (if it does not make you weep) how a third-year university student of colleague Claudia Pancino answered a question on the distinction between *de praesenti* marriage and *de futuro* marriage (a contractual promise to celebrate a wedding at some other date):

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> Even after the Council of Trent and its attempt to regulate marriage, people failed to observe the distinction between verbs in the future and those in the present. This was partly because people were poor and ignorant and didn't know their tenses.

But all joking aside, the problem may be that today's millennial youth—not just students but those in Western society as a whole—don't *do* past tense and future tense but only see and understand a timeless present of 2.0 images.

In a previous publication I tried to show how we have been involved these last few decades in the anthropological crisis of *Homo europaeus*,[1] far more than just another passing transition. The historical argument I wish to develop here is that, as the strands linking confessional Churches and modern states unravel after a five-century cycle dating from Martin Luther's 1517 protest, our whole surroundings are changing, not just in terms of religion but politically and institutionally as well.

Much has been said in recent decades as to where institutions are heading, most of the time seeing it as a one-way process of "secularization." It has been argued that modernity is basically just that, for politics and society as much as for science and culture at large: throwing off the theological, and donning the human and worldly. By contrast, the point I have been laboring to make is that modernity stems from *dialogue and osmosis* between the two poles—call it dialectic, dualism, or what you will—and in various ways this has hinged on the process of confessionalization (that is, the changeover from a single creed, central to the liturgy and common faith of all the Churches of Europe, to professions of faith that differ across European regions). Churches and states are tied in life and death to this common process. Historians—and still more analysts and political commentators—go very wrong when they overlook this point in tackling the present-day aspects of crisis: the issue of secularism, of multiculturalism, of our daily tragedy of migration and uprooted peoples. The problem is that their analysis is boxed inside the modern period and its time frame. What changes with this century is not that our view of history is better than our forefathers', but simply that now—as 2017 approaches—we can see this pattern from outside and above the viewpoint of the masters who came before us.

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1. Hubert Jedin, "Section Five: European Counter Reformation and Confessional Absolutism (1605–55)," *History of the Church*. Vol. 5: *Reformation and Counter Reformation*, ed. Hubert Jedin and John Patrick Dolan (London, 1980), pp. 615–45.

The claim I start from and intend vigorously to uphold is that, over the last fifty years, the historian's perspective has altered enormously, just as daily historical events have changed with globalization and mushrooming technology. We now stand outside the long historical cycle that generated the Europe into which my own generation was born. We have thrown off confessional—*ecclessiastical* historiography but are far from acquiring a historically appropriate awareness to guide our research and divulge its insights.

As for the unfolding of historical events these last fifty years, everything has changed around us. In the 1950s the panorama in which Western man grew up had been splendidly captured by Gabriel Le Bras in a short study that I hail as one of the best things written in our field: *L'Église et le village* (Paris, 1976). As though from a satellite, he viewed the common identity of our plains and villages from Sicily to Scotland: the parish church, the town hall or seat of government, the market square. I have elsewhere described the course of the last half-century's history in the making (and in the writing), bringing us to this satellite viewpoint, released from the force of gravity that was the modern era. But from the observation post or satellite we have now reached, that landscape no longer exists. In viewing the historical course of modernity in the long term, my starting contention is that we cannot understand the history of Europe without an overview of all its supporting columns: state, church, and market. The sovereign nation-state (town hall) has vanished (not the state in a generic sense, which still holds many powers and functions); the market has evaporated from the stock exchanges and condensed into "sovereign" funds that cannot be geographically pinpointed or politically controlled; the churches of all Christian creeds (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and so on) are daily being sold and converted to mundane uses, while Churches (with a capital "C") seek other bonds with their remaining congregations, and sects are springing up on all sides.

Territorial Churches and the Modern State

What has happened over the last fifty years or so is the collapse of *three* pillars supporting European society in these last five centuries. We have learnt that we cannot separate religious understanding from political, and vice versa. If that is so, we cannot separate analysis of events inside European Christendom, whether in its ascending curve—the genesis of modernity and the rise of denominational States—or its descent through the great European civil wars, the process of decolonization and globalization. My claim is that, whether we observe from the standpoint of church history or modern state history, the focus of our historian's telescope must be

on Europe. That is the issue propounded by Hubert Jedin in 1973 as the subject of the first seminar held at the fledgling Instituto Storico Italo-Germanico: "The Council of Trent as the Crossroads of European Politics." The European theater and its scenery had been well known for decades: the abuses of the medieval Church, the conflict between feudalism and modernity, and the hard-won balance achieved, with its aftermath of religious wars that ranged from the Confessio Augustana of 1530 to the Professio fidei Tridentina of 1564 and from Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's 1548 Augsburg *Interim* to the mid-seventeenth century Peace of Westphalia.

That historians' gathering was important, I feel, as a step forward from the prevailing position of modern European historiography, whether ecclesiastical or secular. There were various different interpretations, of course, lightly touched on by Jedin in his introduction to the concept of Catholic reformation: a Europe that was about to be outmoded and defeated by the incoming Age of Reason and the Enlightenment.[2]

In considering the process of confessionalization, church history naturally tended to put the spotlight on the creation of the territorial Churches. When the world of medieval *Christanitas* entered into crisis, a number of interlinked roads led to the modern era, mapping a range of concrete solutions to the vexed relationship between power and the sacred: the road of republican-civic religion; the road reviving monarchy as a sacred principle; the road of the territorial Churches; the road of Roman Catholicism.[3] Naturally these are only signposts to the vast territory that needs exploring. But quite clearly, if one fails to connect the declaration of the rights of man and the citizen to the Revolutionary reign of terror, the ensuing concordat, the crowning of Napoleon by Pope Pius VII, and so on, one will understand nothing about European history. Out of such contradictions was modern Europe born.

As far back as the fourteenth century, the movement toward creation of the territorial Churches, amid the crisis of Western schism and the rise of new monarchies and principates, is evident across the map of Europe. Gallicanism is obviously the best-known and most highly developed form, but the trend is widespread. Sovereigns tended not only to seek elimination of church surveillance and to become the "dominus beneficiorum," con-

2. Paolo Prodi, "Dalle secolarizzazioni alle religioni politiche," in *Lo Stato secolarizzato nell'età postsecolare,* ed. Gian Enrico Rusconi, (Bologna, 2008), pp. 55–92.

3. Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, *Le Cinque Piaghe della Santa Chiesa* (Lugano, 1847).

trolling the economy and thereby the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but also to take over the social and political functions that previously fell under the realm of the Church. From control over culture and the universities, to development of grammar and the vernacular, and to reorganization of welfare functions, the fifteenth century was a great laboratory ushering in the confessional age through the shaping of identities both political and religious, as well as transforming politics from an exercise of jurisdiction and administration of justice into a tool for training, molding, and regulating people's lives from birth until death. Over and above its intrinsic theological content, the Reformation in this sense becomes the most consistent and extreme manifestation of a process that was driven to compromise and ambiguity in Catholic lands: "cura religionis" became one of the prime functions of new sovereigns and their *raison d'état*, while the principle of "cuius regio eius et religio" (the region and the religion) became the main forge of collective identity in that early gestational phase of modern states. All in all, perhaps the most interesting phenomenon was the "ideologizing" of politics: a theological ideology gradually growing to the point where it could cast off the robes of theology and embark on the new religion of the nation, supplying the temporal and spiritual needs of the subjects. When the solution afforded by the territorial Churches began to come unstuck and the pressure of indirect papal power grew—the lattera new strategy of the papacy—the debate over the divine right of kings came to a head in King James I's England, causing a maelstrom of conversions and disillusionment that embraced a whole cast of actors. It is usually described as irenical waverings or a Nicodemite revival; although I think the drama of those characters (men such as Giordano Bruno and Marcantonio de Dominis) popping up in various European countries and religions of the age is the quest for a solution to the vexed relation between the new-style sovereign and the religious dimension entailing some re-employment of materials that the papacy had already devised on the subject more than one century earlier.

The rebirth of the papacy out of the council crisis—the 1440 "solstice"—is well known for the papal development of a new kind of center-to periphery relationship that salvaged its universal role and hinged on political relations with states via concordats and nunciatures rather than the traditional top-down connection with individual churches. By such devices and through major sacrifice, the popes managed across broad swaths of Europe to limit state appropriation of local churches and to preserve their own universal standing. But beneath the diatribes and agreements between states and the Church of Rome, I think we should detect a subterranean flux embodying the phenomenon of osmosis that is central to our interest.

One process that should be noted is the ensuing politicizing of structures inside the Church that, belatedly of course, was in its turn forced to assume concentrated sovereign power like modern states. In imitation of these, and in a kind of inverted secularization, it styled itself the "societas perfecta" right down to the Codex juris canonici promulgated in 1917. The modern-era process of confessionalization caused a deep-seated alteration in church structures as compared to the medieval era, as it borrowed an internal system of faithfulness from the political sphere: Christians became faithful no longer by sharing a common faith but by adopting a "professio fidei"—an ideologically defined creed or "confession."

Another phenomenon central to this process of the Church assuming the trappings of a state was the development of spiritual jurisdiction over people's consciences; a system of rules was created paralleling the expansion of the state's positive law with which it competed, especially in the seventeenth century. I have discussed into this process elsewhere but here wish to draw attention to its two-way quality: the secularizing of the moral order and the "philosophication" (so to speak) of positive law form one of the central features in this analysis of osmosis.

The wholesale demise of this process set in around the mid-eighteenth century. Not only did a series of concordats restrict the scope of spiritual jurisdiction left to the Church of Rome and the local Churches but also the Catholic world reached a high point of internal compromise with the powers of the epoch. When Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773 across the globe and even within the pontifical state (reflected worldwide in the abortive attempt to separate "spiritual conquest" and the missions from state colonization, following the dispute over rites in China and abolition of the *indians* Reductions in Latin America), it was far from a marginal episode or simple secularization as occurred with other religious orders but a measure accepted and conceived by the Church herself so as to enable the two jurisdictions, temporal and spiritual, to converge in the new state. The fact is that, in the eighteenth century, the politicizing of the Church was one of the main factors leading, on the one hand, to a crisis in the church principates (besides the decline of the pontifical state) and, on the other, to the open sore of the "worldly" Church reduced to a puppet of the state, which forms the central point in Antonio Rosmini-Serbati's denunciation after the first fury of revolution had subsided.[4]

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4. Paolo Prodi, *Profetismo e utopia nella genesi della democrazia occidentale,* in *Savonarola. Democrazia, tirannide, profezia*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence, 1998), pp. 199–211, repr. in *Profezia vs utopia,* Bologna, 2013.

I by no means wish to demean the importance of radical Christian movements—which between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries rebelled against confessionalization and the creation of territorial Churches, as well as against Rome's proposal to co-govern these last—but if there is any truth in this argument, those movements must be examined from both political and religious angles. Politically, we are interested, above all, in those that revert to the age-old principle of the *sect* that rejects the idea of a worldly Church with its ensuing compromises, in the belief that a society of *perfecti* may be set up on Earth, with saints for whom God's justice entirely coincides with earthly justice. The connections between millenarian and apocalyptic movements and the development of modern revolutionary doctrines are well known and covered by a huge amount of scholarly literature. But what seems to me to have been left in obscurity or rendered obscure is the very real osmosis of men and institutions within the political bid to change human nature and proclaim the possibility of collective historical salvation inside the fabric of the modern state.

Historians are well aware of the importance of radical religious minorities in developing the principles of liberty and democracy in the West. But when we examine these modern theological-cum-political utopias, we should duly note the element of discipline and repression that goes along with the "fundamentalist" ideal: on the one hand, the claim to religious freedom, freedom of conscience and speech, and tolerance quite unlike the line of the official Churches; on the other, repression of all internal deviation and denial of any gap between political life and religious life, morals and law, and conscience and group behavior. The contradiction clearly felt throughout the centuries of the modern era between the demand for state and church to be separate, and the creation of communities where religious obligations quite outweighed political obligations, need to be analyzed in detail if the prevailing stereotype is to be avoided of theological faith simply secularizing into revolutionary faith. The idea, in a nutshell, is that, during the modern era, we do not just have secularization of prophecy and transformation of it into utopia but the *end* of prophecy, for prophecy presupposes a hiatus between ethical command (holy or divine) and political power. That hiatus, however, is totally removed by the modern revolutionary extension in which the two commands are unified and historically grounded in the will of the people.[5] This process of

5. For a fuller summary, see Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, "Declaration on the Way: Church, Ministry and Eucharist" (Washington, DC, 2015), http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/ecumenical-and-interreligious/ecumenical/lutheran/upload/Declaration_on_the_Way-for-Website.pdf.

osmosis thus leads to a parting of the ways in the mid-eighteenth century: one way—let us call it *civic religion*—takes its cue from Montesquieu, whereas the road of *political religion* derives from Rousseau and leads (somewhat circuitously) to the political religions of the twentieth century, especially the secularized "salvationist" ideals of communism and Nazism.

Conscience and the Law

Such was the view of the West, states, and Churches when my own generation set about studying history in the aftermath of World War II, the Shoah, and the atomic bomb. Although the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council and the reformed Churches did come to terms with modernity theologically, it must be said that, like all attempts at ecumenism, this remained within the denominations, although dogmatic disputes had largely died down over the major issues that had unleashed the tempest of the Reformation: divine grace and free will, the Church and the universal priesthood of the faithful, the relationship with Holy Scripture, the meaning of the sacraments, and the Eucharist.[6]

I am well aware that I lack the competence to enter the theological arena of the effects of Luther's 1517 protest, which the upcoming anniversary meetings will examine such as the the Lund conference with an ecumenical approach. But to an artisan of history like myself, the interweaving of history and historiography on the issue of confessionalization was one of the most exhilarating sensations of the last fifty years and a personal fillip for the practicing historian, owing to the spur imparted by witnessing a world in rapid evolution yet also a persisting past upon which our current social and church structures were grounded. It was that conviction that prevented me from siding either with those who saw the Second Vatican Council as innovation and reconcilement with the modern age or (still less) with those who were tackling the problem of confessionalization.

As a neo-graduate, I had my first dawn of awareness in 1956–57 with an apprenticeship at University of Bonn under Hubert Jedin. His short volume, *Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation?* (Lucerne, 1946), represented a great interdenominational breakthrough and provided much fodder for discussion. His *History of the Council of Trent* (London, 1957) was just out in an Italian translation. From 1956–66, it was fundamental that both the Second Vatican Council reforms and confessionalization

6. Max Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," in *Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1915; New York, 1946), pp. 323–59.

came to coexist within the Catholic world as we sought a way out of the black-and-white mentality that denominational historians had thrust upon us for centuries—although it was also necessary to extend the coordinates of time and space, and incorporate the new colonies outside Europe.

When it came to the time frame, we young apprentices went along in general with Jedin's insights: no longer a modern history of the Church stretching from the religious rift, the Reformation and the Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation but one long time span stretching from the great Schism in the West and the rebirth of the papacy midway through the fifteenth century and stretching to the French Revolution and as far as our own times. This entailed reversing the traditional position to some extent. It was no longer the picture of a Church consumed by malpractice but rather a process in which Christianity, riddled with medievalism in its institutions and spirituality, had to face up to the developments of modernity on a cultural and political plane.

The great novelty lay in studying this transition in its internal complexity and its osmotic relations, quite apart from its religious wars, important though those were. Even inside the Catholic world, both components were present (reform and counter-reform), while evangelical and reformed-church historians began to display a new interest in aspects of the so-called *Zweite Reformation*—the second Reformation that consolidated the territorial Churches between the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. That new and longer view helped us to detect the parallel—although discordant and often contrary— response by the Church of Rome and the new churches to the challenge of modernity.

Within this frame of reference I was greatly influenced by Le Bras's work embracing institutions and canon law; likewise by the major insights yawning in figurative arts and music as the fifties shaded into the sixties. I set about a comparative study of the Tridentine reform in a number of dioceses (especially Milan and Bologna with their archbishops St. Carlo Borromeo and Gabriele Paleotti), as well as in their complex frictions with the centralism of the Roman Curia in which power struggles were waged even over interpreting the basic decrees of the Council of Trent.

A second chapter of my studies, from 1966 on, was primarily devoted to the papal monarchy. With its twofold face of spiritual combined with temporal power—and until it declined and was eclipsed altogether—this seemed to me to transform the whole claim of politics to mold man down to his daily behavior from the cradle to the grave: although very different,

this road ran parallel to that followed by the countries that went over to the Reformation and left it to the prince to manage the commandments of the Decalogue (second half) and church discipline.

As I have written more than once, modern politics was not born out of secularization of theology but rather from a dialectical meeting between the two poles of religion and politics, entailing constant friction but also a process of osmosis by which the Church tended to politicize (the high point being the papal monarchy in the modern era) and the state tended to take over the Church's functions of molding the citizen-subject from the cradle to the grave—an indoctrination that would culminate in the religion of the Fatherland. A ferment of different currents ran right through the Catholic and the Reformation worlds, involving politics (cross-alliances), culture, the new science, literature, and the arts, borne on a constant exchange of people and ideas; all of which left a deep cleavage in theology itself between the various spiritual orders and movements. One has only to think of figurative art or music to cut through the stereotypes of certain historians who, for all their eminence, are nonetheless in the grip of a denominational obsession in either a negative or a positive sense of the word.

This phase paved the way for investigation of the connection between spiritual jurisdiction—with its claim to universality, as propounded by Second Scholasticism and moral theology as an independent discipline—and the positive law of the various European states making great strides on the civil and criminal plane—a twofold regulatory plane upon which seventeenth-century civilization was governed and which opened the door to the philosophy and theory of subjective rights, as well as modern constitutionalism that took off in the eighteenth century.

In the 1980s, the most fertile and, to my mind, exhilarating period dawned at the Instituto Storico Italo-Germanico that involved a dialectic between incipient natural law and its religious and ethical norms, on the one hand, and positive state law, on the other. The "home team," which had begun to enjoy the extraordinary contribution of Pier Angelo Schiera (he and his wife, Giuliana Nobili, were already linked to the classic German school of history and the great theories of Otto Brunner), joined up with the new German school of history that was propounding the theory of social discipline (*Sozialdisciplinierung*). I cannot cite here the many, many study weeks organized and the books we published together—although a curious reader is free to leaf through the back numbers of the ISIG Annals—down to the pooled ideas of the nineties on the formation of collective identity. But I feel justified in claiming that that relationship

went far beyond normal academic collaboration and left its mark on the thinking of both schools of history. On the one hand, it helped give rise to a less mechanical concept of social discipline, one not confined to the splicing of top-down written rules with emerging patterns of behavior on the part of society; on the other hand, it probed deeper into the subject of individual and collective conscience, and the importance of ethics in our description of that century-long process by which there grew inside the modern state a degree of participation in the idea and body of the steadily secularizing nation, and in the birth of codes and constitutions.

Without delving into the major output of Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling on the modern state, the territorial Churches, and the expansion of that Europe across the world, one thing I can safely say: in my own research career those meetings at Trento triggered the study of the political compact; the institutional function of oath-taking in the transition from the multiple law systems of the Middle Ages to the new professions of loyalty linked to modern states and territorial Churches amid conflict, dialogue, and osmosis with the secularization process; and, lastly, the transition from the multiple law systems of the Middle Ages to the modern era's dualism between law and conscience as developed in modern constitutionalism.

As we turned the millennium, the bond with our German friends grew weaker, but I sincerely believe the road we trod together enabled us to tackle the great subjects of world history and globalization in a concordant and similar way. We paid more attention than English-speaking historians to the long time-span factor, as well as the slow unfolding of Christianity and Western civilization (whether resorting to the concept of transition or not). But, above all, I feel that our common road enables us to face the forthcoming fifth centenary of the Reformation in completely new terms. For October 2017 the Instituto Storico Italo-Germanico has scheduled a history conference worthy of that major event. I would simply like to point out here that *de nobis loquimur*; likewise to suggest that the path we have trodden together may be instrumental in our rising above the old stereotypes of history writing and contribute signally to our approach to today's problems, not just for the Churches but also for our Western civilization in crisis.

Given the limits of this talk of mine, I merely seek here to extrapolate some themes that have clearly emerged over the last fifty years from the digging and delving we have done together, if only marginally. We do have a duty to draw these themes—unfinished and unproven though they may be—to the attention of those nonhistorians on whom our future depends in a world where thinking and institutions are challenged by the major

changes in progress. Ignorance of history is the chief danger I see in the new generation.

Before and After the Second Vatican Council

In the last half-century, which began with the conclusion to the Second Vatican Council, various themes have emerged for the historian.

The End of the Age of Confessionalization. As previously mentioned, *Confessionalization* here means the changeover from a single creed, central to the liturgy and common faith of all the Churches of Europe, to professions of faith differing across European regions; as well as creeds translated into different formulas and catechisms, and linked to various symbolic and iconic manifestations of belonging. Such "confessions," beginning with the Augustan version in 1530, sprang first from the new reformed Churches and not from Rome: it would take decades and conclusion of the Council of Trent before the latter would follow suit and explore the path of catechisms and professions of faith. In the ensuing centuries political and religious pluralism would gain ground in Europe, entailing differences of interpretation and relationship vis-à-vis the secularization process embarked upon by modern nation-states.

After five centuries the age of confessionalization has ended once and for all. This applies not just to the "Tridentine paradigm" as an epoch in the Catholic Church (as a recent book of mine takes for its title) but also more broadly to the territorial Churches born from the last throes of the Middle Ages.

One should also remember that the paradox and impotence of the ecumenical movements that have tried to unify the Christian Churches in recent decades lie in the fact that, whereas rifts in creed and theology are being bridged or at least are losing importance—although, five centuries ago, they led to religious wars and division, as over the issue of "grace"—marked ruptures still observed in disciplines and institutions, while even inside the individual Churches the structures were, more or less alike, in a crisis, from theology faculties for the training of clergy and pastors, parishes, and so on.

The Effects of State Religion on Democracy. If in the five centuries since the Reformation we have had not just a process of secularization but also a dialectical process of osmosis between the religious and the political sphere, then the end of state religion or religion linked to ethnic origins has

repercussions on both the institutions of the Bill of Rights and on democracy itself. If this dualism between political power and religious power was a basic component in building the Bill of Rights and democracy, the end of the age of confessionalization cannot fail to bring a devastating upheaval in the identity processes of nations and intermediate social groups. The failure of the most wide-ranging policies of multiculturalism and secularism over the last few decades is due precisely to their roots in the end of this era of Reformation and the Tridentine Church.

The Effects of Radical Christianity. At the same time as confessionalization set in around 1517, movements of radical Christianity sprang up that belonged neither to the Church of Rome nor to the new territorial Churches, although in the intervening centuries down to our day they played a fundamental role in maintaining the dualism to which I have referred. No need even to wait for events in England to unfold: the long public rise and fall of St. Thomas More, Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy over the Church of England, and More's death on the scaffold in 1535. Utopia was strictly connected with the new religious-cum-political movements; it transformed into ideology branching off from the path of radical Christianity and the road that led to the founding of new territorial Churches in their varying relations to princes or to up-and-coming republican communities. For its part, radical Christianity would split either into sects that believed that utopia could be attained by a new society of *perfecti*, a chosen people devoted to building the "Kingdom of Christ" on Earth, or into those somehow remaining anchored to the world of Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas More but who saw themselves increasingly debarred from any kind of influence upon society except through the experience of persecution and martyrdom: Francesco Pucci, Giordano Bruno, and Tommaso Campanella (to name but a few). They were banished from Europe and regarded with suspicion by all in political power, whatever their creed. In persecuting them the Holy Inquisition seemed to perform a common service in the new Europe of States (whatever their faith), preventing backsliding into the past of popes and emperors that the new denominational states viewed with aversion.

Clearly, like all model utopias by religious sects claiming to set up the City of God on earth, that model was rejected, defeated by the new state system and scattered in various channels. It might be the ideal of an archaic golden age, picking up that age-old myth but under a quite different guise by its very utopianism and offering the prospect of a new age of justice and equality; or it might be the myth of the "promised land" into which North American Puritanism and other forms of millenarianism channeled their

yearning for a fresh start. Nowadays, with the end of confessionalization and the spawning of evangelical or do-it-yourself pseudo-evangelical movements, we must also reckon with the problem of losing another important binding force of Western civilization: the end of all prophecy/utopia upon which to base the vision of a future society where justice may prevail.

The Vexed Relationship between Power and the Sacred. As previously noted, modern politics did not stem from the secularization of theological thinking but from a dialectical combination of the religious and the political pole, in a process of rivalry and osmosis whereby the Church tended to politicize (the high point being the papal monarchy in the modern era), and the state tended to take over the Church's functions of molding the citizen-subject from the cradle to the grave—an indoctrination that would culminate in the religion of the Fatherland. When the world of medieval *Christianitas* entered into crisis, a number of interlinked roads beckoned toward the modern era as they explored a range of concrete solutions to the vexed relationship between power and the sacred: the road of republican-civic religion, the road reviving monarchy as a sacred principle, the road of the territorial Churches, and the road of Roman Catholicism (based on concordats and nunciatures). A ferment of different currents ran right through the Catholic and the Reformation worlds, involving politics (cross-alliances), culture, the new science, literature, and the arts, borne on a constant exchange of people and ideas; all of which caused a deep cleavage in theology itself between the various spiritual orders and movements. Again, in the field of theological and philosophical speculation, the frontier—thought projected into the future, the gap between prophecy/parrhesia on one side and power on the other—increasingly shifted from inside religions to the new currents of public opinion and the press, whilst carrying over certain tenets of theology and ethics that gradually extended to the newly discovered and colonized continents. This, too, is an area we have trodden for centuries and now find it is being challenged as the era of confessionalization wanes.

What needs to be added to this recapitulation is that this was not only a Europe still engrossed in culture and Latin, Roman law, the interweaving of new literary genres, new tonal music, melodrama, and so forth but also an integrated economic community, a "respublica mercatorum," a land of new financial capitalism whose frontiers can hardly be seen as coinciding with the old religious fault-lines, even though they did assume a common "fides" at the basis of credit: the atmosphere of trust among men of different religious beliefs that Voltaire himself noted as the air being breathed at the London Stock Exchange in the 1720s.

The Distinctions between Sin and Crime. I believe that during the centuries of the age of confessionalization an essential distinction formed between *sin*, meaning disobedience to the law of one's professed religion or code of morality, and *crime*, meaning disobeying the state's positive law. At the heart of the process of the Church assuming state characteristics and politics growing theological, running parallel with the expansion of positive state law but quite separate from and competing with it, there formed an area of spiritual jurisdiction over conscience—a system of norms within every community that, if infringed, was likewise deemed blameworthy, although not subject to penalty: state law gradually became a defense against the outside, the frontier of a territory that was governed by domestic rules of its own that everyone recognized. The forms here diverged and contrasted, from the confession of sins, defined as a sacrament by the Council of Trent, to public airing of faults or private conferring with pastors. A great transformation took place right across Europe, especially in the seventeenth century. I have gone into this process elsewhere but here wish simply to stress its two-way nature: secularization of morality and "philosophication" (as it were) of positive law via a bill of "human rights" formed a central feature in the development of this Europe of ours. I sense that this distinction between sin as disobedience to ethical rules and crime as infringement of state or meta-state positive law is now waning or has already vanished, equally among international finance speculators and among new generations of schoolchildren (not just in the banlieues) who are blithely unaware of the Decalogue. I have already argued that this represents collapse of one of the two pillars on which *Homo europaeus* was built. Law itself now perches on one leg—as Jacques Ellul said years ago: it commits suicide when it identifies with political or economic power. Attempts by neo-Illuministes to create artificial legs by meta-law à la John Rawls or similar efforts seem to me no substitute for religious support by Churches that is now on the wane. The last century's tragedies appear not to have vanished but to have spread their net in new-millennium globalization.

The Effects of Monotheistic Religions of the Middle and Far East. The demise of the age of religious creeds, the Tridentine Church, and the territorial Churches shifts the identity boundaries from the heartland of the Western system to the wide world and the other universal religions: monotheistic religions born in the Mediterranean area and those of the age-old East. This has given concrete reality to the brilliant comparison that Max Weber suggested a century ago on the plane of theory, history, and anthropology.[7] Failure to register this shift is causing terrible confusion not just in reportage of ongoing wars but even in the analyses of experts. Obviously in a few lines I cannot do justice to the complex issues that stem from this

simple statement. I have tried to do so elsewhere. But amid the storms of our present times it becomes a historian's duty to point them out. Clearly the major debate now running for decades as to the connection between monotheism and violence seems a tendentious field at this time of mushrooming killings and atrocities in God's name. To delve into past millennia for the historical roots might prove a false trail.

More and more I have come to believe that, since the founding of the Israeli State, the Jewish-Semitic world has become a prime case, the cutting edge of the West's attempt to reconcile—as some think still possible—an ongoing process of confessionalization of public life (strictly bound up with religions and ethnic belonging) with the full guarantees of a Bill of Rights. This formidable gamble involves us all in a welter of guilt for our past of political religions that no longer exists except for the (clearly important) memory of the Shoah.

The Effects of Islam. As for the consequences of Western de-confessionalization at the interface with Islam, if we wish to understand the rise of the latter and its attractiveness even within historical Christendom—something we would never have imagined even thirty years ago—I would mention two points that have emerged from history research in the last few years. First, I feel that Islam stemmed from a heresy that germinated within Christianity, which then developed and diverged more and more doctrinally but contained at its heart rejection of the Church as an institution; there never has been an institutional structure without its somehow identifying with political power. If, by way of a solution to the issues of secularism and cohabitation, one could create a responsible independent organization—a Church of Islam, as it were—Islam would no longer be Islam. That is why today we badly need a reminder of the long labor of war and conflict that Christianity had to go through over the centuries, as well as the process of de-confessionalization. Historically, Islam has involved many experiments with relations between political power and the religious community (*umma*); there have been countless theories purporting to solve the problems of compromise brought about by territorial expansion. In the Muslim religion, however, certain features have remained—rooted partly in Byzantine tradition or Mosaic law tailored to desert-dwellers—whereby the political chief is God's representative on Earth without intermediaries or the limitation of institutions, while legally there is no positive canonical legislation separate (or nearly so) from the radical or moderate positions of the faith.

The second point is that Muslims living inside this Christendom identified with the West but now witnessing the demise of creeds cannot

perceive the difference between right and wrong. Of course, we should not ignore the causes due to social and economic conditions in the *banlieues* and inner jungle of our cities, or the perhaps more widespread instances of personal pathology; but the attraction of Islam, especially among the younger generation, can only be explained by a void in the path of salvation caused by a breakdown in the scheme of redemption that the Christian Churches used to represent.

The Effects of Far Eastern Religions. The complexity grows—and, with it, the superficiality of my present treatment—when it comes to the effects of the end of confessionalization at the interface with religions of the Far East. The loss of dualism between religion and politics, and hence Europe's inability—via permanent revolution, pluralism, and dynamism—to outline a world different from the present, comes up against the various contentions of Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Tao, and similar philosophies, such that in an unchanging cosmos, heavenly and earthly power coincide to form a universe where every creature has its appointed place. As regards China in particular, until a few years back the problem could be seen in the perspective of the two churches: the church remaining faithful to Rome and the church controlled by the Communist Party. Nowadays, with the extraordinary development of neo-Confucianism, the problem has broadened onto the cultural and spiritual plane to the point of involving the civilization of the Middle Empire in all its dimensions. The old system largely inherited from European Marxism has dissolved, but in the megalopolises and the countryside are we glimpsing a change of civilization going beyond the new technology? As I experienced for myself as president of the central Board for History Studies, when Italian and Chinese historians convened to prepare the international conference held last year in Jinan, the main concern of the Chinese delegation was to show China's perfect continuity from the empire 3000 years ago down to the turbo-capitalism of today. The watchword was the alleged harmony of tradition and modernity, past and present; there was a pronounced tendency to ignore all points of conflict, rupture, contradiction, or history as a process of becoming. The problem is whether it is possible to alter the "heavenly mandate" and whether man, European or otherwise, can choose between good and evil, and select a personal road to salvation.

New Paradigms for Historians

The first motion I put forward today for discussion from the observatory of religious history is that the Second Vatican Council did not open a new era but closed the Age of Trent by reconciling the Churches with

modernity. That does not detract from its importance but makes the debate sterile between the proponents of continuity and those of the clean break such as characterized the ensuing decades.

The second motion is that the whole edifice of the West is collapsing, *pace* those who claim that, with the end of the age of confessionalization, the whole edifice of European civilization can stand upon the single platform devised by secularization during the Age of Enlightenment: the constitutional Bill of Rights. Let there be no misunderstanding. We cannot put the clock back, but multiculturalism has proved itself impotent, and it remains to be seen if—and with what—we can replace the dialectic and distinction of powers that gave the West its identity during the confessional era.

Hence, 2017 is not just a fifth centenary. The impression remains that, in recent decades, we have been through a most unusual experience in which the history of events and the historiography of pondering them have interwoven as rarely happens. On a small scale, that applies to Trento, the place where the great crossroads of modern Europe was negotiated at the outset of this cycle of centuries.

As my opening quote from a student illustrates, it is perhaps we who have lost the ability to speak "de futuro." We are quite unable to predict the future, any future. We do not see a situation of war such as we witnessed in centuries past, when hostilities were declared, armies were ranged against each other, and so forth. We continue to speak of war, but we are well aware that the daily assaults on our complex society go beyond all frontiers, physical or ideological. New technology has not only brought conflict into daily life but also, by media coverage, has cancelled the distinction between real death and imaginary death, especially among individuals whom loss of collective identity has rendered psychologically fragile. Belonging to a class, a nation, or a religious community is as nothing, for all the (no doubt legitimate) arguments of the sociologists, anthropologists, and psychiatrists as to the reasons behind each suicide-bomb attack—a jumble of claims that confound the traditional Islamic line of thinking upon which our specialists expend their breath.

What is unleashing youngsters against the West is the future void. It is also the point on which the mono- and multicultural approaches collapse in contradiction. The old coordinates have come adrift not only in the West but also within Islam. We historians should be the first to say that if we are unaware of our denominational past these last five decades, we

cannot build our own future. But the opposite is also true: without a guideline linking past to future, we are unable to survive. If there is any truth in all of this, then it is quite mistaken to harp on terrorism alone and try to distinguish moderate Islamism from extremism. Of course, we must fight with every weapon we have against attacks on our democratic institutions and our civil rights. But the central issue is for the young to be able to glimpse an identity and a future for themselves, a story of redemption, a forum inside which their *arbitrium* (in its various meanings) can be drawn upon, over and above the law in accordance with Luther's appeal: the call of conscience, of the right to find one's own road to salvation, is certainly the greatest legacy bequeathed by the Reformation to Europe that we are expected to carry over into the scenarios of the future.

What Was the Catholic Reformation? Marian Piety and the Universalization of Divine Love

DAMIEN TRICOIRE*

This article has three aims. First, it reacts to the doubts expressed recently about the possibility of making generalizations about Catholicism after the Council of Trent. Second, it discusses the different uses of the term "Catholic Reformation" and proposes a definition that involves a movement toward the universalization of divine love. And third, it also discusses the success of confessionalization in some parts of Europe and the reasons why it was not a top-down process. The emphasis on disciplining endeavors in the analysis of the history of confessionalization misses the integrative character of various devotional practices in Baroque Europe and fails to pay sufficient attention to the religious constraints affecting political actors.

Keywords: *Baroque piety, Catholic Reformation, Counter-Reformation, confessionalization, Marian devotion*

In 1630 French Jesuit François Poiré published "The Triple Crown of the Mother of God," a thick treatise in two volumes about the Virgin Mary.[1] Poiré's central idea was that the Holy Virgin is the queen of heaven and earth in a triple way. She is perfect ("first crown"), she is almighty ("second crown"), and she is most benevolent with her servants ("third crown"). Since she is the "most beloved daughter of God," the "spouse of the Holy Spirit," the "elder sister of all pure creatures," the "only immaculate," the "queen of all virtues," the "honor of Heaven and earth,"[2] she has been chosen to have power even over the Almighty. As the mother of God, she has authority over her son; as the spouse of God, she shares the same rights with her husband. She is "leader of the church," "general of its

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1. François Poiré, *La Triple Couronne de la bienheureuse Vierge mère de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1630).

2. *Ibid.*, I, 1st treatise.

armies," "treasurer . . . of the divine graces," and "queen and mistress of the universe."[3] Her power is "eternal. . . , changeless. . . , boundless, . . . admitted both on earth and in Heaven."[4]

Poiré's book is an excellent summary of Marian doctrine in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe. At the same time, Poiré placed his own particular accents by drawing some conclusions. For him, Mary's infinite goodness to the pious believer was not only a great treasure and the "principle of [the believer's] eternal felicity."[5] The love given by the Virgin was also the sign that he or she has been chosen by God to be among the elect. In turn, the sign of Mary's predilection for the devout believer was the love that person felt for Mary. In other words, being devout was an unequivocal proof of predestination.[6] For the faithful who really felt love for the Mother of God, such a message may have been a reassuring, and perhaps an uplifting, one.

As the doctrine of predestination is commonly associated with Calvinism, it may be surprising to see a Jesuit author drawing on the theme of Providence so much as to affirm the existence of the elect. Yet Poiré was clearly not considered as a heterodox thinker within the Society of Jesus. "The Triple Crown of the Mother of God" was a highly successful book that was issued in several editions and translations. It seems to have helped its author to make a good career in the order. In 1632, two years after its publication, he was named rector of the prestigious Collège de la Trinité in Lyon.[7] Furthermore, Poiré was not the only one to assert that devotion toward the Holy Virgin was a clear proof of salvation. Many authors of seventeenth-century Marian pietistic literature, whether or not they belonged to the Society of Jesus, showed in their publications a similar highly optimistic view of divine love, even if they developed various theological systems. There was clearly a movement within the Roman Church aiming at reassuring the devout but imperfect faithful.

This article relies on such observations as the development of an optimistic predestination doctrine to make a general point about the nature of Catholic Reformation. It aims to give an overall picture about endeavors to change ideas about the relationships between heaven and earth in Catholi-

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3. *Ibid.*, I, 2nd treatise, pp. 1–231.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 2nd treatise, pp. 232–33.
5. *Ibid.*, II, 3rd treatise, p. 270.
6. *Ibid.*, II, 3rd treatise.
7. Hugues Beylard, "Francois Poiré," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, ed. André Rayez and Marcel Viller, vol. 12 (Paris, 1984), p. 1830.

cism around 1600. Like all generalizations, the one proposed here is fragile because some counter-examples can always be found. Recently, Bridget Heal even raised doubts whether it makes sense at all to generalize about the shape and nature of Marian piety in post-Tridentine Catholicism. Heal argues that diversity was too great: whereas a new Baroque Catholicism emerged in some places, in others a much greater continuity existed with the late Middle Ages.[8] This does not serve to deny diversity in Catholicism or to imply that a sudden religious revolution took place everywhere in Europe. However, it is possible to identify broad tendencies in the religious endeavors of Catholic elites at the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century.

There are two reasons that make it necessary to draw a general picture of Catholic Reformation. First, notional confusion still predominates in the research about Catholicism in early-modern times. The Protestant Reformation is defined easily as a movement of renewal of the Roman Church that eventually led to the foundation of new confessions and confessional churches based on a theology of justification by faith alone, free grace, and recourse to Holy Scripture alone as the criterion of truth. In comparison, it is anything but easy to summarize the ecclesiastical and religious evolutions of the Roman Church in the early-modern period. The troubles begin with the naming of these changes. Indeed, the terms abound—"Counter-Reformation," "Catholic Reformation," "Catholic Renewal," "Baroque Catholicism," "post-Tridentine Catholicism," "early- modern Catholicism"—and historians often have difficulties in choosing one. The nineteenth-century German confessional contest led to the creation of several terms and counter-terms that, precisely because of their apologetic origins, should be employed with great care. Refusing to reduce Catholic regeneration to Counter-Reformation—that is, to religious reaction—German historians introduced the terms "Catholic Reformation" and "Catholic Reform" in the second half of the nineteenth century. For Ludwig von Pastor and Hubert Jedin, these terms were attractive because they implied that the movement of renovation of the church took roots before Martin Luther. Jedin insisted, above all, on the Council of Trent that was, according to him, the moment when the reform achieved official recognition. Thus, thanks to the notion of "Catholic Reformation," Catholic historians intended to break the Protestant monopoly on reformation.[9]

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8. Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany. Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (New York, 2007), p. 3.

9. Hubert Jedin, *Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil* (Lucerne, 1946);

A recent attempt to avoid the polemic and apologetic implications of these different notions was made by John W. O'Malley. According to the Jesuit historian, the terms "Counter-Reformation" and "Catholic Reformation" can bring only limited aspects of Catholic history to the fore. As the history of Catholicism is marked by a great diversity and a tension between continuity and change, we should use the more neutral term "early-modern Catholicism" as an umbrella under which "Counter-Reformation," "Catholic Reform(ation)," "post-Tridentine Catholicism," and "Confessional Age," among others, could coexist. In O'Malley's view, the term "Catholic Reform(ation)" should, like the very word *reformatio* on which it is based, designate the efforts to "improve" the Church since the fifteenth century. However, as O'Malley has explained, the word *reformatio* had been already used for many centuries, and even between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries the reform approaches were very diverse.[10] Thus the term, as it is understood by O'Malley, has many meanings and cannot be used to designate phenomena of a particular epoch in Catholic history. On the other hand, if the use of "Catholic Reformation" is restricted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then a parallel is suggested between Protestant and Catholic confessions, as was intended by the German historians who invented it. In this article, the question of the correct application of the term "Catholic Reformation" is addressed and the term is accepted as an appropriate concept when writing the history of early-modern Catholicism. The argument is based mainly on the evolution of Marian piety and it demonstrates that these and other characteristics of refashioned Catholicism enable one to draw a parallel between Protestant and Catholic history.

It seems necessary to generalize about religious endeavors in Catholicism around 1600 because it is important to reconsider some of the reasons why this church was successful. Of course, an analysis of all reasons that led to a strengthening of Catholicism is well beyond the scope of this article. However, it seems essential to react to the undifferentiated view developed in the so-called "confessionalization" research. Originating in German social history, the concept of "confessionalization" highlights the instru-

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John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), pp. 19–71. In this article, the term "Catholic Reformation" is used rather than "Catholic Reform," because the former is more common in English. However, both terms have similar meanings, as Jedin insists, and were created to affirm the existence of a genuine reform movement in the Roman Church, and not only among the Protestants. A slight difference is that "Catholic Reform" suggests a bit less a parallel between both reform movements; see Jedin, *Katholische Reformation*, p. 32.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 119–41 (especially 130–34).

mentalization of church life by political agents who aimed to build up state authority. It sees the confessional evolution largely as an effect of disciplinary measures imposed by the state. Postulating that confessional identity has been a tool to create territorial identity, research on confessionalization has shown little interest in religious contents as such. Wolfgang Reinhard has even consciously excluded religion from his research design.[11] To be sure, Heinz Schilling, the other father of the confessionalization thesis, has paid more attention to religious patterns in the last years and has diagnosed a turn to "confessional fundamentalism" in Calvinism as well as in Catholicism around 1600.[12]

The point here is not to claim that political actors did not use coercion or did not try to use religious ideas and practices to strengthen their authority—indeed, this was an essential part of politics in Baroque Europe—but that they were bound to religious patterns that were not arbitrary and have their own history. For example, one cannot understand the recourse to the Virgin Mary as a patroness of the state without studying the religious dynamics of Marian piety in general.[13] Political actors defined their interests and acted in a religious framework that they could stimulate but hardly create. Indeed, it is impossible to understand the relative success of the confessionalization policy in territories of the Holy Roman Empire like Bavaria without comprehending the religious needs of at least a significant part of the population and the devotional practices promoted by the Church. For this reason, in the past years, the "top-down" approach of confessionalization research has been often criticized. Scholars like Marc Forster have challenged the old view according to which we can clearly differentiate between a popular and an elite religion, demonstrating that the needs of the elite and those of persons belonging to 'lower' strata of society were convergent.[14] It has also been recently established that the re-

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11. Wolfgang Reinhard, "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?" in *Katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Münster, 1995), pp. 419–51, especially 426–28; Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft: Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigma," in *ibid*., pp. 1–49.

12. Heinz Schilling, "Gab es um 1600 in Europa einen Konfessionsfundamentalismus? Die Geburt des internationalen Systems in der Krise des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Jahrbuch des historischen Kollegs* (2005), 69–93.

13. Damien Tricoire, *Mit Gott rechnen. Katholische Reform und politisches Kalkül in Frankreich, Bayern und Polen-Litauen* (Göttingen, 2013), esp. pp. 71–80, 171–94, 269–85, 319–27.

14. Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of Baroque. Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (New York, 2001), pp. 11–15.

Catholicization of territories like the Upper Palatinate and Bohemia was as much the effect of persuasion as of coercion.[15] Therefore, this article aims to provide some reflections about the nature of these devotional practices and the religious demand that enabled the success of Catholic elites in converting and confessionalizing people. In doing so, it shows that Schilling's thesis, according to which there was a turn to "confessional fundamentalism," hardly grasps the evolutions of Catholicism around 1600, which on the contrary was marked by a sharp decline in apocalyptic fears.

After having given an overview about the history of piety in medieval times and the early sixteenth century, this article will discuss the problems of the term "Catholic Reformation." It will then examine the features of the Marian cult in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and show the overall coherence between its evolutions and other trends in Catholicism, before making some concluding remarks.

In doing so, it will defend three theses: first, Marian piety and other devotional and religious practices show that Catholicism experienced around 1600 a movement, taking up, emphasizing, and generalizing certain late medieval approaches and inventing new ones, with the result of asserting the universal character of divine love, that is, the idea that virtually everybody is called to piety and salvation, regardless of his social condition or national identity. It will show that Catholic elites propagated optimistic doctrines about human salvation and tried to integrate different social groups and nations in Europe and overseas into a universal structure encompassing earth and heaven. As a loving mother having power over her Son, and beloved by Him, the Virgin Mary played a central role in giving men and women, families, social groups and nations a place in the hierarchy of divine love. Furthermore, it will focus on the various means of salvation promoted by church leadership in order to grasp the thrust of Catholic Reformation. A detailed study of local reception processes cannot be presented here, but it is clear that local populations on the whole accepted and adopted the Church's devotional practices. Even so, it is generally very difficult to make a distinction between the religion of the educated and that of a vast part of the population.

Second, the use of the term "Catholic reform," which at first glance seems problematic because of the fundamental differences between the

15. Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia. Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York, 2009); and Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles. The Counter-Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Burlington, VT, 2009).

Protestant and Catholic theologies, is justified to designate the universalist endeavors to develop more positive relationships between earth and heaven. Third, "Catholic Reformation," understood as a movement toward a universalization of divine love, barely begins with Trent but rather in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

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Well into the sixteenth century, the dominant religious discourse in most parts of Europe condemned the world as the kingdom of sin. This idea often went hand in hand with a widespread and strong eschatological fear.[16] For numerous preachers, the corruption of society was a clear sign of God's wrath. Thus, in the late fifteenth century, during the French invasion of Italy, Girolamo Savonarola took power in Florence on the ground of a program of religious and moral purification. Eschatological fears even led to the emergence of millenarian mass movements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The radical wing of the "Hussite revolution" in Bohemia had a marked millenarian character.[17] In the second half of the sixteenth century, the French kingdom experienced a destructive apocalyptic dynamic that peaked in the mystical experience of the Parisian *Ligue*.[18]

To be sure, most religious reforms and movements related to late medieval asceticism were not violent. One can note the concentration on the Passion of Christ, which was also related to the condemnation of the world and the fears it provoked. To show the suffering of the God-man was to point out that even if men were generally unworthy of Him, salvation was possible: the oblation of the God-man signified His infinite mercy.[19] In the search for salvation, the disciples of the *devotio moderna* tried to imitate Christ in his self-sacrificial sufferings. Several religious orders were reformed in order to enforce the Observant ideal in cloisters, the earthly place of expiation *par excellence*. Other reformers were less rad-

16. Jean Delumeau notes that this thesis is in large part accepted by scholars. See Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles): Une cité assiégée* (Paris, 1978), pp. 198-99, 218–23, 232–53; Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu : La violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1990), I, pp. 102–235; *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky and František Šmahel (Prague, 1996).

17. Ibid., pp. 11–23.

18. Crouzet, *Les Guerriers,* II.

19. Dupront, "Vie et création religieuses," 494; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 351; Bernd Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen 'reformatio' zur Reformation: Der Prozeß normativer Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft in Deutschland," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 84 (1993), 7-82, here 25.

ical, but insisted, like Jean Gerson, on personal devotion and feelings.[20] The strong Eucharistic piety of that time was closely related to all these pious movements. The Eucharist was an expiatory sacrifice restoring the good relationship between believers and God; it thus had the function of turning away God's wrath. As a sacrament, it demonstrated the union of Christianity with its Lord, especially during the annual communion at Easter and the Corpus Christi processions.[21] In a religion emphasizing the corruption of men, it was also considered to give salvation. For these reasons, movements asking for frequent, weekly communion, developed in France and the Holy Roman Empire, especially in Prague.[22]

Another way to try to avoid God's punishment was to turn to the Queen of Heaven. As several scholars have noted, in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Europe, the function of the Marian cult was generally related to the dominant "religion of fear": The Mother of God protected humanity from God's wrath.[23] Her participation in Christ's Passion made her intercession especially effective.[24] Therefore, iconographic representations of the Mother of Sorrow, of the *Mater misericordiae* and of the Sheltering-cloak Madonna were very popular at the time.[25] The common condemnations of the world as an empire of sin and the related fears of an imminent divine punishment inspired a massive Marian cult: because God was considered a severe father and His mercy was uncertain, only His mother could be counted on to return the love she was given, helping men to have worldly as well as spiritual success.

As several scholars have pointed out, Lutheran and Calvinist Reformations were also movements aiming to overcome eschatological fears. Luther's doctrine considered human salvation as free (*sola gratia*), which meant greater security for the believer (*sola fide*).[26] Through the affirmation

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20. Hamm, „Von der spätmittelalterlichen ‚reformatio'," 11–23, 27–28, 31–32.

21. John Bossy, "The Mass as a social institution, 1200–1700," *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 29–61, here 59; Concerning late medieval Eucharistic piety, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

22. Bossy, "The Mass," 59; Thomas A. Fudge, *Jan Hus: Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia* (London, 2010), pp. 151–163.

23. Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen 'reformatio'," 25–26; Alphonse Dupront, *Du Sacré: Croisades et pèlerinages, images et langages* (Paris, 1987), pp. 163-70.

24. Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen ‚reformatio'," 25.

25. Jean Delumeau, *Rassurer et Protéger: Le sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois* (Paris, 1989), pp. 261–89; Dupront, "Vie et création religieuses," 511; Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen 'reformatio'," 25–26.

26. Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen ‚reformatio'," 11–23, 27–28, 31–32.

that the Almighty was radically different than men and His grace totally free, Calvin's doctrine can be interpreted as a reaction to the panicky search for the signs of God's wrath.[27]

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In this context of strong eschatological fear, when can one determine the beginning of a new Catholic reform movement and what were its characteristics? In recent historiography, the use of the terms "Tridentine" or "post-Tridentine Catholicism" is common, suggesting the Council of Trent as the beginning of Catholic Reformation.[28] Whereas most scholars are skeptical about the idea of a continuous reform movement between 1500 and 1600, they often seem to follow implicitly the narrative of Jedin that sees an epochal break in the Council of Trent. For this reason, the term *Catholic Reformation* mostly denominates the Council of Trent and the endeavors to apply its decrees on an international scale along with the founding of new orders.[29] But such a definition may appear far from satisfying. One can identify two reasons for that.

First, even if the Tridentine endeavors to define and enforce norms were a decisive step in the establishment of a Catholic confessional church, the very notion of "reformation" suggests a parallel to Luther's work in the fields of theology and piety that is problematic. The scope of the Tridentine decrees seems hardly comparable to what was at the core of the Protestant Reformation. In fact, the Lutheran Reformation was not just about eradicating abuses or disciplining and educating the clergy. As Bernd Hamm has put it, it was a "movement disrupting the whole system of religion and religiously determined medieval society, through the recourse to the norm and the legitimacy principle of the Holy Scriptures."[30] Obviously,

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27. Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, I, pp. 143–62, 219–22.

28. Some examples are R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (New York, 2005), p. 80; and Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Catholicism," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Geert H Janssen, Alexandra Bamji, and Mary Laven (Farnham, UK, 2013), pp. 15–31.

29. See, for example, the outstanding overview of the Catholic reformation by Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London, 1999). By contrast, a recent relativization of Trent's centrality is Ditchfield, "Catholic Reformation," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Marshall (Oxford, 2015), pp. 152–85, here 168–71.

30. Bernd Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen 'reformatio' zur Reformation," 7: "eine Umbruchsbewegung gegenüber dem System von Religion und religiös bestimmter Gesellschaft des Mittelalters in der Rückbesinnung auf die Norm und das Legitimationsprinzip der Hl. Schrift." Similar ideas in Bernd Hamm, "Einheit und Vielfalt der Reformation—oder: was die Reformation zur Reformation machte," in: Bernd Hamm, Bernd

the same cannot be said of the Tridentine decrees. Even if Trent clarified many points of doctrine, it above all confirmed traditions; this may not be sufficient to consider it as an equivalent of such a revolution as the Lutheran Reformation has been. To justify the use of the term *Catholic Reformation*, it would be necessary to search for religious patterns fulfilling at least a similar function to that of Protestant *sola gratia* theology—that is, as has been here shown, to reassure believers of the path to salvation.

Second, there are significant differences between the style of piety that predominated at Trent and the highly optimistic one of seventeenth-century Jesuits like Poiré, as historians of mentalities have shown. As Alphonse Dupront put it, after Trent most Catholics turned away from a "religion of the suffering God" to a "religion of glory."[31] In his view, the council fathers lived in a world of religious fear. St. Charles Borromeo, the first Theatines, and the first Jesuits called for repentance, condemned worldly life, and were uncertain about their salvation.[32] These rather ascetic ideals of the Tridentine reformers were hardly something new, as we have seen.

In comparison to the sixteenth-century proliferation of movements drawing on and reacting to eschatological fears, seventeenth-century Catholic history seems much more serene. Even if eschatological fears did not disappear, the dominant discourse and iconographic representations suggested more security in matters of salvation. Strikingly, violent mass movements emerging from millenarian expectations largely disappeared from Catholicism after 1600. This observation seems valid even for the

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Moeller, and Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformationstheorien: Ein kirchenhistorischer Disput über Einheit und Vielfalt der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1995), pp. 57–127, here 64–65.

31. Dupront, "Vie et création religieuses dans la France moderne," in *La France et les Français*, ed. Michel François (Paris, 1972), pp. 491-577, here 494. Further: Peter Burschel, "Schöne Passionen: Zur Konfessionalisierung des Leidens in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Religion und Gewalt: Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen, 1500–1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz and Kim Siebenhüner (Göttingen, 2006), pp. 249–64; *idem*, "Paradiese der Gewalt: Martyrium, Imagination und die Metamorphosen des nachtridentinischen Heiligenhimmels," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs* (2001), pp. 139–81; Matthias Pohlig, "Konfessionskulturelle Deutungsmuster internationaler Konflikte um 1600—Kreuzzug, Antichrist, Tausendjähriges Reich," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 93 (2002), 278–316; Bruno Maës, *Le Roi, la Vierge et la Nation: pèlerinages et identité nationale entre guerre de Cent ans et Révolution* (Paris, 2003), pp. 167–72.

32. Alphonse Dupront, "Autour de saint Filippo Neri: de l'optimisme chrétien," in *Genèses des temps modernes: Rome, les Réformes et le Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 2001), pp. 207–35, here 26–27.

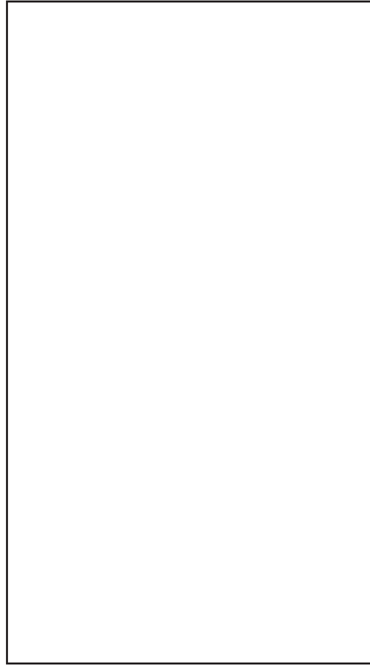

FIGURE 1: The Holy Virgin as Immaculate and Mighty Empress, on the top of the Munich Marian column (sculptor: Hubert Gerhard, late 16th century; placed on the column since 1638; photograph of the author).

Thirty Years' War period in the Holy Roman Empire: as Matthias Pohlig has shown, this great conflict was preceded by only few pamphlets drawing on apocalyptical themes in Catholic Germany.[33]

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The evolution of Marian piety is a good indicator of changes in the dominant religious discourse, practice, and iconography. Seventeenth-century religious art shows a different image than the late-medieval one: very often, the Mother of God appears as the glorious Queen of Heaven and Earth, praised by the whole celestial court, and as the Immaculate, the victor over evil.[34] The iconography of the Assumption, the Coronation,

33. Pohlig, "Konfessionskulturelle Deutungsmuster."
34. Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen ‚reformatio'," 44.

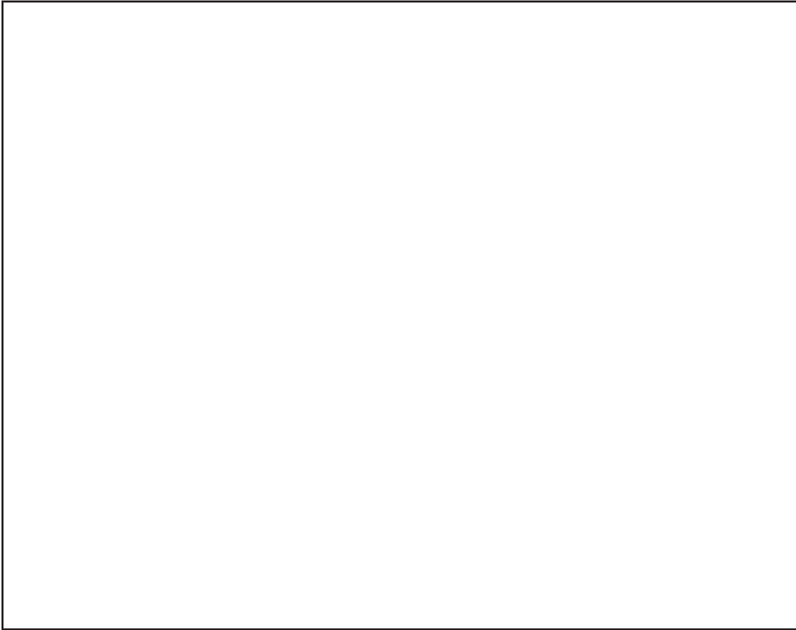

FIGURE 2: The Immaculate Virgin in glory (stucco, design of Fischer von Erlach, Salzburg, Kollegienkirche, around 1700; photograph of the author).

and especially the Immaculate Conception—very common in engravings, paintings, and sculptures of the time—highlighted both her universal rule and her infinite kindness.[35] (figs. 1 and 2) Such pictures carried a message to the devout: great favors awaited from such a powerful and good patroness, benevolently governing heaven and earth. More than late-

35. Kyra Belán, *Madonnas. From Medieval to Modern* (New York, 2001), pp. 134–40; Wincenty Odymalski, *Wizerunek doskonałey świątobliwości* . . . (Kraków, 1660); Wojciech Grabiecki, *Triumph niezwyciężoney krolowey* . . . (Warszawa, 1660), folio 3; Jan Nieliski, *O Najświętszej Bogarodzicy* . . . (Kraków, 1636); Ėtienne Binet, *Tessera salutis* . . . (Augsburg, 1618); Benedict Gonon, *Chronicon SS. Deiparae* . . . (Lyon, 1637). See also the following engravings in the Polish National Library: Czytelnia Zbiorów Ikonograficznych, T.I-100, G.66197; Sz. 7, G.2231, T.I-57, G.22.432; Sz. 7, G.2208. The Marian columns of Munich, Freising, Münster, Vienna, Prague, and of a great number of other central European towns show the Immaculate Virgin: Susan Tipton, "'Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis. . . .' Zur Entstehung der Mariensäulen im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed. Dieter Breuer, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 375–97. Regarding such paintings, see Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente: Étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe, du XVIIIe siècle. Italie—France—Espagne—Flandres* (Paris, 1932), pp. 29-48.

medieval expressions, seventeenth-century Marian iconography enhanced the universal power and glory of the Queen of Heaven as such, not pointing out her protection from God's wrath or her participation in her son's oblation, but glorifying heaven through her in general. The critical role played by the Virgin Mary suggested a more optimistic vision of the relationship between heaven and earth and a greater security for the devout.[36] Thus, artists made efforts to give the impression to the spectator that he himself was a witness of the miracles of Mary's assumption or coronation: painters and sculptors used both a realistic manner of portrayal and dramatic compositions in order to elicit emotions.[37]

As the example of Poiré's treatise shows, similar motifs can be found in Marian devotional literature. Beyond all diversity, there was a clear tendency to emphasize very strongly and emotionally the incommensurable goodness and sovereignty of the most powerful empress of heaven and earth.[38] An overview of some of the numerous titles published about the Virgin in the first half of the seventeenth century show a similar emphasis on the figure of an almighty patroness: "The Holy Treasure of the Prerogatives and Greatness of the most Holy Virgin Mary,"[39] "God's Masterpiece or the Perfection of the Holy Virgin,"[40] "The Triumph of Our Beloved

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36. Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, p. 32.

37. Rosemary Muir Wright, *Sacred Distance: Representing the Virgin* (Manchester, UK, 2006), pp. 108–10.

38. In addition to those previously cited, some more representative texts from Poland-Lithuania, Germany, and France are the following: Szymon Starowolski, *Diva Claromontana* . . . (Cracow, 1640), especially pp. 1–3; *idem*, *Oratio de gloriosa assumptione Augustae Mariae* (Cracow, 1638); *idem*, *Wieniec Niewiędniejący Przeczystej P. Mariey* . . . (Kraków, 1649,) especially pp. 8–10; Jan Nieliski, *O Najświętszej Bogarodzicy*. . . (Kraków, 1636); Szymon Stanisław Makowski, *Thronus immaculatus* . . . (Kraków, 1646); Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Żywot Przeczystej Panny* . . . (Warsaw, 1650); Wincenty Odymalski, *Wizerunek doskonałey świątobliwości* . . . (Cracow, 1660); Jacynt Skrakówski, *Wieniec rożany Krolowey niebieskiey* . . . (Cracow, 1644); Jacob Balde, *Ehrenpreis der Allerseligsten Jungfrawen* . . . (Munich, 1640); Maximilianus Sandeus, *Maria Patrona* . . . (Mainz, 1630); Hieremius Drexelius, "Rosae selectissimarum virtutum," in *idem*, *Opera omnia, duobus voluminibus* . . . (Mainz, 1645), pp. 1145–61; Louis Gaberot, *Paraphrase sur le cantique de la Vierge: Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (Paris, 1628); Nicolas Frenicle, *Hymne de la Vierge* (n.p., 1641); Nicolas L'Archevesque, *Les Grandeurs suréminentes de la très sainte Vierge Marie* . . . (Paris, 1638); Guillaume Gibieuf, *La Vie et les grandeurs de la très sainte Vierge Marie, mère de Dieu* (Paris, 1637); Jean Deslyons, *L'Enlèvement de la Vierge par les anges*. . . (Paris, 1647); and Jean Regnier: *La Vie, les Travaux, la Grâce*. . . (Paris 1636).

39. Jacques Jeanne, *Thrésor sacré des prérogatives et grandeurs de la glorieux et tres-saincte Vierge Marie*. . . (Paris, 1620).

40. Étienne Binet, *Le Chef-d'œuvre de Dieu, et les souveraines perfections de la saincte Vierge sa mère* (Paris, 1643).

Figure 3: Adam and Eve enslaved by sin call out to the Virgin Mary and Christ child; the caption reads: "Clamat Adam Christum; prensans rogat Eva Mariam; Mater ut haec nobis; hic velit esse Pater" (copper engraving, engraver R. [?] Sadeler, printed in Albertinus, *Unser Liebfrau Triumph*, 1620).

Lady,"[41] "The Image of Perfection or the Life of the Glorious Virgin Mary Mother of God,"[42] "The Holy Virgin, Cause of all Good and Sign of Salvation,"[43] and "The Royal Crown, where the Subject of the Greatness and Excellence of the Virgin is treated."[44] In all these works, the accent is put on the glory, the triumph, the privileges, the greatness, the perfection, and the power of the Queen of Heaven.

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41. Aegidius Albertinus, *Unser L. Frauen Triumph. Erstlich ihr Leben begreiffent; Folgents wirdt erwiesen, daß der jenig, der ein wahre Andacht zu ihr hat, außerwöhlt und fürsehen seye* (München, 1620).

42. Pierre Deveze, *L'Image de la perfection, ou la vie de la glorieuse Vierge Marie mere de Dieu* (Paris, 1643).

43. Alard Le Roy, *Beata Virgo, causa omnium bonorum et nota salutis* (Tournai, 1621).

44. Charles Roussel, *La Couronne royale, où il est traicté au long des grandeurs et excellences de la Vierge et des merveilles et prerogatives de son saint rosaire* (Evreux, 1615).

"The Triumph of Our Beloved Lady," by Aegidius Albertinus, is a good example of this genre. Albertinus was the librarian of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Although he was not a cleric, he was a fervent supporter of Catholic Reformation. His book *Unser Lieben Frauen Triumph* was published in 1620, the year of his death. It is composed of three parts: a life of the Virgin Mary, prayers to the Virgin, and a treatise showing that "the one who has a true piety to her is elected and predestined." Here again, we find similar ideas to Poiré's. According to Albertinus, devotion toward the Mother of God is a "beautiful sign of predestination."[45] Mary's compassion is so great that she does not reject anyone. Those who are truly devoted to her can have no doubt about their salvation. People should fear just three things: their death, the Last Judgment, and eternal damnation. But "we are safe from all these, if the most holy Mother protects us, and this is precisely what she intends to do."[46] Mary's victory over the slavery of sin (a consequence of the original sin) is exposed in an engraving (fig. 3). Albertinus defends himself against accusations according to which he would "flatter the sinners" with his optimistic statements. In his opinion, sinners should not think that a few *Ave Maria*s are sufficient to be saved. Nevertheless, everybody who truly repents and loves the Virgin Mary in the moment of his death will know the infinite mercy of the Mother of God. So Albertinus concludes: "If you fear to be damned [. . .] throw yourself down at the feet of this Virgin, and you will be safe."[47] The message is clear: thanks to Mary, absolutely no one is outside the reach of divine love.

Similar statements could be found throughout Europe. In Portugal, Francisco Mendoça, a celebrated Jesuit and professor at the College of Coimbra, did not hesitate to assert that "it is certain that those who render a cult to the Virgin cannot be damned."[48] In Poland, Franciszek Fenicki taught a similar doctrine in Lublin. In his book *Marian Servitude*, which has been published in many editions in different European countries, he develops the idea that everybody is a servant of the Mother of God. People had only to acknowledge this fact and give themselves to her, and they will

45. Albertinus, *Unser L. Frauen Triumph*, p. 210: "ein schönes zeichen der praedestination oder erwöhlung. . . ."

46. *Ibid.*, p. 233: "Vor solchem allem seind wir versichert, wofern die allerheiligste Mutter uns in ihren schutz nimbt, und eben dises ist das ienig, darnach sie verlanget."

47. *Ibid.*, p. 244: "Förchest du dich verdambt zu werden [. . .], so wirff dich vor den Füssen diser Jungkfrawen nider, so wirst du sicher." .

48. Francisco Mendoca, *Viridarium sacrae ac profanae eruditionis* (Lugduni, 1632), p. 40: "dico periculosam non esse, sed securam huiusmodi loquutionem, impossibile est damnari eum, qui B. Virginem colit. . . . Virgini devotus in aeternum perire non potest."

know grace.[49] To him, such a subordination to the Queen of Heaven would bring the greatest personal advantages. Or, as Jan Dionizy Łobżyński, his fellow countryman and a Paulinian monk, asserted: to be a slave of the Mother of God means to be a king.[5] By such a reassuring message, these clerics clearly wanted to persuade everybody to join a mass movement toward salvation.

For this reason, books of Marian piety addressed different social strata. Indeed, one can observe a clear diversification of publications concerning the Holy Virgin. Both booklets for individual devotion and thick reference books were printed. In the case of Marian piety books, one finds,, among others, booklets for sodalists, compilations of miracles classified by place or by date, collections of sermons, "atlases" of pilgrimage sites and books promoting certain pious practices like the rosary or addressing some professional groups like physicians.[51]

The affirmation of the universality of Marian love went hand in hand with specific religious practices that clerics in the seventeenth century sought to establish and indeed succeeded in propagating in many places. The religious orders of Catholic Reformation tried to reach a great number

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49. Franciscus Stanislaus Phoenicius [Fenicki], *Mariae mancipium sive modus tradendi se in mancipium Deiparae Virgini* (Lublin, 1632).

50. Jan Dionizy Łobżyński, *Przenosiny triumfalne naycudownieyszego w krolestwie Polskim obrazu Bogarodzice Panny Maryey na Iasney Gorze Częstochowskiey abo Panegiryk koscielny* (Kraków, 1644), p. 89.

51. Booklets for sodalists: Maximilianus Sandeus, *Maria Patrona sive Orationes ad sodales habitae, de patrocinio Deiparae* (Mainz, 1630); Ėtienne Binet, *Tessera salutis* (Augsburg, 1618). See on this topic: Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots* (Paris, 1987), pp. 48–49. Another booklet: *Geistliches Zeughaus : In welchem Mittel wehr und massen Gott Zuversöhne[n], die Ketzereye[n] Zubestreite[n], die Sünd und laster wie auch andre Anfechtungen Zuuberwinden* (München, 1634). Reference books: Toussaint Bridoul, *Le Triomphe annuel de N. Dame où il est traité chaque jour de l'an des honeurs que la Vierge a receus du Ciel et de la Terre* (Lille, 1640); Gonon, *Chronicon*; Pierre Courcier, *Negotium saeculorum Maria*, *sive Chronologica epitome ab anno Mundi primo ad annum Christi millesimum sexcentesimum sexagesimum* (Dijon, 1662); Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowic, *Hymny na uroczysty święta Panny nad Matkami . . .* (Kraków, 1640); Nicolaj van der Meulen, "Kartenbild und Gnadenbild. Zur Kartierung und Konsolidierung einer Tierra mariana im 17. und 18. Jh.," in *Maria in der Krise. Kultpraxis zwischen Konfession und Politik in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Agnieszka Gąsior (Köln, 2014), 31–49. Sermons: Szymon Starowolski, *Vestis Mariana seu Oratio sacrum Reginae Coeli habitum* (Kraków, 1640); *Krótki sposob mowienia psałterzyka Panny Maryey. Rozanki abo rozany wianek P. Maryey* (n.p. [1611]); and Jean Deslyons, *L'Enlèvement de la Vierge par les anges, homélie prêchée le jour de son Assomption . . .* (Paris, 1647). For physicians: Guillaume Du Val, *Litaniae de beatissima Virgine Maria deipara, domina et patrona nostra. Oratio ad sanctos et sanctas, medicinae professione . . .* (Paris, 1642).

of believers and to make them supplicants of heavenly figures. In order to achieve this, one of the principal means was the foundation of confraternities, especially Marian brotherhoods such as the Jesuit sodalities or the Dominican Confraternities of the Rosary. Sodalities formed a transnational network covering virtually all major and medium-sized Catholic European towns. At some places they were so successful that they shaped the life of the city. Thus the vast majority of male inhabitants of Munich and Ingolstadt became supplicants of the Queen of Heaven and earth.[52] The early modern brotherhoods relied on the idea of a personal commitment to the Marian cult and not only on duties as members of an estate in society, as medieval confraternities of corporations largely did.[53] It was especially within the framework of sodalities that the idea of personal election was propagated, as expressed in the practice of Marian servitude.

Transnational networks of the religious orders and confraternities created an overlapping of local and universal identities. For example, Jesuits produced copies of some Roman paintings of the Holy Virgin and sent them, along with relics,[54] throughout the world, not only for the members of Marian congregations, but also for other believers. These paintings sometimes became the object of new local cults: this was especially the case of the *Mater ter admirabilis* of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, which probably had "a wider currency than any other religious image on earth"[55] and gained a cultic significance on its own in the Jesuit college of Ingolstadt, among others.[56] Conversely, icons from the peripheries of European Catholicism could become important cult objects in Rome, as shows the example of the

52. Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots,* pp. 29–44, 67–83; Tobias Schönauer, *Ingolstadt in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Soziale und wirtschaftliche Aspekte der Stadtgeschichte* (Ingolstadt, 2007), 240–43; *Die Jesuiten in Ingolstadt, 1549–1773: Ausstellung des Stadtarchivs* (Ingolstadt, 1991), pp. 210-11.

53. Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, pp. 63–123; Jiři Mikulec, "Religious Brotherhoods in Baroque Bohemia," *Historica. Historical Sciences in the Czech Republic*, 32 (1995), 123–37; idem, "Wallfahrer und Sodalen. Die barocke Wallfahrt im Leben der religiösen Bruderschaften in Böhmen," in *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur*, ed. Daniel Doležal and Hartmut Kühne (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 483-93, at 483.

54. Simon Ditchfield, "Catholic Reformation," p. 153.

55. Gauvin Alexander Baily, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto, 1998), p. 8. For other examples of the "translation or diffusion and appropriation" of the *Salus populi romani* and other European pictures, see Ditchfield, "Catholic reformation," pp. 153–56.

56. Kirstin Noreen, "Replicating the icon of Santa Maria Maggiore: the *Mater ter admirabilis* and the Jesuits of Ingolstadt," *Visual Resources: An International Journal on Images and Their Uses*, 24 (2008), 19–37. On the cult of this icon in the Middle Ages, see Gerhard Wolf, *Salus populi romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990).

picture which the Carmelite Domenicus a Jesu Maria found in Bohemia and carried during the Battle of the White Mountain: to host the miraculous picture, the Roman Carmelites quickly renamed their new church *Santa Maria della Vittoria* and placed the icon on the main high altar.[57] Wilhelm Gumppenberg's *Atlas Marianus* (1655), a world-wide catalogue of places of pilgrimage, shows that the clerics of the Catholic Reformation considered the vast range of Marian miraculous pictures to create unity.[58] The pilgrimage sites often offered an interweaving of the local, the national, and the universal. Stará Boleslav, Bohemia's main pilgrimage, for example, intertwined the cult of the kingdom's main patron saint, Wenceslas, with that of the Mother of God: the local Marian picture was considered to have been revered by Wenceslas. Furthermore, the Jesuits organizing the pilgrimages named this painting *Palladium Bohemiae*, thus nationalizing it.[59] In 1650, when the Prague Marian column was erected in order to thank the Virgin for having repelled the Swedes and for the burghers of the capital having remained faithful to their Habsburg king, Ferdinand III, who put a copy of the *Palladium* on the plinth of the column, gave furthermore national significance to the picture.[60]

On a global scale, clerics of the Catholic Reformation made efforts to integrate local societies into a universal network of pious faithful. However, local initiatives to create new pilgrimage sites were often met with skepticism; the fear of religious syncretism and unorthodox practices was too great, as it is best illustrated by the example of the birth of the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico.[61] But on the whole, the Marian cult

57. Siegfried Hofmann, "Maria de Victoria—Nachruf auf die einstige Kirche der Kongregation Maria vom Sieg," *Sammelblatt des historischen Vereins Ingolstadt*, 85 (1976), 81–138, here 86, 92–95.

58. Wilhelm Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus sive de imaginibus Deiparae per orbem christianum miraculosis*, 2 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1655); Van der Meulen, "Kartenbild und Gnadenbild". See also the recent French edition: Wilhelm Gumppenberg, *Marie mondialisée: L'Atlas marianus de Wilhelm Gumppenberg*, ed. and trans. Nicolas Balzamo, Olivier Christin and Fabrice Flückiger (Neuchâtel, 2014).

59. Anna Ohlidal, "Die (Wieder-)Einführung der Wallfahrten nach Sankt Johann unter dem Felsen und Altbunzlau um 1600—ein Verdienst der Prager Jesuiten," in *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570–1700*, ed. Anna Ohlidal and Stefan Samerski (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 207–23.

60. Damien Tricoire, "'Sklave sein heißt herrschen': Die Münchner und Prager Mariensäulen in ihrem religiösen und politischen Kontext," in *Transregionalität in Kult und Kultur. Bayern, Böhmen und Schlesien zur Zeit der Gegenreformation*, ed. Marco Bogade (Köln, 2016), pp. 59–70.

61. Miri Rubin, *Mother of God. A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven/London, 2009), p. 391.

was considered an instrument to convert religiously foreign populations. For this purpose, Jesuits and Franciscans consciously used the similarities between the Mother of God and Mexican or Chinese fertility goddesses.[62] In many countries where the Iberians created trading posts or colonies, important pilgrimages developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in places that had already been sacred before the coming of the Europeans: beneath the shrines to the Virgin of Guadalupe mentioned above, the cults of Our Lady of the Rosary in Chiapas, the Virgin of Copacabana on Lake Titicaca in Peru, or Our Lady of Health in Velankanni on the Coromandel coast (India) are representative of such a trend.[63] Furthermore, Marian confraternities were founded in America and Asia, addressing diverse social groups such as Chinese women or African slaves in the American colonies.[64]

Marian cults had already fulfilled the function of reassuring the devout in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Europe, but the new seventeenth-century emphasis on the universal power and love of the Queen of Heaven, the assertion that the devout will surely be saved, and the impressive endeavors to integrate a large part of the population as well as different European and world regions into a relationship of patronage with heaven indicate an overcoming of religious fears of God's wrath. There was a strong correlation between the evolution of Marian iconography, devotional literature, and religious practices, which conveyed a clear message: through Mary everybody can receive God's grace and love.

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One can wonder, however, if this message was limited to Marian piety. For this reason, it is necessary to examine other common cults, artistic innovations and, more generally, ideas about salvation around and after 1600. Of course, within the framework of this article this can be done only on a very basic level. The following paragraphs point out several evolutions in the variety of devotional practices promoted by church leaders that correlate with the changes in the Marian cult.

To begin with, at least two other major cults on which clerics and the devout put special emphasis around and after 1600 seem to have fulfilled a

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62. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610* (Oxford 2011), p.88–89; Rubin, *Mother of God*, pp. 390–3.

63. Rubin, *Mother of God*, pp. 390-9; Matthias Frenz, *Gottes-Mutter-Göttin. Marienverehrung im Spannungsfeld religiöser Traditionen in Südindien* (Würzburg, 2004), pp. 82–122.

64. Ditchfield, "Catholic reformation," pp. 183–84; Rubin, *Mother of God*, pp. 394–5.

similar function to the Marian piety, namely, of reassuring the faithful by asserting the universality of divine love. First, the veneration of angels flourished. For the devout, angels had clearly an integrating function because they were creatures serving as links between earth and heaven. One can highlight especially the growing cult of guardian angels, allowing every Christian to have a personal heavenly companion. Cities and kingdoms also had their angels. The cult of angels conveyed an optimistic message, especially the figure of St. Michael the Archangel, who was particularly popular in devotional literature: in it he announces the coming triumph over evil, as does the figure of the Immaculate Conception.[65]

Second, changes in Eucharistic piety were also in accord with the evolution of Marian cult. One characteristic of the style of piety propagated by the Jesuits and the French Oratorians was the frequent display and reception of the Eucharist. Here, Catholic Reformation generalized particular practices of some late medieval movements while inventing new ones. In France, Pierre de Bérulle, traditionally regarded as the founder of a typically French school of spirituality, but actually much influenced by Jesuit authors,[66] linked the practice of frequent communion with a highly heartwarming idea: the Eucharistic sacrament "divinizes" man. Several authors followed him in his optimistic statements about the union between God and His creatures.[67] In Baroque Europe, the regular exposition of the consecrated host in the Forty Hours' celebration, and indeed its permanent exposition in a monstrance in a special chapel, should be understood in this context. It was a complement to the old Corpus Christi processions: whereas the latter staged the Christian community, the former facilitated personal devotion, strengthening the link between the believer and the One who sacrificed Himself for human salvation.[68] Eucharistic piety was thus another means of getting earth closer to heaven.

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65. Bartholomy Quarré, *Garde angélique, au roi, à la France et à la ville de Dijon* (Dijon, 1631), pp. 79–95; *Geistliches Zeughaus*; Yves Durand, *L'Ordre du monde: Idéal politique et valeurs sociales en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2001), pp. 117–34; Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph: L'éminence grise de Richelieu* (Paris, 2007), p. 161;. Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Le Mythe de Saint-Denis entre Renaissance et Révolution* (Paris, 2007), pp. 184–8; Karl Suso Frank, "Engel," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols. (Freiburg, 1992–2001), vol. 3, pp. 646–55, here 651.

66. Yves Krumenacker, *L'École française de spiritualité: Des mystiques, des fondateurs, des courants et leurs interprètes* (Paris, 1998), pp. 15–210.

67. Krumenacker, *L'École française*, pp. 218–20; René Taveneaux, *Le Catholicisme dans la France classique, 1610–1715* (Paris, 1980), p. 375; Karl-Heniz Selge,"Messopfer," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols. (Freiburg, 1992–2001), vol. 7, pp. 178–84.

68. Isabelle Brian, "Catholic Liturgies of the Eucharist in the time of reform" in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden, 2014), pp.

The suggestion of the universality of divine love also greatly influenced the field of art history. Baroque art was meant to be a "theology of the visible," as Robert Bellarmine has put it; it had to enable the devout to experience sanctity through means of an overpowering sensuousness.[69] For this reason, religious art was conceived as belonging not so much to the realm of aesthetics, but rather of rhetoric. In the case of Jesuit art, Evonne Levy has convincingly argued that it should even be considered as propaganda. This endeavor to use art as a tool for religious reform is particularly observable in the evolution of church architecture, which was marked by several innovations aiming mainly to unify church space. These innovations are best seen in the sacred buildings of Jesuits and other reform orders. First, the main altar was mostly better enhanced and more visible than in the late Middle Ages. It was higher than ever and, at least in churches with pilasters, it could be seen from almost any place within the interior space. Rood screens were no longer erected and indeed they were removed from old churches. The choir was now an open space, and the main altar nearer to the laypeople. Second, numerous churches with pilasters were erected, which meant that the abandonment of aisles created a single space. Third, in new churches, simple niches harboring an altar often replaced the lateral chapels. They no longer constitute separate rooms with their own architecture and iconography. Even if their design was not centrally planned, in Jesuit churches the commissioners were not free to choose the patron saints of the chapels. There was thus an endeavor to impose an all-encompassing theological program. Fourth, there was often a unified iconographic program in the church, creating a link between the altar theme and other topics. Fifth, great efforts were made to integrate different artistic genres such as architecture, painting and sculpture. Stucco enabled soft transitions, and this is why it was so popular in Baroque architecture. Sixth, the boundary between walls and vault was deliberately blurred. Illusionist paintings on the vault could prolong architectural elements, and stucco reliefs or statues on the walls took over motifs from the vault paintings. Seventh, cupolas became very popular.[70]

185–203; Costanzo Cargnoni, "Prière des Quarante-Heures," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1937–95), XII, p. 2702.

69. Jens Baumgarten, "Jesuitische Bildpolitik zwischen Überwältigung und Überprüfbarkeit am Beispiel der Jesuitenkirchen in Breslau und Graz," in *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen*, pp. 63–92, here 64; Taveneaux, *Le Catholicisme*, pp. 447–82; Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, pp. 159–71.

70. Stephan Hoppe, *Was ist Barock? Architektur und Städtebau Europas, 1580-1779* (Darmstadt, 2003), pp. 25–28, 59–63, 182–200; Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley, 2004); Matthieu Lours, *L'autre temps des cathédrales. Du concile de Trente à la Révolution française* (Paris, 2010), esp. pp. 83–90, 104–14, and 125–64.

The point of all these innovations creating a singular setting was that they brought heaven and the mysteries of faith nearer to the believer. The innovations mentioned above had a practical and a rhetorical aspect. They enabled everybody attending the Mass to hear and see better the priests, and in this sense, they made of the Mass and the Eucharist a spectacle for all the faithful. To be sure, the elevations of the host and the chalice were already in the later Middle Ages "a major focus for popular devotions,"[71] but the Eucharist was basically still "enacted in secret behind a screen."[72] Furthermore, the transformation of sacral space created scenarios of divine love: illusionist paintings and their integration into the architectural space deleted the boundaries between heaven and earth. In Italian and central European Baroque, the cupola and the vault were often used to host a large fresco representing the glory and triumph of heavenly figures. There was no sharp border between the most sacred figures (Trinity, Virgin Mary) and the devout: many circles of holy persons create the impression of an all-encompassing hierarchy. Although some figures were represented as statues on the wall, nearer to the believer, they were also part of the scene. In this unified space, angels proliferated, creating an additional link between the faithful and heaven. As churches were intended to impress and persuade the believer, there was a sincere effort to take the subjective point of view of the spectator into account when designing the interiors. Leading Baroque architects and painters took into account the curvature of the ocular globe and perspective distortions. They tricked the observer's eye through illusionist effects. Their goal was to bring the faithful out of their passivity. The complex decorative ensembles, obliging the eyes to slip from one object to another and from one form to another, did not invite the beholder to contemplation but rather to a "transitory understanding." Through this movement, the faithful were expected to take an active part in the scenario of universal glory and triumph.[73]

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71. Gary Macy, "The Medieval Inheritance" in *A Companion to the Eucharist*, ed. Wandel, pp. 15–37, here 19.

72. Bossy,"The Mass," 323–3. Hosts considered as relics were shown only during special feasts: Gerhard Lutz, "Late medieval sacred spaces and the Eucharist", in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy et al. (Leiden, 2012), pp. 471–97. By contrast, in the late sixteenth-century, treaties for the faithful explained to them the symbolical meaning of all the gestures of the priests, turning the Mass into a kind of theater play repeating the Passion of Christ: François Coster, *Le Livre de la Congrégation. . .* (Pourrentruy, 1594), pp. 86-91.

73. Baumgarten, "Jesuitische Bildpolitik," 87–88; Władysław Tomkiewicz, "Polska sztuka kontrreformacyjna," in *Wiek XVII—Kontrreformacja—Barock: Prace z historii kultury*, ed. Janusz Pelc (Wrocław, 1970), pp. 70–94; Hoppe, *Was ist Barock?*, pp. 191–93, 211; Levy, *Propaganda*, pp. 110–83.

The efforts to integrate people into a universal hierarchy of divine love and to proclaim a more optimistic vision of the relationship between earth and heaven also incited authors of pious books to develop more reassuring ideas about human salvation. In response to the Augustinian view on salvation, most proponents of Catholic Reformation, like Luis de Molina, recognized that free will played a role in salvation. Their basic idea was that God wants all to be saved and that the faithful, responding to the gift of grace that brings salvation, can cooperate through piety and good deeds. Certainly, there was no theological uniformity among these authors. As has been seen, some Jesuits did propagate a doctrine of predestination. Nonetheless, there was a commonality among the authors of Catholic Reformation: they rejected rigorist theology like that of the Jansenists.[74] Many searched for an equilibrium between moral severity and humanism, and affirmed the value of lay life.[75] Philip Neri and the Oratorians, as well as St. Francis de Sales and Cardinal Armand du Plessis de Richelieu, did not seek salvation in contemplative life, asceticism, or the rejection of the world. They stressed that everybody could be a good Christian without abandoning the way of life of his own estate.[76] Jesuit authors also thought about ways to reconcile the imperatives of lay life with religious ones. On the basis of probabilistic moral theology,[77] they developed casuistry and wrote treatises about the way a soldier could live in a Christian way or about the theory of "reason of state" in order to show how politics could be made compatible with religion.[78] To a certain extent, the plurality of

74. Jennifer Hillman, *Female Piety and the Catholic Reformation in France* (London, 2014), pp. 1–46; Anthony D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic World and the Non-Christian World* (Aldershot, UK, 2005), pp. 163–95.

75. Alphonse Dupront, "D'un humanisme chrétien en Italie à la fin du XVIe siècle," in *Genèses des temps modernes: Rome, les réformes, le Nouveau monde* (Paris, 2001), pp. 237–38; Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation* (Washington, 1999), pp. 175–81.

76. Dupront, "D'un humanisme chrétien," pp. 207–42; Krumenacker, *L'École française*, p. 88; Françoise Hildesheimer, *Relectures de Richelieu* (Paris, 2000), pp. 41–49.

77. Probabilism is a system of moral theology exonerating the conscience and conceding individual freedom, more than did other schools in sixteenth and seventeenth century Catholicism. It postulates that in cases of conflicting norms a law is not binding if one can formulate reasonable doubts about it, even if more probable reasons speak for its binding character (*lex dubia non obligat*; *in dubio pro libertate*): Konrad Hilpert, "Moralsysteme," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 7 (Freiburg, 1998), p. 462.

78. On casuistry, see Maryks, Robert A., *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits. The Influence of Liberal Arts and the Adoption of Moral Probabilism* (Aldershot, 2008); Taveneaux, *Le Catholicisme*, pp. 430-32; Vincenzo Lavenia, "Tra Cristo e Marte. Disciplina e catechesi del soldato cristiano in età moderna," in *Dai cantieri alla storia. 'Liber amicorum' per Paolo Prodi*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Giuseppe Olmi (Bologna, 2007), pp. 37–54; Damien Tricoire, "To Fight or

lifestyles was legitimized and the necessity of a renunciation to world put into question.

Probabilistic moral theology and the Aristotelian distinction between essence and accident also enabled some of the missionaries overseas, especially the Jesuits, to reflect on cultural differences in ethnographic treaties[79] and to "accommodate" Roman Christianity to local cultures.[80] Matteo Ricci in China and Roberto de Nobili in southern India created a synthesis of Catholicism and Confucianism as well as Catholicism and Brahmanism respectively.[81] Paradoxically, in order to integrate foreign populations into

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not to fight: Piotr Skarga S.J., the Catholic Ideal of the Christian soldier, and the reform of Polish nobility (around 1600)" (this article will appear later this year in an issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* edited by Vincenzo Lavenia). On the Catholic theories of the reason of state, see Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit political thought: The Society of Jesus and the State* (Cambridge, 2004) and William F. Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton, 1972).

79. To be sure, the ethnographic knowledge had a primarily apologetic function. Cultural alterity was accepted only in narrow limits. Nonetheless, missionaries produced such works as José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Girona, 1591) and Joseph François Lafitau's *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris, 1724); See also Andreas Motsch, *Lafitau et l'émergence du discours ethnographique* (Sillery, 2001).

80. The principles of the accommodation strategy were formulated above all by José de Acosta and Alessandro Valignano: José de Acosta, *De promulgatione Evangelii apud barbaros sive De procuranda Indorum salute* (Salamanca, 1588); Claudio Burgaleta, *José de Acosta, SJ: His Life and Thought* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 78, 80–1; Pedro Lage Reis Correia, "Alessandro Valignano's Attitude Towards Jesuit and Franciscan Concepts of Evangelization in Japan (1587–1597)," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, 2 (2001), 79–108. Simon Ditchfield considers that "it was only thanks to the expanded missionary imagination, and set of practical skills, developed in response to the challenge of evangelizing the New World that the Old World came to be (re-)Christianized in the way that it was. Put simply, the New World converted the Old. . .": Ditchfield, "Catholic Reformation," p. 163. However interesting this thesis is, it is too one-dimensional; the missionary work in some overseas regions should not obliterate the fact that the bulk of European clerics had no experience with non-European contexts, and read books written by Europeans for Europeans. The probabilist and accommodationist approaches were not only the result of experiences in overseas regions, but probably especially in Europe.

81. Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*; Nadine Amsler, "'Sie meinen, die drei Sekten wären eins': Matteo Riccis Aneignung des sanjiao-Konzepts und ihre Bedeutung für europäische Beschreibungen chinesischer Religion im 17. Jahrhundert," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions—und Kulturgeschichte*, 105 (2011), 77–93. *Eadem*, "Gender and Religion in Cultural Exchange: Norms and Practices in Chinese Christianity, 1583–1724" (PhD diss., Universität Bern, 2013); Sven Trakulhun, "Kulturwandel durch Anpassung? Matteo Ricci und die Jesuitenmission in China," *Zeitenblicke*, 11/1 (2012), http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2012/1/Trakulhun; Antje Flüchter, "Pater Pierre Martin—ein 'Brahmane aus dem Norden'. Jesuitische Grenzgänger in Südindien um die Wende zum 18. Jahrhundert," in *Zeitenblicke*, 11/1 (2012). http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2012/1/Fluechter.

universal cults, the Society of Jesus in India was ready to break with universalistic principles at the very heart of Christianity: it founded distinct churches for the different castes. Furthermore, the Society renounced the use of wine in the Mass because the Brahman elite considered it to be impure.[82] Such adaptations of Catholicism provoked violent conflicts because competing religious orders often rejected the Jesuit adaptations as too far-reaching.[83]

The limit of what could legitimately be done in order to integrate overseas populations was thus subject of discussion. Equally, clerics of the Catholic Reformation were not sure about the proper way to involve women into the project of the Christian reform of the world. The reassuring devotional practices promoted by Catholic leaders were primarily designed by men and for men: for example, with few exceptions,[84] women were not admitted into Jesuit sodalities. Orders of the Catholic Reformation also supported the efforts to strengthen paternal authority as a means to impose virginity on unmarried girls.[85] Whereas the Marian cult implied that a woman, the Mother of God, had considerable power even over the Father, only a few authors drew a parallel between the universal authority of the Virgin Mary and the situation of women.[86] Above all, the church hierarchy did not accept feminine orders without enclosure, opposing all endeavors to create a female equivalent to the Society of Jesus. Therefore, contrary to their name, the Visitation Sisters were forced to the contemplative life, and Mary Ward could never fully realize her vision.[87] Nonetheless, new feminine orders were allowed to engage in education for girls in cloisters: the Ursulines in France or Ward's *Institutum Beatae Mariae Virginis* (known in German as the *Englische Fräulein*) in southern Germany

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82. Flüchter, "Pierre Martin," esp. paragraphs 1–5, 24–37.

83. There was a wide range of "rite controversies" concerning not only China: Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City,* pp. 287–97; Antje Flüchter, "Pierre Martin," paragraphs 38–47; Cesare Santus, "La *communio in sacris* con gli 'schismatici' orientali in età moderna," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*, 126/2 (2014), www.revues.org

84. In Ingolstadt, women could be member of the sodality of the burghers: Hofmann, "Maria de Victoria," pp. 81–83.

85. Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity. Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor, 2004).

86. An exception is Guerry, *Traicté de l'excellence du sexe foeminin et des prerogatives de la Mère de Dieu* (Paris, 1635). We do not know anything about the author of this treaty, which was perhaps written under a pseudonym.

87. Dieter Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651* (München, 1998), pp. 319–21; Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, pp. 37–45.

came to play a decisive role in the establishment of a Catholic society.[88] Taken as a whole, Catholic elites sought to integrate women into their new model of piety, but this model clearly implied a gender hierarchy.

All in all, despite some uncertainties and limitations, there is considerable evidence that enables one to generalize about the religious endeavors of Catholic elites in the first half of the seventeenth century. The features of Marian piety did correlate with efforts in the field of other cults, of art, and of discourses about salvation. Of course, Bridget Heal is right in pointing out the diversity of Catholicism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As she noticed, the new religious patterns were not propagated at the same rate in all German towns.[89] In some cases they did not even reach the countryside before the eighteenth century.[90] The new religious movements influenced some countries more than others, and there are good reasons to think that, for example, Poland-Lithuania was less affected by Catholic renewal than France.[91] Furthermore, it is also certain that the different religious orders did not propagate exactly the same patterns of piety. The definition of Catholic Reformation developed in this article relies principally on the devotions favored by the non-monastic reform orders and congregations founded in the sixteenth century like the Society of Jesus and the Oratory. But the religious world of other mendicant orders such as the Dominicans and the Capuchins was generally significantly closer to late-medieval piety.[92] Particularly, most of the old monastic orders holding land, like the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Hermits of Saint Augustine, and the Premonstratensians, reacted rather slowly and even reluctantly to the demands and religious practices of the new orders.[93] Furthermore, Rigorists and

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88. Ibid.; Ziegler, Walter, "Reformation und Gegenreformation 1517–1648," in *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2: *Von der Glaubensspaltung bis zur Säkularisation*, ed. Walter Brandmüller (St. Ottilien, 1993), p. 50. In 1715, 900 Ursulines lived in France in 400 cloisters: Gérard Michaux, "Ordres religieux," in *Dictionnaire du Grand siècle*, ed. François Bluche (Paris, 1990), pp. 1126–29.

89. Heal, *The Cult of Virgin Mary*, pp. 148–261.

90. Andreas Holzem, *Religion und Lebensformen. Katholische Konfessionalisierung im Sendgericht des Fürstbistums Münster (1570–1800)* (Paderborn, 2000), pp. 456–58.

91. Damien Tricoire, *Mit Gott rechnen. Katholische Reform und politisches Kalkül in Frankreich, Bayern und Polen-Litauen* (Göttingen 2013), pp. 86–101.

92. Hillard von Thiessen, *Die Kapuziner zwischen Konfessionalisierung und Alltagskultur. Vergleichende Fallstudie am Beispiel Freiburgs und Hildesheims. 1599–1750* (Freiburg, 2002), pp. 473–74.

93. Helga Penz, "'Jesuitisieren der alten Orden'? Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis der Gesellschaft Jesu zu den österreichischen Stiften im konfessionellen Zeitalter" in *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen,* pp. 144–61.

Jansenists, who became influential in the mid-seventeenth century among some of the Belgian and French elites, were resolutely opposed to the idea according to which the devout would enjoy a relative security in their hope for salvation, as described above.[94] More empirical work should thus be done in order to estimate properly the extent to which there was a movement toward a universalization of divine love. Still, one has enough evidence to think that it is plausible to consider the integration of humanity into the still hierarchical but universalized structure of divine love as the core of a new Catholic world. By means of piety, a certain security regarding salvation was suggested to believers.

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What does this overview about changes in religious practices teach us about the way we should write Catholic history? Does the observation that they were endeavors to universalize divine love justify the use of the term Catholic Reformation? How does the study of religious history modify the picture drawn by the research on confessionalization?

If one searches for a theological revolution comparable to the Lutheran one, it may not be appropriate to speak of a Catholic Reformation. On a theological level, virtually none of the elements presented above were truly new. Mary's universal rule, her Immaculate Conception or her Assumption were medieval ideas (even if the two last ones did not become dogmas until 1854 and 1950, respectively). Similarly, the theological justifications for Eucharistic piety or the teaching about the hierarchies of angels were anything but new. Furthermore, the Tridentine teachings about justification, sustaining the necessity both of good works and of divine grace, was the result of a compromise;[95] it remained a rather vague formulation, and did not lead to a uniform theological position that could be identified with the one of the Catholic Reformation. Some scholars use the term "Catholic

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94. On the history of Jansenism in France, see Louis Cognet, *Le Jansénisme* (Paris, 1964); Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering Saints. Jansenists and Convulsionnaires in France, 1640–1799* (Brighton, 2008); Monique Cottret, *Histoire du jansénisme* (Paris, 2016); and Wright, *The Counter-Reformation*, pp. 22–25. On Jansenist Marian devotion see: H.-M. Baron, "Le P. Jean Crasset (1618–1692), le jansénisme et la dévotion à la Sainte Vierge," *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Mariales*, 4 (1938), 135–67; Louis Cognet, *Le Jansénisme* (Paris, 1964); and Janusz Tazbir, "Polonizacja potrydenckiego katolicyzmu," in *idem*, *Rzeczpospolita i świat. Studia z dziejów kultury XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1971), pp. 99–129, here 126–27. An example of Jansenist skepticism about the certainty that God would help the devout: *Lettres de la révérende Mère Marie Angélique Arnauld, Abbesse et réformatrice de Port-Royal* (Utrecht, 1742) II: Lettres [1651–55], p. 246.

95. Mullett, *Catholic Reformation*, pp. 29–45.

Reformation" for designating Augustinian and Erasmian tendencies in the Roman church at the beginning of the sixteenth century,[96] but after much discussion a strictly Augustinian *sola gratia* doctrine on grace was rejected by the fathers at the Council of Trent. The decrees they voted for were in the end not far from the traditional attitude consisting of accepting a certain theological diversity as long as no '*sola/solus*' formulation was used. As has been seen, most members of the Society of Jesus insisted on free will, but others developed a doctrine of predestination.

Also on the level of piety and cultural practices, the features described above did not emerge out of nothing. Piety toward the Virgin, the Eucharist, and the angels had been growing stronger across the centuries.[97] To be sure, the religious practices promoted by church leaders were based on many traditions of medieval Christianity. However, on the whole, one can observe clear endeavors to put new accents on certain pious discourses and practices in order to reassure the devout of his salvation perspectives.[98] For this reason, taking into consideration that Protestant salvation theology was also designed to reassure the faithful, one can think of the religious endeavors of Catholic elites around and after 1600 not just as a reaction, but also as a functional equivalent to the Protestant Reformation. In this sense, it seems justified to speak of a Catholic Reformation, understood as a movement born after Trent and promoting a new relationship between earth and heaven, distinct both from the late medieval and the Protestant.

Approaching the Catholic Reformation from the viewpoint of religious history does not directly contradict the results of the research on confessionalization, but leads to a different appreciation of this process. More than a top-down disciplinary action aimed at producing good subjects who would respect norms and identify themselves with their territory, the Catholic Reformation seems to have been a movement integrating all

96. According to Bataillon, there was "deep unity" between Pre-Reformation, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation. The Reformation was not only Protestant, but had also a Catholic branch: Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle*, 3rd edition (Genève, 1998), p. 2.

97. Miri Rubin, "Popular attitudes to the Eucharist," in *A Companion to the Eucharist*, ed. Levy, pp. 447–68; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

98. Followed here are Jedin, Dupront, Delumeau, and Bossy who all have acknowledged that early-modern Catholicism was tied to tradition in many ways, but at the same time emphasized the new devotional practices promoted by Catholic elites. See, in addition to the literature already cited above, Jean Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971), pp. 43–119; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), esp. pp. 115–52.

estates into a structure encompassing earth and heaven. 'States' were not the only communities having a close supplicatory relationship with the Queen of Heaven, and in this relationship the prince was one actor among others—even if he often played a major role. The fact that confessionalization endeavors were part of a wider movement helps to comprehend better why they were so successful in some territories. Largely ignoring religious history, research on confessionalization does not convincingly explain why the religious practices of church leaders corresponded to the real demand of significant parts of the population. In the light of late-medieval eschatological fear, and considering the reassuring and integrative nature of the Catholic Reformation, the reasons for the attractiveness of the new religious practices become clearer.

What is more, it is very important to take into account that state authorities were perhaps even more subject to the new norms than ordinary people. Rulers of the Catholic Reformation had to conform to a strict model of the pious and just rule, costing a great deal of time and effort. For example, Louis XIII of France and Maximilian I of Bavaria attended several Masses and other prayers every day, not to speak of their participation in religious feasts and pilgrimages.[99] Moreover, Catholic universalism also set limits on policy making, as the example of Maximilian of Bavaria shows. The expectation of godly help led the duke and then the prince-elector of Bavaria to think he had opportunities to seize by fighting Protestant territories (especially in the late 1620s, as he proposed the restitution edict). But this also meant that there were religious limitations to his policy. In his view, he could not ally with France without risking a loss of God's grace. Furthermore, because of his political-religious expectations he had in the 1630s great difficulties in making concessions to Protestant princes. This had the effect of prolonging the Thirty Years' War and devastating the country. Lastly, one should not forget that Catholic universalism provoked resistance to some policies. Fearing divine punishment, a significant part of the French elite rejected the war their king was leading against the Habsburgs. Such fears played a decisive role in the outbreak of the uprising of the Fronde in 1648.[100] Reality thus proves far more com-

99. Pierre Chevallier, *Louis XIII* (Paris, 1979), pp. 31, 45, 83, 87–90, 227, 258–59, 371, 373, 513, 558–59, 641–42 646; Lloyd A. Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley, 1989); and Albrecht, *Maximilian I.*, pp. 285–96.

100. On the way religious representations of Catholic reformation influenced political calculation, see Tricoire, *Mit Gott rechnen.* About the Fronde, see Damien Tricoire, "La Fronde, un soulèvement areligieux au XVIIe siècle ? De l'opposition « dévote » sous Richelieu aux mazarinades de 1649," *XVIIe siècle*, 257 (2012), 135-47.

plicated than the theory of the Europe-wide "confessionalization process" suggests. Princes and state authorities did not always manage to instrumentalize confession in order to strengthen their power. On the contrary, the religious requirements developed in reaction to late medieval salvation fears were also constraints for them. The endeavors to bring earth closer to heaven, which were at the core of the Catholic Reformation, could have contradictory effects to those implied by the confessionalization theory.

A "Spiritual War of Words": Lorenzo da Brindisi and Capuchin Polemical Preaching in Early-Modern Prague

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This article considers the little-known Italian Capuchin friar Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559–1619), Roman Catholicism's "Apostolic Doctor." An accomplished preacher, missionary, linguist, and leader of his order, Lorenzo directed, beginning in 1599, the first papally commissioned Capuchin mission to the religiously divided Kingdom of Bohemia. Based on a study of his surviving recorded sermons, sermon plans, and autobiographical reflections, this article examines two strategies employed by Lorenzo to combat heresy in Prague: routine polemical preaching and engagement in theological disputations that relied on verbal violence, constant appeals to Sacred Scripture, and theatricality.

Keywords: *Capuchin order*; *early-modern polemical preaching*; *da Brindisi, Lorenzo*; *Kingdom of Bohemia*; *Leyser the Elder*, *Polykarp*

During the early-modern period, both Catholics and Protestants believed themselves to be engaged in martial combat. Their war was not necessarily one of infantrymen and artillery but, first and foremost, a spiritual war of apocalyptic proportions over the souls of Europe. Among the notable but understudied figures of the time was the Capuchin order's leading personality: St. Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559–1619), the Roman Church's "Apostolic Doctor." The confessional struggles of the age manifested themselves across Europe: England, France, the Swiss Confederation, and the many states of the Holy Roman Empire. But it was in the Kingdom of Bohemia, in the Prague of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), that Lorenzo found his principal battlefield, after Pope Clement

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VIII (r. 1592–1605) dispatched him to lead the Capuchins' first mission there in 1599.[1]

Catholic controversialists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries each had strategies that they employed while combatting Protestantism: the Jesuit St. Peter Canisius (1521–97), for example, published influential catechisms, and the young St. François de Sales (1567–1622) made abundant use of polemical tracts (published posthumously as his *Controverses*) while on mission in the Chablais during the 1590s.[2] These two men, and others as well, sought to use the pen and the printing press to make their arguments. But Lorenzo sought to wage spiritual war on heresy primarily through preaching. His emphasis on oral delivery is hardly unique, but it gives his role in Protestant-Catholic debate a particular twist. Based mainly on his own accounts of his polemical activities in Prague and his surviving homiletical materials, this article will examine how Lorenzo made use of verbal violence, constant appeals to Sacred Scripture, and theatricality as he preached routinely in the city's new Capuchin church and engaged in a theological disputation over good works and justification in 1607 with the Lutheran preacher Polykarp Leyser the Elder (1552–1610). In so doing, this study will shed much-needed light on the early-modern Capuchins' significant efforts to roll back the gains of the Protestants in Europe. Furthermore, it serves as a case study of how a specific Capuchin—indeed, the

1. For the recent study examining the broader themes and questions related to Lorenzo's missionary work and tactics while in the Empire, see Andrew Drenas, "'The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church': Lorenzo da Brindisi (1559–1619) and Capuchin Missions in the Holy Roman Empire" (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2014). That Lorenzo remains obscure among scholars, and even religious Catholics, is largely due to the fact that his order has not received nearly enough attention from historians, with what academic literature there is being dated. Indeed, the major study of the early-modern Capuchins, published almost ninety years ago, is still the two-volume work by Father Cuthbert (born Lawrence Anthony Hess), *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1928). The most comprehensive academic biography of Lorenzo continues to be Arturo da Carmignano di Brenta, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi, Dottore della Chiesa Universale (1559–1619)*, 4 vols. (Venice-Mestre, 1960–63). For Lorenzo's printed works, see Lorenzo da Brindisi, *S. Laurentii a Brundusio opera omnia a Patribus Minoribus Capuccinis Provinciae Venetae e textu originali nunc primum in lucem edita notisque illustrata*, 10 vols. (Padua, 1928–56).

2. For Canisius as a catechist, see Eugen Paul, "Petrus Canisius als Katechet und Pädagoge," in *Petrus Canisius—Reformer der Kirche: Festschrift zum 400. Todestag des zweiten Apostels Deutschlands*, ed. Julius Oswald and Peter Rummel (Augsburg, 1996), pp. 194–201. For De Sales's missionary endeavors, see Ruth Kleinman, *Saint François de Sales and the Protestants* (Geneva, 1962), pp. 59–62; Jill Fehleison, *Boundaries of Faith: Catholics and Protestants in the Diocese of Geneva* (Kirksville, MO, 2010), pp. 53–64.

order's then-towering figure—worked toward challenging heresy in a strategic location riven by religious conflict.

Lorenzo da Brindisi and the Capuchin Mission in Bohemia

Despite his present obscurity, Lorenzo was one of the most influential religious in Europe during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Over the course of more than forty years in the Capuchin order, he became a renowned preacher whose dynamic, intensely emotional, and theatrical oratory places him in the preaching tradition of Italy, and particularly the Capuchins and the Jesuits, described by Corrie Norman. He was a biblical scholar thoroughly versed in the Bible's original languages of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. He labored as a missionary among the Jews of Italy and even preached regularly among the Jews of Rome from 1592 to 1594. While in the Holy Roman Empire, he served as a military chaplain at the Battle of Székesfehérvár in October 1601 during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606) and inspired the Christian soldiers to victory through his intrepid performance on the battlefield, armed with his cross (see figure 1). On a number of occasions he played the role of diplomat as well and sought to promote the interests of the Roman Church and her allies in Italy, the Empire, and Spain. He also led his order both at the provincial level, in strategic provinces such as Tuscany (1589–92) and Venice (1594–97), and as its vicar general (1602–05). By the early-seventeenth century, his coreligionists had become convinced that he was a thaumaturge and that he supposedly could perform miracles like restoring sight to the blind, casting out demons, and seeing the future. After his death in July 1619, Pope Leo XIII canonized him in 1881, and Pope John XXIII proclaimed him a doctor of the Church in 1959. Clearly Lorenzo enjoyed a prominent place among his contemporaries, and he continues to hold spiritual and theological significance for the Catholic Church.[3]

Given his level of administrative and missionary experience by 1599, it is no surprise that Lorenzo was selected that year to lead the Capuchins' first mission into the Kingdom of Bohemia. Bohemia had been, from the

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3. These themes from Lorenzo's career and afterlife are covered at length throughout Arturo, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi*, but are treated more succinctly, and with updated scholarship, in Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 28–74, 116–24. The latter pages in Drenas focus specifically on Lorenzo's preaching style. For a discussion of the Italian tradition, see Corrie Norman, "The Social History of Preaching: Italy," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Boston, 2003), pp. 125–91, here pp. 142–44, 156–62.

FIGURE 1. Engraving of St. Lorenzo da Brindisi at the Battle of Székesfehérvár. Unknown artist.

Catholic point of view, infested with heresy since the Hussite Revolution of the fifteenth century. Despite the Jesuit arrival in Prague in 1556 and continued presence in the kingdom, the Catholic population remained a beleaguered minority. As Howard Louthan explains, before the Thirty Years' War the vast majority of those living in Bohemia—almost 90 percent—were non-Catholic. They included Utraquists, the more moderate Hussites who demanded lay Communion under both kinds (*sub utraque specie*) and made up most of the population; the Bohemian Brethren who were the more radical Hussites; and Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anabaptist Protestants. Yet of all these groups, only the Utraquists and Catholics were considered legitimate under the terms of the Peace of Kutná Hora of 1485.[4]

4. Phillip Haberkern, "The Lands of the Bohemian Crown: Conflict, Coexistence, and the Quest for the True Church," in *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*, ed. Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock (Boston, 2015), pp. 27–35; Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York, 2009), pp. 4–5, 84–85.

It was these overwhelming conditions then facing Catholics in 1597 that prompted Prague's archbishop, Zbyněk Berka (in office 1593–1606), to petition the Roman authorities to dispatch a small group of Capuchins to Bohemia to assist the Church in its struggle against heresy there. Pope Clement VIII responded favorably in May 1599, and so it was decided that Lorenzo, who had a working knowledge of German, would supervise twelve Capuchins as commissary general of the mission to Bohemia. After arriving in Prague that November, Lorenzo first needed to establish the first friaries of his order's new Commissariate of Bohemia-Austria-Styria, which were erected over the course of the spring and summer months of 1600 in Prague, Vienna, and Graz. The Prague friary was constructed in the city's Hradčany district, not far from Prague Castle. It served as Lorenzo's home base during his first mission, which lasted until 1602, when he became vicar general, and for most of his second, when he was ordered back to Bohemia by Pope Paul V in 1606 and remained until 1613. The pulpit of St. Mary of the Angels, that house's church, was where he launched his all-out verbal assault on heresy.[5]

While stationed in Prague during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, Lorenzo labored within the context of Rudolf II's "aulic Catholicism." Like other Habsburg rulers of that time, Rudolf was firm about asserting his control over affairs in the Empire. This resulted in opposition to the Holy See—seen as a meddlesome foreign power—and those allied to it, with his aversion for the papacy stemming from land disputes in Italy and what he saw as papal encroachment on his own imperial authority. This emperor was, in particular, not on good terms with Clement VIII. Also part of Rudolf's aulic Catholicism was his confessional moderation and religious ambivalence. This same Habsburg had been the one to, for example, authorize the Capuchin presence in Prague, obviously significant for Catholic renewal in Bohemia; yet he was also the one who, during his power struggle with his brother, Archduke Matthias, issued the Letter of Majesty in 1609 that granted religious liberties to both Lutherans and Calvinists in Bohemia—a setback for Catholicism.[6]

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5. For Berka, see Winfried Eberhard, "Berka von Duba und Leipa, Zbynko (Zbyněk Berka z Dubé a Lipé) (1551–1606)," in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648: ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Erwin Gatz and Clemens Brodkorb (Berlin, 1996), pp. 44–46. For the process to secure the Capuchin presence in Bohemia, Lorenzo's knowledge of German, his central role in founding the new commissariate, and his twelve companions, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 75–113.

6. R. J. W. Evans coined the term *aulic Catholicism*; see Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (New York, 1979), p. 59. For clarification, see

Lorenzo, the Capuchin commissary general, is comparable to other Catholic agents at work in Rudolfine Prague. This is especially the case with the city's Jesuits, with whom he enjoyed friendly relations—unlike his fellow Capuchin, Valeriano Magni (1586–1661), an alumnus of their order in Prague who, from the 1620s, clashed bitterly with the Jesuits over tactics on how to restore Catholicism in Bohemia, their differing philosophical worldviews, and the Society's eventual exclusive control of theological instruction at the city's Charles University. For one, Lorenzo is comparable to the English martyr Edmund Campion (1540–81), who taught at the Clementinum, the Jesuit college in the city, from 1574 to 1580. Both were skilled orators and preachers, although there is no evidence in Lorenzo's homiletical remains from the Empire that he resorted to the extreme rhetoric against the Protestants for which Campion was known, who called for their utter, violent elimination. The Capuchin was also similar to the Olomouc-born Andreas Neubauer (1558/9–1618), the Jesuits' German preacher in Prague during Lorenzo's two missions. Both men preached against Polykarp Leyser in July 1607, although their sermons had different emphases. Neubauer, while quoting the writings of various Lutheran authorities, stressed that Leyser's view of good works (that they are the fruit of the new heart Christians receive by faith) contradicted actual Lutheran practice, since Lutherans were not accustomed to doing good works; whereas the highlight of Lorenzo's diatribe, as we shall see, was a theatrical stunt intended to belittle and discredit his opponent.[7]

Among Prague's Catholics, Lorenzo is also comparable to another non-Jesuit, Johann Pistorius (1546–1608). First a Lutheran and then a

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Elaine Fulton, "'Wolves and Weathervanes': Confessional Moderation at the Habsburg Court of Vienna," in *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation*, ed. Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie (Burlington, VT, 2005), pp. 145–61, here p. 152; R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612*, corrected ed. (London, 1997), pp. 86–88; Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 81, 98.

7. For Lorenzo's relationship with the Jesuits of Prague, whose discourses he used to go listen to, and with whom he sometimes enjoyed meals, see Arturo, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi*, 2:48. For Valeriano Magni, see Howard Louthan, "Mediating Confessions in Central Europe: The Ecumenical Activity of Valerian Magni, 1586–1661," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), 681–99, available at http://journals.cambridge.org/jsp/cjo/common/icepdfviewer.jsp?fileName=S0022046904001484&aid=253051&fid=S0022046904001484&filesize=117 (accessed July 8, 2016). For Campion's activities in Prague, see Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life*, pp. 93–131; Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 86, 93–94. For Neubauer and his role in the disputation with Leyser, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 206–11; Alois Kroess, *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1910–38), 1:564, 811–16, 931–33, available at https://archive.org/stream/geschichtederbhm01kroe#page/n0/mode/2up (accessed July 8, 2016).

Calvinist, this fervent convert to Catholicism authored the *Anatomia Lutheri* (1595–98), a polemical work intended to expose Martin Luther as an abominable heresiarch based on the reformer's own writings, and was appointed the emperor's confessor in 1601. After renewed, written contact with Leyser in September 1607, Lorenzo, too, took up the pen in an effort to combat heresy. The result was the *Lutheranismi hypotyposis* (hereafter *LH*), or *The Express Image of Lutheranism*, his written refutation of not only Luther but also Lutheranism and Leyser, published posthumously, from 1930 to 1933, as the tripartite second volume of his *Opera*. Whereas Pistorius relied solely on Luther's writings to attack him, Lorenzo combined this tactic with constant references to scripture, appeals to patristic authorities, and quotations from the writings of other Lutheran authorities of the age.[8] Indeed, between the *LH* and the homiletical literature from his time on mission (to be considered shortly), Lorenzo should be numbered among the noteworthy Catholic controversialists from after the Council of Trent. As such, he is particularly comparable to his contemporary and co-doctor of the Church, François de Sales. Although they labored in different locations with different sets of circumstances, both men are nonetheless representative of Catholics who produced apologetic works as missionaries while engaging the enemy on the ground.

Lorenzo's Polemical Preaching

The existing evidence indicates that Lorenzo preached routinely against Protestantism to both Catholic and Protestant audiences in Prague. He stressed polemical issues with his coreligionists to fortify them theologically, and among heretics in an effort to persuade them to abandon their "false beliefs" and return to the Roman Church. In his *Commentariolum de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae* (1612), his autobiographical account of his affairs as a missionary in the Empire, he reported the following (while writing in the third person in imitation of Julius Caesar) after narrating the foundation of the friary in Prague in 1600:

> After the friars had prepared a sufficiently large room on that site in the form of a church, there they celebrated Masses, and there they preached with a very great gathering. Brother Lorenzo would preach with great

8. For Pistorius, see Evans, *Rudolf II*, pp. 89–91; Claudio da Solesino, *L'apologetica di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi: originalità, studio storico-critico* (Rome, 1959), pp. 25–90. For the most recent analysis of the origins, fate, and content of the *LH*, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 205–48.

> liberty against the heretics, refuting their heresies; notwithstanding, no injury was ever done to him as many feared might happen.[9]

Despite the Latin title later assigned to this document, it was actually written in Italian; and the Italian behind Lorenzo's "would preach" is the imperfect "predicava," an indication that he preached habitually against heresy early on while in Prague, presumably during regular Masses and at other times of the liturgical year like Lent. He was also clear that when he preached, he held nothing back: he said exactly what he thought about the heretics and their "errors."

The Capuchin Filippo da Soragna, guardian of the Capuchins' friary at Nocera de' Pagani in southern Italy, also attested to Lorenzo's regular preaching against heresy. His testimony was recorded in 1627 for the Neapolitan apostolic process conducted during the early stages of Lorenzo's beatification process. Filippo explained that, before becoming a Capuchin, he had resided in Prague while in the service of Filippo Spinelli, the apostolic nuncio in the imperial capital during Lorenzo's first mission. As such, Filippo da Soragna was in the position to meet Lorenzo and become acquainted with him and his activities. On the subject of Lorenzo's preaching, Filippo recalled the following: "While I was staying in Prague . . . I saw that Father Brindisi at different times would preach against the heretics, refuting them and persuading them with sacred doctrine. And this was public and well-known in this place."[10] Filippo da Soragna's testimony pro-

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9. For the *Commentariolum*, see *Opera omnia*, 10.2:353–415 (hereafter *CDRAB*). To access the *Commentariolum* manuscript, see Milan, Archivio Provinciale dei Cappuccini Lombardi in Milan, A 338. For the history and content of the *Commentariolum*, as well as an English translation, see Andrew Drenas, "Lorenzo da Brindisi's *Commentariolum de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae*: An Introduction to, and Translation of, the Document in English," *Collectanea franciscana*, 85, fasc. 3–4 (2015), 595–629. For Lorenzo's description of his preaching in Prague, see *CDRAB*, p. 361: "Havendo quivi i frati accomodato una stanza assai capace in forma di chiesa, vi celebravano le messe, e vi si predicava con grandissimo concorso. Predicava fra Lorenzo con liberta grande contro gli heretici confutando le loro heresie, ne con tutto cio li fu mai fatto nissun oltragio come molti temevano."

10. Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Congregazione dei Riti, processus 379, fol. 120r: "Stando io in Praga, come di sopra ho detto, vedeva, che detto Padre Brindisi in diversi tempi predicava contro gl'heretici confutandoli, e convincendoli con la sacra dottrina, e questo era publico, e notorio in detto luogo." Although this deposition is printed among the many documents pertinent to Lorenzo's career and afterlife that make up the two-part, fourth volume of Arturo's biography, the manuscript is cited because Arturo's rendering is inaccurate. He mistook Filippo's "con la sacra dottrina" for "con la sacra Scrittura"; see Arturo, *San Lorenzo da Brindisi*, 4.2:263. An "apostolic process" was the investigation carried out, under Roman authority, to establish the saintly reputation of a candidate for beatification. Preced-

vides further confirmation that Lorenzo was accustomed to preaching against heresy in Prague and implies that he preached directly to heretics while seeking to reason with them on the basis of doctrine. Unfortunately, Filippo did not specify the location of these encounters in the city.

These accounts report Lorenzo's regular and frank preaching against heresy while in central Europe. They do not, however, reveal the content of his polemical sermons or the methods he used in an effort to persuade his audiences. The two sources that shed light on these questions are the "Codex vindobonensis" (hereafter "CV") and the "Quaresimale del Padre Brindes" (hereafter "QM"). The CV, which is housed at the Capuchin provincial archive in Vienna, is a collection of Lorenzo's handwritten, Latin plans for homilies that more than likely date to the early-seventeenth century, while Lorenzo was in Bohemia. Its contents include plans for Lenten and Easter homilies as well as homilies intended for saints' feast days, Advent, the Ascension, Pentecost, and other solemnities. They were published between volumes 10.1 and 10.2 of Lorenzo's *Opera*, the *Quadragesimale quartum* (1954) and the *Sermones de tempore* (1956) (hereafter *QQ* and *SDT*).[11] But although these plans offer insight into how Lorenzo might approach arguing a point, it is quite difficult, as both Emily Michelson and Larissa Taylor acknowledge about written sermons, to determine exactly how much they reflect those actually given by Lorenzo.[12] That is why the QM is such a significant source: it provides a record of sermons actually given by Lorenzo while he was in Bohemia. Preserved at the Capuchin provincial archive in Milan, this manuscript was the focus of an article in 1954 by the Capuchin Silvestro da Valsanzibio, who argued cogently that its original core is a substantial record of Lorenzo's sermons committed to writing as he preached in Prague during Lent 1607.[13] He

ing it was the "ordinary process," conducted under the authority of a local bishop or ordinary. See Simon Ditchfield, "'Coping with the *Beati Moderni*': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog (Rome, 2010), pp. 413–39, here pp. 419–20.

11. To access the CV, see Vienna, Provinzarchiv Wien der Kapuziner Österreich-Südtirol, "S. Laurentii a Brundusio Sermones de Tempore: Ms. Originale Auctoris." For the history of the CV and why it should be dated to Lorenzo's time as a missionary in Bohemia, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 125–32.

12. Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), pp. 32–33; Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Toronto, 2002), p. 8.

13. To access the QM, see APCL, A 52. The APCL also possesses a typed copy of a transcript of the QM completed in Venice in 1961. Costanzo Cargnoni, the present archivist in Milan, includes printed among his extensive collection of early Capuchin documents the

gave them not in German, as might be expected given his location at the time, but rather in his native Italian. At first glance, this might seem odd. The reality, however, was that not only did early-seventeenth-century Prague have a considerable Italian population living near the friary at the Hradčany but also Italian remained one of Europe's most widely known languages and was undoubtedly familiar to the city's Catholic elite in the environs of Prague Castle.[14]

Lorenzo argued against Protestantism and defended Tridentine Catholicism in at least fourteen sermons in the QM and more than forty of his sermon plans in the CV. None of this material is purely polemical; rather, the polemics appear as part of his pastoral attempts to elucidate for a Catholic audience the meaning of scripture, the Christian mysteries, and the proper conduct of good Catholics. Between both sources, he took on the Protestants in some of the most vexed theological questions of the age, including how one is justified, the place of Scripture and Tradition, the nature of the Church, and the proper understanding of the sacraments—especially the Eucharist.[15]

The CV and the QM also make manifest that Lorenzo frequently resorted to mild verbal violence while arguing against heresy. The Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists were all targets of the Capuchin's criticisms, with most directed to the first two groups. Curiously, he never mentioned the Hussites.[16] His attacks against these enemies of the Roman

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three final sermons in the QM. See Costanzo Cargnoni, ed., *I frati cappuccini: documenti e testimonianze del primo secolo*, 5 vols. (Perugia, 1988–93), 3.2:2678–2708. For Silvestro's study, see Silvestro da Valsanzibio, "Un quaresimale italiano inedito di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi," *Collectanea franciscana*, 24 (1954), 136–58. For Drenas's discussion of the QM, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 132–39.

14. For the Italian community in Prague, which included Lombard architects and masons employed by Rudolf II to enlarge and renovate Prague Castle, see Marilyn Clark, "The Community of Italian Building Masons in Prague, 1535–1720," *Mediterranean Studies*, 8 (1999), 165–73.

15. For Lorenzo's discussion of justification, see QM, fols. 3rv, 5v–6v, 10rv, 17rv, 33v, 41rv, 44r, 67rv; *QQ*, pp. 86–87, 145–46, 163, 198–200, 286–88, 697–98; *SDT*, pp. 10–11, 23–24, 145–46, 184–92, 211–16, 325–28. For Scripture and Tradition, see QM, fols. 34v–35r, 37v–38r, 138rv; *QQ*, pp. 326–31, 519, 522–26, 695; *SDT*, pp. 157, 205–06, 239–44, 259–60, 319–20. For the Church, see QM, fols. 15v, 44rv; 51r; *QQ*, pp. 212–18, 312–16, 555–56; *SDT*, pp. 175–82, 188–89, 220–26, 230–36, 288–94. For the Eucharist, see QM, fols. 99r, 113v–14v; *QQ*, pp. 376–84, 608–20, 625–36; *SDT*, pp. 341–50. For a fuller discussion of the polemical themes taken up by Lorenzo in his homiletical material and where they can be found, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 139–44.

16. One interpretation of Lorenzo's virtual silence on the Hussites could be the preacher's minimal knowledge of them. But perhaps a better explanation as to the lack of a

Church came in a variety of forms. Like other Catholic polemicists of the age, he insisted that the Protestant Gospel and libertinism went hand in hand. For example, in his sermon for the first Sunday after Lent in the QM, he asserted that whereas Christ, St. John the Baptist, and others had founded their Gospel on fasting and penance, the heretics had founded theirs on concubinage, drunkenness, and similar vices, signified by the "etc." in the text.[17] He resorted to name-calling as well. For example, at least twice in the CV he referred to his spiritual enemies as "nebulones," a term meaning "villains" or "good-for-nothings."[18]

As Lorenzo attacked his theological opponents, he constantly pointed out that the Protestants were innovators who, rather than acting as God's chosen agents to restore his Church to its pristine form, had instead introduced poisonous heresies into Christendom. This explains his label for them— "these evangelists of the fifth gospel" (*questi evangelisti del quinto evangelo*)—during his Ash Wednesday sermon in the QM.[19] It is also why, in both the QM and the CV, he consistently and mockingly attached "new" to his references to them. In the CV, he ridiculed the "amazing wisdom of these new and most divine theologasters" (*mirabilis novorum horum ac divinissimorum theologastrium sapientia*), the Anabaptists. To the Capuchin, the Protestants were "new reformers" (*novi reformatores*), "new apostles" (*novi isti apostoli*), "new Christs" (*novi Christi*), and "new theologians" (*novi isti theologi*).[20] As can be seen in these particular Latin references, the "novi" always precede the pejorative "isti"—Lorenzo's very deliberate way of stressing that the heretics represented "novelty." But in the CV, Lorenzo's favorite term of derision for the Protestants, which also appears at least once in the QM, where it is also applied to Jan Hus (in his

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prominent place for them in his homiletical works is because he did not perceive them as the same kind of international "threat" to Catholicism posed by the Lutherans and Calvinists, as their theological beliefs and liturgical practices were so close to that of Catholics. Richard Rex makes a similar observation about St. Thomas More who, in his polemical works, did not write against the Lollards in England despite their continued presence during the sixteenth century; Rex, "Thomas More and the Heretics: Statesman or Fanatic?," in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More*, ed. George Logan (New York, 2011), pp. 93–115, here p. 110.

17. QM, fol. 15v: "Christo, S. Giovanni, etc. hanno fondato il loro evangelo sopra il digiuno, sopra la penitentia, etc. per cio che hanno digiunato etc. Ma li heretici hanno fondato il loro evangelo sapete sopra che? Sopra il concunbinato, sopra le crapule etc. et per cio sono contrarij a Christo."

18. *QQ*, p. 328; *SDT*, p. 191.

19. QM, fol. 3r.

20. For these mocking titles of novelty, see, in order, *SDT*, p. 280; *QQ*, pp. 108, 144, 522; *SDT*, p. 215.

single reference to him there), is "new evangelists" (*novi evangelistae*, *nuovi evangelisti*).[21]

Besides accusing the Protestants of innovation, Lorenzo accused them of being minions of the devil, similar to Luther's tactics with his theological opponents. In the CV, Luther and John Calvin, he claimed, were definitely not bishops of Christ's Church but rather the "synagogue of Satan" (*synagogae satanae*) mentioned in Revelation 2:9 and 3:9.[22] He also called them "evangelists of Satan" (*evangelistae satanae*) and "ministers of Satan transformed into an angel of light," the way St. Paul described his theological enemies in 2 Corinthians 11:13–15. They were, Lorenzo asserted, "truly pseudochrists and antichrists" (*revera pseudochristi et antichristi*). These "new evangelists," he charged, were like the false prophets of Baal in 2 Kings—that is, sent by Satan to deceive souls.[23] To us today, this kind of rhetoric seems harsh and intolerant. We must keep in mind, however, that this was the kind of language commonly employed by early-modern polemicists who believed themselves to be in an apocalyptic, knock-down, drag-out fight over "the truth." If Lorenzo's language seems fierce, it is not nearly as violent as that of Luther and More, with their utterly nasty invectives and vulgarities still remaining notorious.[24]

But in the QM and the CV, Lorenzo relied on the Bible as his main source in his refuting of Protestant teaching. That should not be too surprising, since truth for Tridentine Catholics could be found in equal part in Scripture and Tradition, as defined by the Roman magisterium. It appears, however, that Lorenzo was accustomed to using scripture almost exclusively in his sermons—although with occasional references to patristic authorities—likely because he believed that the best strategy to combat heresy was to engage the Protestants on their own claimed turf of "Scripture alone."[25] But in so doing, he was not original. Catholic controversialists such as the Dominican Johannes Dietenberger (*c.* 1475–1537) and the Franciscan Augustinus von Alveld (*c.* 1480–after 1532)—both opponents of Luther—had been employing the same tactic since the early days of the

21. *QQ*, p. 16 *passim*, including *SDT*; QM, fol. 67r.

22. *QQ*, p. 217.

23. For these accusations of being in league with Satan in the CV, see, in order, *QQ*, pp. 144, 108, 522; *SDT*, p. 289.

24. For the verbal violence of Luther and More, see Mark Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–46* (Minneapolis, 2005); Rex, "Thomas More and the Heretics," pp. 101–05.

25. For Lorenzo's polemical use of the fathers while preaching, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 158–61.

Protestant Reformation.[26] Lorenzo's reliance on the Bible in the pulpit surely also stemmed from his order's demand in its *Constitutions* that preachers proclaim the Gospel plainly, and without art, from scripture.[27] His homiletical works reveal that he took this all seriously as he quoted the Bible continuously.

The extent to which Lorenzo usually relied on scripture to refute heresy is manifest in his recorded Ash Wednesday sermon in the QM. For this discourse, he dealt, appropriately, with the issue of fasting, basing it on Matthew 6:16–21, where Christ gave instructions for fasting. After teaching that bodily and spiritual abstinence were, respectively, the first and second rungs of a ladder extending from earth to heaven, much like Jacob's ladder in Genesis 28, Lorenzo asserted:

> These evangelists of the fifth Gospel go saying that the fasting of the Catholics is a superstitious thing, because God did not command it. Ah, ignorant people, etc.! Tell me a little something, where it is found in Divine Scripture that fasting is superstitious. It is true that Christ does not command us to fast in this Gospel; but if in this Gospel Christ gives the Church the Rules for fasting, how then does he not want it to fast? Tell me, why does the Doctor order a sick person to follow a diet unless he wants him to follow it? Only a madman would not follow it, etc. Christ gives us the Rules: "When you fast," etc., and how may we not then take care to fast? Ah, miserable people, etc.![28]

Here, Lorenzo's focus was Protestant criticisms of the Catholics' "superstitious" prescribed fasting allegedly not commanded by God. Relying on Matthew 6, his response was scriptural, although coupled with a real-world example to drive home his point. For rhetorical effect, he addressed the heretics directly, demanding answers to questions as if wrangling with the individuals in person. He continued:

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26. For these early Catholic apologists' use of scripture against Luther, see David Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 156, 166–67, 206.

27. Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 1:410–11, 417–18.

28. QM, fol. 3r: "Vano dicendo questi evangelisti del quinto evangelo che il digiuno de chatolici è cosa superstitiosa, per che Iddio non l'ha comandato. Ah ignoranti etc. Dittemi un pocco, dove si trova nella divina scrittura che il digiuno sia superstitoso. E' vero che Christo non ci comanda il digiuno in questo evangelo, ma se Christo in questo evangelo da le Regole a santa chiesa del digiunare, come donque non vuole che digiuni? Dittemi per qual causa il Medico ordina la dieta all'infermo se non vol che la facci. Non sarebbe tenuto da un pazzo etc. Christo ci da le Regole cum jeiunatis etc. et non poi non cura che digiuniamo. Ah miseri etc."

> Moreover, why does God speak in the prophet Zechariah, chapter 8[:19], of the fast of the fourth month, of the fifth month, etc.? How is it possible that he speaks of such a thing, etc.? Did the Ninevites, then, do badly [Jon. 3:5, 10]; that holy woman, Anna the Prophetess, about whom we read that "She served the Lord with fasting and prayers" [Luke 2:37–38]? If it is a superstitious thing, how was it pleasing to God? Therefore, the Apostles, St. John the Baptist, who began from the time he was a boy, etc. Oh, what horrible monsters of heresy! St. Paul says, while writing Romans 12[:1]: "I beseech you to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, your reasonable service." "Service" in the Hebrew Text means "worship," and "worship" in Divine Scripture is called "service of God." He wants, then, that the service of God be reasonable; and St. Paul calls fasting service of God. . . .[29]

Unfortunately, the writer did not finish copying down everything said by Lorenzo. His point, nevertheless, is perfectly clear in these multiple references from both the Old and New Testaments: the heretics could allege that the Catholics were being superstitious when fasting, but God did not condone or reward "superstition" in scripture nor were those great exemplars of piety in the Bible—Anna the prophetess, John the Baptist, the apostles—behaving "superstitiously" with their fasting. The Catholics were right, and the heretics were wrong, with scripture confirming this position overwhelmingly. Such was typical of Lorenzo's polemical preaching.

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29. *Ibid.*: "Di piu per qual causa parla Iddio appresso Zacharia profeta all'8 del digiuno del 4 Mese, del quinto Mese, etc.? Come è possibile che parli di cosa, etc.? Donque fecero male Niniviti, quella santa donna Anna Profetessa della quale leggiamo che Jeiunijs et orationibus serviebat Domino? Se è superstitiosa, come fu gratta a Dio? Donque li Apostoli, S. Giovanni Battista, che comincio da fanciullo, etc. Che mostri horribili d'heresie. S. Paolo dice scrivendo a Romani al 12 obsecro vos ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem sanctam rationabile obsequium vestrum. Obsequium nel testo hebreo vol dir cultus, et cultus nella divina scrittura si chiama servitio di Dio. Vole donque che il servitio di Dio sia rationabile. Et S. Paolo chiama il digiuno servitio di Dio, ut..." It is worth comparing Lorenzo's argument here with that in the plan for his second homily for Ash Wednesday in *QQ*, p. 8. Structurally speaking, the arguments are identical. Both speak to bodily and spiritual fasting; draw the same conclusions from Matt. 6; cite identical biblical figures in support; and contain exasperated outbursts against the heretics, although the insults in each source are different. *Cf.* also *QQ*, p. 145, and QM, fol. 33v. Both are based on Christ's encounter with the Canaanite woman in Matt. 15:21–28, and both treat, in the same order, arguments related to predestination, the intercession of the saints, and the Protestant tenet of *sola fide*. This strikingly similar material demonstrates that these manuscripts are more than likely related, with the CV serving as the written basis for what Lorenzo would actually preach, with modification, in Prague, recorded in the QM.

The Battle with Polykarp Leyser

As Lorenzo was a preacher who waged war on Protestantism regularly from his pulpit in Prague through scriptural references and some verbal violence, his sermon against the Lutheran Polykarp Leyser in July 1607, during their theological disputation over good works and justification, represents a culmination of his efforts. Lorenzo presented his account of the debate, and most of what we know about his philippic against his opponent, in the *Commentariolum* and the *LH*. Leyser presented his version of what had happened in Prague in the preface of his *Zwo christliche Predigten* (hereafter *ZCP*), wherein he published the two sermons he had given that sparked the whole conflict. It was the provocative sending of this booklet to Lorenzo that September that prompted him to begin writing the *LH*.[30]

Like Lorenzo, Leyser may be an obscure figure to us today, but he was a highly influential figure within Lutheran orthodoxy during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries (see figure 2). Earlier in his career, this Tübingen-trained theologian had served as ecclesiastical superintendent of Wittenberg and Braunschweig, taught theology at the University of Wittenberg, and participated in the final editing of the Book of Concord in 1580. He was an adamant opponent of Calvinism and is famously known to have observed that Lutherans had more in common with Catholics than Calvinists. He reached the pinnacle of his career in 1594, when he was appointed *Erster Hofprediger*, or first court-preacher, to the young Elector Duke Christian II of Saxony (r. 1591–1611) in Dresden.[31]

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30. NB, in *CDRAB*, p. 377; Lorenzo carelessly identified the year of the dispute as 1608 rather than 1607. For Leyser's booklet, see Polykarp Leyser, *Zwo christliche Predigten: Eine, von den guten Wercken: wie dieselben gut Evangelisch, nach Christi Lehr, sollen gepflantzt und getrieben werden. Die Andere, von dem Artickel: wie der sündige Mensch für Gott gerecht und ewig selig werde. Zu Prag gehalten, als die Röm. Keys. May. Rudolphus II. Unser aller gnedigster Herr, von dem Churfürsten zu Sachsen und Burggraffen zu Magdenburg, etc. Christiano II. unterthenigst besuchet ward. Jetzo aber in offenen Druck publicirt, von wegen des unnüzen Geschreyes und Gespeyes, welches zween Münch, ein Lojolitischer und ein Capuciner, darwider erreget. Durch Polycarpum Leisern D.* (Leipzig, 1607). Lorenzo is, of course, the Capuchin referred to in the title. The "Loyolite" is Andreas Neubauer. The *ZCP* reveals that Leyser, like Lorenzo, was no stranger to verbal violence. For further details, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 210–14.

31. For these details, and more, on Leyser, see Gaylin Schmeling, "Polykarp Leyser (1552–1610): A Theological Bridge between Chemnitz and Gerhard," *Lutheran Synod Quarterly*, 50 (2010), 187–207, available at http://www.blts.edu/wp-content/uploads/lsq/50-23.pdf (accessed July 7, 2016); Wolfgang Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 115–33; Christian Peters, "Polykarp Leyser d. Ä. in Wittenberg: Eine Bestandsaufnahme,"

FIGURE 2. Painting of Polycarp Leyser the Elder, *c*. 1602. Unknown artist. From the Protestant theological college in Wittenberg, Germany.

In 1607 it was the elector's visit to Rudolf II from Friday, July 6, to Friday, July 13, that brought Leyser to Prague. The emperor lodged Christian, Duke Johann Georg (Christian's brother), Leyser, and others of their entourage at Rožmberk Palace, which was connected to Prague Castle. Until Rudolf issued the Letter of Majesty in 1609, only Catholics and Hussites could preach and practice their faiths publicly in that kingdom. Despite this situation, Christian II had Leyser preach publicly from a window in his quarters that faced into a courtyard of the palace on Sunday morning, July 8. A crowd of Lutherans and those of other faiths amassed to listen, as Leyser asserted in his sermon that good works were not necessary for salvation but rather were the fruit of a new heart received by faith. As the discourse concluded, he asserted the following to warn his audience of the Catholic "distortion" of Lutheran teaching:

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in *Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg 1502 bis 1602*, ed. Irene Dingel and Günther Wartenberg (Leipzig, 2002), pp. 173–88. For more on Lutheranism during Leyser's lifetime, see Eric Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, 2010), pp. 83–139. For Christian II, see Thomas Nicklas, "Christian I. (1586–1591) und Christian II. (1591–1611)," in *Die Herrscher Sachsens: Markgrafen, Kurfürsten, Könige, 1089–1918*, ed. Frank-Lothar Kroll (Munich, 2004), pp. 133–36.

> Therefore, if you people hear from our adversaries, or others, that we in our churches forbid good works; or that the Gospel abolishes the teaching of good works; and that we, therefore, open the doors, gates, and windows to every wanton pleasure: do not believe such a thing. These people do us violence and wrong. You have now heard the opposite.

That was not the last the people of Prague heard from Leyser. Three days later, on Wednesday, July 11, he took the liberty to preach again, this time on justification. During that sermon, he summarized his main argument in this way:

> From all this, it is now crystal-clear and obvious that a poor sinner is justified by God; not his own works, the merit of saints, buying indulgences, corporal mortification, and the such; but Christ alone, with his precious merit and obedience, with his bitter Passion and death.[32]

The Catholics of Prague were scandalized and outraged. Among them, Lorenzo, who had no patience for heretics, was especially eager to provide an oral refutation of Leyser. Upon receiving permission to do so from Antonio Caetani, the archbishop of Capua and the new apostolic nuncio in the capital, Lorenzo prepared to head to the pulpit of St. Mary of the Angels on Thursday, July 12, the day after Leyser's second sermon. His invitees included Caetani, Catholic ambassadors in Prague, and the principal barons of the city. These prominent Catholics did attend the sermon that Thursday, as did several gentlemen of the court of Saxony—but not Leyser—and at least one Hussite, a baron.[33]

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32. Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 173–80, 183–87. These quotations from Leyser are in *ZCP*, p. 64: "Wenn demnach Euch Leute von unsern Widersachern oder sonsten höret, als wenn wir in unsern Kirchen die gute werck verböten, Oder, als wenn dass Evangelium die Lehr von den guten wercken auffhübe, und wir also Thür, Thor und Fenster zu aller uppigkeit aufftheten, so glaubet solches nit: Diese Leut thun uns Gewalt und Unrecht: Ihr habt jetzo das Widerspiel gehöret"; p. 90: "Aus diesem allem ist nun Sonnenklar und offenbar, dass eines armen Sünders Gerechtigkeit für Gott ist, nicht seine eigene werck, nicht den heiligen Verdienst, nicht erkauffte Indulgentzen, nicht eigne Casteyung des Leibs, und dergleichen, sondern einig und allein Christus Jesus, mit seinem teuren Verdienst und Gehorsam, mit seinem bittern leiden und sterben."

33. The Catholic frustration with Leyser's preaching is apparent in multiple sources. In *CDRAB*, p. 377, Lorenzo stated: "Pero dispiacque a molti catholici questa novita, e grandemente a fra Lorenzo..." It is also evident in the numerous missives of July 1607 sent by Caetani to Rome and by the Catholic ambassadors of Urbino, Tuscany, Venice, Savoy, Mantua, Modena, the Habsburg Netherlands, and Spain to their respective governments. For this and the existing details on Lorenzo's sermon, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 169–70, 180–83, 187–89.

Like Lorenzo's sermons in the QM, his diatribe against Leyser was given in Italian.[34] But unlike his Lutheran foe, whose sermons were reproduced in minute detail in the *ZCP*, Lorenzo, unfortunately, never left behind any kind of record, whether handwritten or printed, as to exactly what he said. All that we know about his sermon are a few select elements described in the *LH* and the *Commentariolum*. In both writings, he reported that he based his invective on Acts 13:10, where St. Paul confronted the sorcerer and false prophet Elymas, who was trying to prevent Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul of Cyprus, from hearing the Gospel: "O you who are full of all deceit and falsehood, you son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, will you not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?"[35] Lorenzo considered this verse appropriate for Leyser. As he pointed out in the *Commentariolum*, he could emphasize in this passage the phrase "enemy of all righteousness" specifically because Leyser had preached, in accordance with Lutheran belief, that good works were neither necessary nor meritorious for salvation, an idea that was pure heresy to Tridentine Catholics.[36] But this verse choice on Lorenzo's part is indeed telling for another reason: if Leyser could be equated with the "deceitful" and "diabolical" Elymas, then Lorenzo was surely the equivalent of Paul in this situation—the champion of the "one true Church" in this spiritual conflict comparable to the one fought by Paul against Elymas, where peoples' eternal salvation was at stake.

Lorenzo stated in the preface of the *LH* regarding his sermon, "I said many things" (*multa dixi*). In the earlier draft of the preface published in the *Opera*, he said that he hurled "many darts" at the Lutheran (*multa in ipsum iacula . . . contorsi*). Surely he did. But, beyond the implication that Lorenzo's denunciation of Leyser was probably lengthy, these passages tell us nothing about his actual arguments. The same is true for the *Commentariolum*, where all he recorded is that he had "thoroughly refuted" (*haverlo ben ben confutato*) Leyser, with no further clarification.[37] Despite this lack of direct evidence, we can assume that he would have employed the same tactics seen in his sermons and sermon plans. No doubt a barrage of Bible verses and plenty of scathing and insulting remarks—this time about Leyser and Lutheranism specifically—made up a large number of the "darts" that he hurled in Leyser's direction.

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34. *LH* 3:6, 328.

35. *Ibid.*, 1:5, 350; 3:3–4, 327; *CDRAB*, p. 377.

36. *CDRAB*, p. 377: ". . . Premè assai sopra le parole inimice omnis justitiae, perche havea predicato che l'opere buone non siano necessarie ne di merito alcuno."

37. For these extremely vague statements about the sermon's content, see *LH* 1:5, 350; *CDRAB*, p. 377.

Lorenzo may have omitted details about the content of his sermon, but he did not leave us uninformed as to what he deemed its crescendo. In the *Commentariolum*, Lorenzo stated that Leyser had used biblical quotations in his two sermons that were drawn exclusively from Luther's German Bible. (Presumably Lorenzo had heard this from reports of the sermons brought back to him.) Leyser, therefore, had not referred back to scripture in its original languages of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. But, Lorenzo continued, surely Lutherans were now supposed to have recourse to the text in those languages, since they considered the Vulgate, the Roman Church's approved Latin translation, to be riddled with errors.[38] Yet Leyser, too, had relied on a translation and one that, in Lorenzo's opinion, could best be described as "Luther's dreams and figments" (*Lutheri somnia et figmenta*), and "muddy and base" (*lutosa et sordida*).[39]

For the occasion of this sermon, Lorenzo brought to the pulpit the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. In the *Commentariolum*, he recorded that he made the following announcement to the audience:

> I want you to know what a great man this preacher is who has dared to preach openly against our Catholic Religion. Worse than that, he did this at the residence of His Imperial Majesty, a Catholic prince, and all his Catholic court; in the presence of two Apostolic Nuncios, ministers of the Pope, the Supreme Head etc.; an Archbishop; and so many prelates, who are heads of the Catholic Church in this Kingdom. He preached before so many Religious, so many theologians, and so many preachers of the Catholic faith. Almost like another Goliath, "he came to reproach the armies of the living God" [1 Sam. 17]. Take these books that are the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek—one only need be in accordance with its doctrines and not believe or teach otherwise—and you will see that he does not even know how to read it.

Lorenzo then took these texts and, with great theatricality, hurled them from the pulpit into the midst of the audience.[40] It is easy to imagine the

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38. *CDRAB*, pp. 377–78: "Non haveva nelle sue prediche citato la scrittura il predicante se non della Bibia di Luthero in thedesco, non admettendo i Lutherani l'edition vulgata della Bibia della quale si serve tutta la chiesa catholica; perche dicono che sia piena d'errori. Pero ricorrono sempre alli testi hebraici caldaici, e greci."

39. *LH* 1:5.

40. *CDRAB*, p. 378: "Fra Lorenzo porto in pulpito le Bibie in queste tre lingue, et al fine della predica disse: voglio che conosciate che grand'huomo sia questo predicante ch'ha havuto ardire di predicare contro la nostra Religion catholica in faccia, anzi in casa di S. M. C. principe catholico, e di tutta la sua corte catholica, alla presenza di due Nuntii Apostolici ministri del Papa supremo capo etc. d'un Arcivescovo e di tanti prelati che sono capi della

great thud they would have made as they landed on the church floor. The congregation must have been astonished—undoubtedly the effect desired by Lorenzo. He had now made it clear that he was waiting for the "great" Lutheran to prove him wrong.

With this stunt, Lorenzo was seeking to use scripture again, although in a manner different from what we observed in the CV and the QM, to combat heresy. By focusing on Leyser's reliance on a translation of the Bible and his alleged inability to read scripture in its original languages, Lorenzo was obviously trying to humiliate and discredit his opponent, portraying him as a hypocrite and someone who could not even abide by the Protestants' own hallowed tenet of *sola Scriptura* in its purest sense. It is also interesting to note that Lorenzo made an additional biblical reference here—one that fits superbly with his mind-set that he was in the thick of a spiritual war. While citing 1 Samuel 17, he equated Leyser with another of the Bible's villains: the giant Goliath. Goliath was, of course, the champion of the Philistines, who were at war with Israel, the "armies of the living God," which in Lorenzo's view were to be identified with Prague's Catholic prelates, religious, theologians, and preachers. If Leyser, the illustrious first court-preacher of elector of the Holy Roman Empire and duke Christian II, was to be likened to Goliath, then it comes as no surprise that Lorenzo would see himself as the David figure among the Catholics who had now resolutely made his way out onto the battlefield to deal the fatal blow to the heretics' champion.[41] On this occasion, however, the giant was not taken down with stones but rather with Bibles.

It is obvious in both the *LH* and the *Commentariolum* that Lorenzo was convinced that his stunt with the Bibles had really wounded Leyser. In the preface of the *LH*, he claimed that it had "pierced the man violently" (*pupugit res vehementer hominem*); and in the *Commentariolum*, he said something similar, that it "pierced the preacher deeply" (*trafisse grandemente il predicante*).[42] Lorenzo considered this the right conclusion to draw

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chiesa catholica in questo Regno, in faccia di tanti Religiosi, di tanti theologi, e di tanti predicatori della fede catholica, e quasi un altro Golia venit exprobare agminibus Dei viventis. Pigliate questi libri che sono la Bibia in hebraico caldaico, e greco, alla quale solo bisogna stare secondo la sua dottrina, ne altro credere o insegnare, vedrete che non la sapra pur legere. Cosi per farli gran vergogna getto que libri dal pulpito. . . ." The other apostolic nuncio referred to here was Caetani's predecessor, Bishop Giovanni Ferreri of Vercelli, who was preparing to return to Italy; see *LH* 3:327.

41. Although he did not draw the parallel between himself and David in *CDRAB*, he did in *LH* 3:57.

42. *LH* 1:5; *CDRAB*, p. 377.

since, as he put it so contemptuously in the *Commentariolum*, "after this happened, the good preacher, dumber than a fish, departed from Prague without uttering even a single word; which turned out to be to the great satisfaction of the Catholics, and embarrassment of the heretics."[43] In other words, because Lorenzo had exposed Leyser as a hypocrite and ignoramus, the Lutheran left Prague confounded, like the proverbial dog with its tail between its legs. But the reality was that Christian II and his entourage had departed from the capital early in the morning the day after Lorenzo gave his sermon—that is, on Friday, July 13. The elector and his brother, Johann Georg, needed to return to Saxony to prepare for Johann Georg's upcoming wedding ceremony. As Christian left, so the ministers and courtiers with him would have to follow. There was no way that Leyser had time to make any kind of apposite reply to the triumphalist Lorenzo in person, although he would soon do so in writing.[44] Still, Lorenzo accomplished what he had set out to do that Thursday, namely to present a genuine threat to Catholicism in Prague as no threat at all.

Although it might seem that Lorenzo had discovered Leyser's great weakness, he actually had not. The conclusion he drew about Leyser's skills with the biblical languages was completely rash, perhaps also based on reports he heard. But had Lorenzo accessed some of Leyser's works, he would have learned that his opponent could actually work with Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. This is most apparent in his six-part commentary on Genesis, which composes an impressive 2805 quarto pages. This series was published between 1604 and 1609, the same period in the first decade of the seventeenth century as the clash in Prague, meaning it is a good gauge as to what Leyser knew at that time.[45] Throughout the commentary, Leyser interacted not only with the original Hebrew text and the Aramaic Targumim but also quoted the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament. One place where he demonstrated his knowledge of all three lan-

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43. *CDRAB*, p. 378: ". . . E doppo questo fatto il buon predicante, muto piu di un pesce si parti da Praga senza far pure un minimo motto; il che riusci a grandissima sodisfattione, e consolatione de catholici, e confusione de gl'heretici."

44. For these circumstances that required Leyser's departure, see Drenas, "The Standard-bearer of the Roman Church," pp. 194–95. It is worth noting that in the preface of the *ZCP*, Leyser demonstrated his knowledge of Lorenzo's action with the Bibles, which he presumably learned about from Saxons who were in attendance. For his opinion of Lorenzo's sermon, which contains some unsavory humor and mockery, see *ZCP*, pp. 26–30.

45. For this commentary published in Leipzig, for which each part was named, in chronological order, after one of Genesis's six major patriarchs, see Polykarp Leyser, *Adamus* (Leipzig, 1604), *Noachus* (Leipzig, 1605), *Abrahamus* (Leipzig, 1606), *Isaacus* (Leipzig, 1608), *Iacobus* (Leipzig, 1608), and *Josephus* (Leipzig, 1609).

guages simultaneously is his attempt in the second part of the commentary to elucidate who the mysterious "sons of God" were that are mentioned in Genesis 6:2.[46] Clearly Lorenzo had been in error. Nevertheless, he always remained convinced that, through his intense sermon, the cause of the Catholic faith in Prague had won the day.

Conclusion

It is clear that Lorenzo, one of the Catholic Church's notable spiritual warriors of the Age of Reformation, employed preaching while seeking to combat heresy in the Kingdom of Bohemia. First, the evidence reveals that, while he was in Prague, he preached routinely and unreservedly on polemical issues to both Catholic and heretical audiences.

It is apparent, based on the recorded sermons of the QM and the sermon plans of the CV, that Lorenzo preached on the most controversial theological questions of his time, including the nature of justification and the place of Sacred Scripture and Tradition in the life of the Church. Although he did have the ability to communicate his arguments in German, he actually spent a great deal of time preaching in Italian. These sources also reveal his strategies in his preaching against heresy. Like other controversialists of the age, he frequently resorted to a belittling verbal violence and emphasized both the "novelty" and "satanic" origins of the Protestants' reform movements. In line with other Catholic apologists and in the spirit of the Capuchin order, he based his theological arguments almost exclusively on scripture—sometimes an overwhelming amount. In so doing, he was determined to meet the Protestants in the arena of their choice and to prove that they, although they claimed the Bible as their own, were in reality utterly opposed to its teachings.

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46. Leyser, *Noachus*, p. 3: "Considerandum itaque quinam illi [the "sons of God"] fuerint. Primo quidem Judaei, atque alij quidam Iudaizantes interpretantur hoc de succubis & incubis: & fabulantur, angelos descendisse in corpora, & libidinem exercuisse cum filiabus hominum, ac proinde ex coelo exturbatos esse. Hoc confirmare nitantur ex libro Jobi, ubi Satanas quodam die inter filios Dei adstitisse dicitur. Et vetustior quaedam LXX interpretum versio, quam Philo & Eusebius Caesariensis secuti sunt, pro eo, quod hebraice legitur, בני האלהים, id est, Filij Dei, habent, οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, id est, Angeli Dei. Quae versio multas quaestiones peperit, & varias sententias introduxit: quas tamen Chrysostomus, Ambrosius & Augustinus sufficienter refutaverunt. Deinde Thargum Hierosolymitanum interpretatur , hoc est, Filij Principum. Sicut in Psalmo habetur: Dixi, vos Dij estis, & filij excelsi omnes. Et haec interpretatio est commodior." There are also numerous Greek passages and terms of the Bible in the *ZCP*, which means that Leyser may actually have quoted them during his sermons in Prague. See, for example, *ZCP*, pp. 49, 71, 92.

Lorenzo also engaged directly in theological disputations with individual Protestants. After Polykarp Leyser had preached twice in Prague (an illegal act in a technical sense), Lorenzo responded to him immediately from the pulpit. Although the available evidence does not reveal the specific contents of this tirade, it still can be assumed, given the evidence from his recorded sermons and sermon plans, that he based his arguments on scripture and resorted to more derisive verbal violence. In the two verses of the Bible that he cited, he equated Leyser with two biblical villains: the sorcerer and false prophet Elymas, the "enemy of righteousness," and the giant Goliath who, despite his intimidating stature, was so easily defeated. But what was most important to the Capuchin was the part of his invective where he attacked Leyser personally, when he made known to all—incorrectly—that the great court-preacher could not even read the Bible in its original languages, and dramatically concluded his presentation by hurling the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek from the pulpit into the audience so that attendees could take the books to Leyser to see his ignorance for themselves. Like the many biblical quotations and references in his homiletic works, he intended during this particular episode to take the Bible, which the Protestants were supposed to esteem so highly, and turn it into their greatest liability. Clearly Lorenzo recognized that this "spiritual war of words" had to be fought on the battlefield of Sacred Scripture, and it was a war that he was determined to see the Roman Catholic Church—the "true Church"—win.

"To Destroy Popery and Everything Appertinent Thereto": William Chaney, the Jesuit John Bapst, and the Know-Nothings in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Maine

David Dzurec*

For the Jesuit priest John Bapst and newspaper editor William Chaney, the populist impulse that marked American politics in the turbulent decade of the 1850s offered opportunities. For Bapst, it meant engaging Catholics and Protestants throughout Maine in an effort to spread the Catholic faith. For Chaney, it meant riding the wave of Know-Nothing politics to secure a place for himself in coastal Maine society. The efforts of both men would collide in a moment of violence that ultimately marked an end to Chaney's time in Maine and strengthened Bapst's missionary resolve.

Keywords: *anti-Catholicism*, *Know-Nothings*, *populism*, *Society of Jesus*

In July 1854, the selectmen of Ellsworth, Maine, called for a town meeting to denounce a spate of anti-Catholic violence in the lumbering and ship-building town. When the citizens gathered on July 8 at the Congregational Church, those responsible for much of the recent violence packed the meeting, dashing the peace-seeking hopes of the Ellsworth officials. The members of the "Cast Iron Band," a branch of the larger anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic Know-Nothing movement, proceeded to take control of the agenda and vote out the sitting Democratic majority replacing them with members of their own number. Once in power the newly elected selectmen passed a resolution threatening to tar and feather "one John Bapst, S.J., Catholic Priest" and then ride him out of town on a rail should he "be found again upon Ellsworth soil." Passage of the legislation

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was greeted with applause and signed by Cast Iron Band member William H. Chaney, town clerk and editor of the *Ellsworth Herald*.[1]

The Cast Iron Band's coup that July evening marked a strikingly swift transition from secret society to governing body, driven largely by an animosity toward John Bapst. The group's evolution from nativist fraternal society to political party was emblematic of a larger shift for the "Know-Nothing" groups throughout the United States during this period. Nationally, the rise of the "Know-Nothings" coincided with the breakdown of the "second party system" as, in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, northern voters' dissatisfaction with the Democratic and Whig parties peaked. This growing and tumultuous dissatisfaction contributed to an expansion of the nascent "Know-Nothing" Party as they worked to fuse an anti-Catholic, nativist impulse with a reform-minded, anti-slavery message, drawing many Northern Democrats and Whigs into their fold.[2] While this fusion of varied interests result in rapid success, the movement was also very much a reflection of its confused time. As historian Ronald Formisano described it, the movement was at once "populist *and* progressive *and* reactionary."[3] In short, the Know-Nothings were an opportunistic movement that espoused opposition with little concern for coherence or consistency. Yet, in this period of uncertainty for the young United States, Know-Nothing defiance to the existing order seemed to be enough to attract adherents across the nation.

The Know-Nothings were only one manifestation of what was a period of profound transformation for the United States. In addition to the political turmoil surrounding the breakdown of the "second party system," the loss of the founding generation left many Americans questioning the future of the republic, waves of immigrants resulted in an increasing diversity in the religious and ethnic makeup of the population, and the expansion of capitalism resulted in increasing economic insecurity. Reaction to this tumult, even beyond the Know-Nothing movement, manifested itself in myriad forms ranging from efforts at self-improvement and temperance to outright xenophobia. By 1851, Maine had emerged as one of the key

1. The resolution was republished in numerous newspapers including the *Bangor* [ME] *Mercury,* October 21, 1854, 1 and "The Catholic Priest that was Tarred and Feathered and Ridden on a Rail," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* October 25, 1854, 1.

2. Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York, 1992), p. xiii.

3. Ronald Formisano, *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008), p. 199, emphasis in original.

battlegrounds in these reform efforts with the passage of the "Maine Law," which enacted a strict regulation of alcohol and became a model for other states throughout the nation. By the time of the state elections in 1853, the reform impulse had only grown in strength with candidates and voters open to new ideas and embracing a variety of anti-partisan and reform movements.[4]

It was in this unsettled political environment that both John Bapst, S.J., and William H. Chaney found ready-made constituencies for their individual messages of reform. In both cases, the two men possessed a seemingly intuitive understanding of the populist element of the national mood which they aided in their reform efforts. Despite the similarities in their approach the ultimate aims of both men were diametrically opposed. For Bapst, the unsettled nature of mid-nineteenth-century America provided the ideal moment to win converts while strengthening the faith of existing Catholics. For Chaney, the Know-Nothing movement provided a home that he had lacked for much of his life and provided a lifelong outsider with access to the heart of the community. The collision of Bapst's and Chaney's strains of populism, culminating with the attack on Bapst, reveals the depth of the anxiety induced by the turmoil facing the United States during this period. Yet, for as much as the tarring and feathering of the Jesuit missionary offers insight into the depth of American anxiety in the mid-nineteenth century, the response of Bangor's Protestant population is as instructive as the attack itself. The denunciation of what many came to call the "outrage at Ellsworth" demonstrates the limits of Chaney and the Know-Nothings's brand of intolerance. Ultimately Bapst's efforts

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4. On the loss of the founding generation, see Alfred Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston, 1999), pp. 180–81; and Simon Burrows, *Forgotten Patriots: The Untold Story of American Prisoners During the Revolutionary War* (New York, 2008), pp. 229–37. On immigration and nativism, see W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York, 1979); Katie Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America: Religious Conflict in the Nineteenth Century,* [Critical Moments in American History], (New York, 2013) pp. 15–31; Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery,* pp. 3–10; John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton, 2015), pp. 20–25; Mark Voss-Hubbard, *Beyond Party: Cultures of Antipartisanship in Northern Politics before the Civil War* (Baltimore, 2002), pp. 107–08; Scott See, "Variations on a Borderlands Theme: Nativism and Collective Violence in Northeastern North America in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons,* ed. Stephen Hornsby and Hon Reid (Montreal, 2005), pp. 125–43; David Brion Davis, *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion for the Revolution to the Present* (Ithaca, NY, 1971); Formisano, *For the People,* pp. 198–212; and Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York, 1999), pp. 778–800.

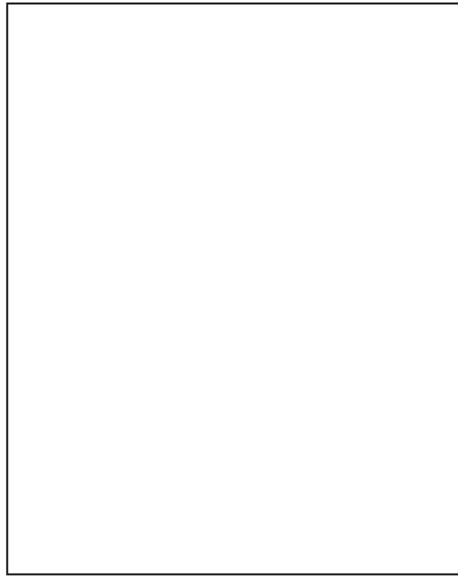

Figure 1. Image of John Bapst, S.J., n.d. Boston College Faculty and Staff Photographs, 1872–2012, Box 1, Folder 23, John J. Burns Library, Boston College, no. BC.2000.005ref15028.

to reform American society would continue long after Chaney and the Know-Nothings had been denounced by their one-time supporters.[5]

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The Swiss-born Bapst entered the Jesuit order in 1835 and was ordained in December 1846. Following the Sonderbund War, a civil war between the Catholic and Protestant cantons, Bapst fled Switzerland for France. In spring 1848, shortly after arriving in France, Bapst and many of his exiled Swiss colleagues received orders to travel to the American missions. Bapst made his way to New York before arriving at his assigned post

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5. For a comparison between American and European religious intolerance, see McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, pp. 21–25. McGreevy argues that, despite the United States' higher level of tolerance than many European countries, the anti-Catholic climate of the nineteenth century convinced Catholics of the need to develop a distinct Catholic subculture in the United States. For a discussion regarding American secularism in the wake of World War II, see McGreevy, pp. 211–13. It is argued here that Bapst's engagement with American secularism and his efforts at reform only grew stronger as time passed rather than retreated into a distinctly Catholic subculture.

in Old Town, Maine, to minister to the Penobscot Indians. Faced with a variety of challenges, including a complete lack of training in either English or Abnaki (the Penobscot language), Bapst adapted quickly during his first years in Maine. With the help of a French-speaking Penobscot woman, Bapst developed a basic knowledge of Abnaki and within months of his arrival had learned enough Abnaki to minister to the people of Old Town. With his new skills, he was soon hearing confessions, working to establish a temperance society, and acting to facilitate a settlement between rival factions within the tribe.[6]

After three years in Old Town, Bapst relocated to Eastport, Maine, to minister to the established French Canadian and growing Irish immigrant populations in the region. Joined in his efforts by two other Jesuits, John Force (Voors) and Hippolyte De Neckere, Bapst and his confreres faced a daunting geographic challenge. Their territory spanned hundreds of miles from Eastport to Waterville and encompassed the parishes of eight churches and thirty-three chapels—some 9000 Catholics—and included the Passamaquoddy people at nearby Pleasant Point. In 1852 alone, Bapst performed 110 baptisms and officiated at twenty marriages. Bapst's travels were nearly constant—answering sick calls, making financial appeals to aid in the construction of churches, giving instruction to those seeking to convert, overseeing Sunday schools, and founding temperance societies throughout the state.[7]

Despite the challenges of his assignment, Bapst met with a great deal of success. As a result of his temperance efforts, local Protestant officials in Waterville and Skowhegan, citing a downturn in alcohol consumption in their communities, repeatedly asked the Jesuit to establish permanent residence in their towns. Bapst noted that "the Protestant magistrates themselves . . . reward me with great favor and are making every possible effort to effect my permanent residence in their midst." Included in the proffered invitations was generous aid from "many of the most distinguished" Protestants in the Waterville region and support for the construction of a Catholic church. Bapst was convinced that, with a better command of the English language, he would be able to "dispel the rest of their prejudices, to awaken their slumbering consciences and to effect, perhaps, a veritable

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6. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, pp. 28–32; Raymond Schroth, *The American Jesuits: A History* (New York, 2007) and Anatole Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1950), pp. 27–31.

7. Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine," pp. 36–38.

religious revolution." All of this was facilitated, Bapst wrote to a friend in Europe, by "the bright side of American liberty." He believed that "I could preach the doctrines of the Catholic religion in the most Protestant town, before an audience entirely of Protestants, and I feel sure that I would not suffer a single interruption." Buoyed by these successes, Bapst eventually turned his attention to Ellsworth.[8]

Because of the town's central location among nearly a dozen Catholic missions in the state, Bapst wrote to his Provincial Charles Stonestreet, S.J., in September 1852 calling for a "good preacher who speaks good English and who is above all a virtuous man," to be stationed at Ellsworth to establish an additional mission.[9] The Provincial acceded and in January 1853, Bapst took up residence in Ellsworth. Bapst's reputation likely preceded him to Ellsworth as one of the local newspapers, the *Ellsworth Freeman,* noted his arrival and declared, "We are glad to give Mr. B. a good welcome as we doubt not his labors will result in much good to the flock of his charge and be a great moral benefit to the village."[10] The Jesuit rented a small house at the edge of town and began his work. Bapst's arrival coincided with a period of growth for Ellsworth's Catholic population, which had long since outgrown the small building that had served as their site of worship and had already begun preparation for the construction of a new church. One of Bapst's first tasks in his new town was to help oversee the construction of the new church to house their expanding population. In the earliest days of Bapst's tenure in Ellsworth, there was no reason to expect that the success he had experienced in Waterville and Skowhegan would not be replicated in Ellsworth. The warm welcome for the Jesuit missionary would, however, be short-lived—with tensions over the version of the Bible that was to be used in the Ellsworth public schools drawing the community into a contentious debate that would devolve into violence.[11]

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Chaney, in contrast, was a native of Maine. Born in the town of Chesterville, just west of Waterville, Chaney endured a difficult childhood

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8. Letter from John Bapst to Charles Billet, April 27, 1850, *Woodstock Letters*, 17, (Woodstock, MD, 1888), pp. 363–67.

9. Letter from John Bapst to Charles Stonestreet , S.J, September 12, 1852, *Woodstock* Letters, 18 (1889), 90-91; McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, pp. 36–37; Schroth, *The American Jesuits*, p. 74.

10. *Ellsworth* [ME] *Freeman*, January 14, 1853, 1.

11. *Woodstock Letters,* 17 (1888), pp. 361–72. Bapst was also joined briefly by the priest Augustin Kennedy who was called away to serve at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, MA, within weeks of his arrival in Ellsworth.

following the death of his father in 1830 in a sledding accident. At age nine, Chaney bounced between the homes of several different relatives and neighbors, developing a reputation as a surly and combative child. At age sixteen, Chaney set out on his own, finding work on a fishing schooner in Penobscot and Frenchman Bays. After two years aboard the fishing vessel, Cheney enlisted in the navy but, in July 1840, deserted the receiving ship, *Columbus,* in Boston Harbor after only nine months of service. Following his desertion, Chaney lit out for the American West. He envisioned himself as a "refugee, a price set on my head, every man's hand against me." Although initially intending to head for New Orleans, Chaney made it as far as Ohio before falling ill and finding himself without options: "I counted my money—$1.27; had no baggage—not even a spare shirt; sick and in a strange land; not yet twenty years old—really my prospects looked gloomy."[12]

The people of Sciota Furnace, Ohio, came to Cheney's aid, nursing him back to health and helping him to obtain a teaching position in Porter Township in early 1841. In the wake of this kindness, Cheney reimagined his future and gave over his life as a refugee to a life of self-improvement. He spent the next few months scraping by, often "boarding around" with the families of his students, before meeting rich Virginian Ephraim Pollock, who recommended Cheney to Morgan Nelson, a wealthy lawyer and city councilor in Wheeling. Based on Pollock's recommendation, Nelson took Chaney in and offered him room and board while he read law under Nelson's guidance. In addition to his studies, Chaney was an active member of his new community, writing poems and essays for the *Wheeling Times and Advertiser* and taking an interest in Whig politics.[13]

After he completed his studies and was admitted to the bar, Chaney moved to Burlington, Iowa, in September 1846. After a rocky start that involved his mishandling of several criminal cases (including one criminal defendant who was allowed toescape Chaney's custody), Chaney settled into his new home, receiving an appointment as city recorder in July 1850, serving as secretary of the Burlington Hook and Ladder Company, and participating in a Burlington mass meeting to support the Compromise of 1850. Although he lost his bid for re-election as city recorder, the city

12. William Chaney, *Chaney's Primer of Astrology and American Urania: Old Rules Simplified, New Rules Added. With Improved Nomenclature and Numerous Tables Never Before Published* (St. Louis, 1890). See also Allan R. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing': William H. Chaney, His Early Years and His Role in the Nativist Controversy 1853–1854," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 14 (1974), 1–57.

13. *Ibid.*

council appointed him city solicitor the following spring. In July 1851 Chaney married a local woman, Jane McGeary. For the briefest of moments, it seemed as though Chaney had finally found a place for himself in the world; however, it was not to last.

Within only a matter of months, Chaney's life again seemed to come apart. At the end of September, his wife fell ill. Within a matter of days, she died, mostly likely of cholera. Only a month later, following a failed defense of the city in a civil suit, the city council removed Chaney from his office as solicitor. His world crumbling, Chaney left Iowa to return to Maine where he responded to an advertisement by Charles Lowell of Ellsworth, who was looking for a law associate. The partnership of Lowell and Chaney began officially on May 1, 1852, but was unstable from the start. Professionally, Chaney disdained legal precedent and the profession as a whole, and his courtroom manner led Judge J. W. Hathaway to interrupt Chaney during an argument to a jury, noting, “it is a filthy bird that fouls its own nest.” The partnership dissolved after only five months, with each man deciding to pursue an independent career.[14]

Although Chaney continued to practice law after the fall of the partnership, his legal training had been unsystematic and largely self-directed, and he had never developed a sense of professional etiquette. Rather than work within the existing system, Chaney sought to find ways to reform the legal system. He declared the grand jury to be a “humbug” relic of medieval ignorance and argued that irresponsible prosecutors, jurors, and witnesses could destroy even an innocent person's reputation. Not surprisingly, Chaney's practice foundered, and he was forced to take up employ as a lumber store clerk, “weighing out pork, drawing molasses, and triming [sic] greasy lamps.”[15]

While he took up menial work to make ends meet, Chaney—like his period in Ohio and Iowa—continued to pursue the life of the mind. He published stories in Maine and Massachusetts newspapers, regularly attended dramatic shows and lectures, and helped organize the Ellsworth Debating Club (for which he was elected secretary). Employing the connections made in these intellectual pursuits, Chaney applied for and was hired to teach in the Ellsworth school district during summer 1853. By all accounts, Chaney was an effective teacher and had a good rapport with his students; when the school committee visited Chaney's classroom, they

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14. Chaney, *Chaney's Primer of Astrology and American Urania*, p. 145.
15. Whitmore, “Portrait of a Maine ‘Know-Nothing,’” pp. 16–18.

were impressed by his teaching and the students' efforts. Despite this success, a new opportunity in journalism enticed Chaney to make yet another career change, as Elijah Couillard, publisher of the *Ellsworth Herald*, approached Chaney about filling an upcoming editorial position at the paper.[16]

James Belcher, pastor of Ellsworth's Baptist church, had served as editor of the *Herald* since its founding in 1851. Throughout its first two years of existence, the newspaper struggled financially, and in the face of his own failing health, Belcher decided to cut ties with what he believed to be a doomed enterprise. In the wake of Belcher's departure, Couillard turned to Chaney. Chaney initially declared that he had "no ambition or pretention as an editor"; however, he reconsidered and assumed his role with gusto. Chaney laid out an independent course for his paper, declaring the right to consider any issue and stating that he would not bow "to any party or sect—political or religious." He also declared that the *Herald* would "never consent to their [sic] being used as a medium for personal abuse, crimination or recrimination, or a means whereby one party or sect may vent its spleen upon another, and thus stir up our citizens to strife and dissention."[17]

From the first, Chaney's editorial efforts seemed to embody the reform impulse that would be at the heart of the Know-Nothing movement. Chaney's ability to tap into this emerging popular sentiment drew the notice of John Shannon Sayward, the editor of the *Bangor Courier*, who remarked that "the new editor [of the *Herald*] has a sprightliness and force—is a live man and will jump into the current of time where he finds it, and give his energies to the popular impulses."[18] Part of Chaney's energy seemed to stem from the opportunity the paper provided to challenge and reform the power of established institutions. Echoing his iconoclastic efforts in the legal profession, Chaney criticized the formal procedures and etiquette of American society, condemning the legal and medical professions, journalism, religion, and government officials. Chaney's impulsiveness and temper, however, also led him to mistake the bold editorial comment and banter of contemporary newspapers for malicious character assassination. In the face of this misperception, his energy could not make up for a lack of experience. After only two months as editor of the *Herald*, Chaney stepped down in late August 1853 to the role of associate editor.[19]

16. *Ibid*., pp. 21–22.
17. *Ellsworth* [ME] *Herald*, October 1, 1852, 1.
18. *Bangor* [ME] *Courier*, June 14, 1853, 1.
19. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" pp. 25–26.

Although Chaney's editorial replacement was announced publicly as George S. Raymond, the new editor informed his associates that his real name was "Don Carlos R. Kearney," that he was the son of a commodore in the United States Navy, and that he had been a revolutionary in South America. Chaney believed that the worldly Kearney could be a worthy and competent editor. He soon discovered, however, that Kearney's real name was not any of the monikers that he had assumed but instead was Charles R. Ketchum. He was a bigamist and con man. As the story of Raymond/Kearney/Ketchum's identity fraud broke in Maine papers, the new editor fled to Boston. Only a month after stepping down, the inexperienced Chaney was back in the editor's chair of a financially struggling newspaper that was accepting subscriptions paid in "butter, eggs, potatoes, apples, beans, poultry, and in fact anything that can be used in a family."[20]

Once again at the helm of the *Ellsworth Herald*, Chaney returned to his iconoclast vitriol. What began as an airing of grievances between Chaney, writing in the *Herald,* and his former law partner Charles Lowell, writing for Ellsworth's *Eastern Freeman,* soon erupted into a full-scale conflict between the Ellsworth newspapers. The back-and-forth left each side accusing the other of "low and vulgar behavior." By fall 1853, Chaney again found himself on the margins of local society, engaged in a metaphorical shouting match with all of those around him. Yet even as it seemed that Chaney's personality might doom both his personal and professional prospects, Chaney's distinct editorial perspective found new purchase in a brewing scandal centered on the use of the Bible in the Ellsworth public schools.[21]

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Much as Chaney worked to establish a place for himself in Ellsworth society through his efforts with groups such as the Ellsworth Debating Club, Bapst worked to make his presence felt in a series of public debates of his own. Upon his arrival in Ellsworth in January 1853, the Jesuit missionary had begun a series of Sunday afternoon lectures on the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The lectures were well attended not only by the town's Catholic population but also by a number of curious local Protestants who had come to see what "could be said in defense of a religious system which in their opinion had long before been thoroughly exploded." According to Bapst, the attendees included several young women from prominent local families, who found his message so persuasive that they

20. *Ellsworth* [ME] *Herald*, October 21, 1853, 1.

21. *Eastern* [Ellsworth, ME] *Freeman*, September 16, 1853, 1.

FIGURE 2. Map of Maine indicating the places mentioned in the article.

converted to Catholicism. These conversions proved unsettling to a number of local Protestant ministers, who denounced Bapst from their pulpits, warning him to stop his work of proselytizing and "of reducing free-born Americans to Rome's galling yoke." Simultaneously, Bapst's successful proselytization efforts and his work in helping to build the new church in Ellsworth emboldened the Catholic population to take a stand against policies traditionally accepted by them, such as the use of the King James Bible in public schools, which laid the foundation for the nativist, anti-Catholic explosion that was to follow.[22]

Prior to 1853, all of Ellsworth's public school students had made use of the Protestant King James Bible in their class work. On the eve of the new school year, in the late summer of 1853, Bapst actively encouraged

22. "Fr. Bapst's Narrative," *Woodstock Letters* , 18 (1889), p. 133.

Ellsworth's Catholic families to have their children refrain from using the Protestant Bible. In the face of these refusals some of Ellsworth's teachers simply excused their Catholic students from participating in the reading exercises; others, however, were more stringent and demanded that their students participate in all class exercises. By October, the Ellsworth School Committee had weighed in on the nascent controversy, declaring that all students must use only the King James Bible or leave the school. Bapst reacted bitterly to the news, writing to his provincial that the School Committee had created this new rule "out of bigotry." In response to the committee's official policy, Bapst collected more than one hundred signatures calling for an end to the Bible policy, laying them before the committee. The school officials rejected the petition, declaring that the all students were to "read the Protestant Bible or be dismissed from the schools; and should we find them loafing around the wharves we will clap them into jail." School officials, led by committee spokesman Seth Tisdale, made good on their threat when on November 14, following a visit to the city's largest school, they expelled sixteen Catholic students who refused to participate in the Bible reading. [23]

In the face of the mass expulsion, Bapst organized a Catholic school in the old chapel and hired a teacher to oversee the students' education. The family of one student, Bridget Donahoe, billed the state of Maine for her tuition and followed with a lawsuit against the Ellsworth School Committee when the state failed to deliver. The Donahoe lawsuit raised the issue of both public funding for parochial education and the right of non-Protestant students to refuse instruction from the King James Bible. The suit reflected ongoing national debates about public funding for religious education and the use of the King James Bible in the classroom. Debates over the use of public funds for Catholic schools had begun a decade earlier in immigrant hubs like New York and Philadelphia, and, by the 1850s, had spread throughout the United States as immigrant numbers increased. In 1853 alone, the "school question" became the "all-absorbing topic" of the spring elections in Cincinnati. In Detroit, Whigs and Democrats joined together to resist the bishop's request for state funding for parochial schools. The Indiana state legislature passed a bill prohibiting the use of public funds for parochial schools, with similar legislation nearly passing in the New York state legislature.[24]

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23. John Bapst, S.J., to Charles Stonestreet, S.J., October 1853, cited in Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine," p. 43.

24. Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery,* pp. 24–25.

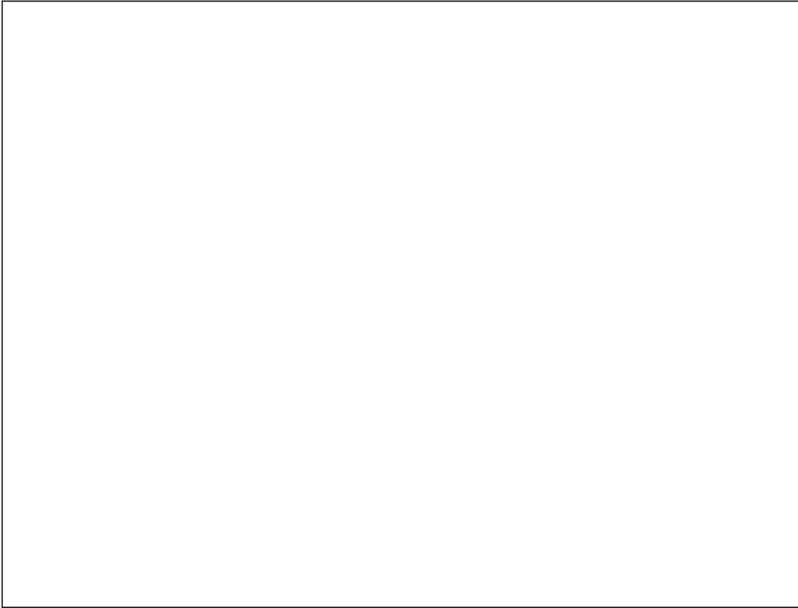

Figure 3. Political Cartoon from the *Ellswsorth Herald,* February 24, 1854, entitled "John Bapst, S.J., Catholic Priest of Ellsworth, Closes the Door of the Public School against the Children of Papists."

In all cases, the cause of public funding for parochial schools and the right of non-Protestants to refuse the use of the King James Bible proved to be a losing one. In *Donahoe v. Richards*, the Maine Supreme Court ruled in favor of the defendant, refusing to "subordinate the state to the individual conscience." Furthermore, writing for the court, Chief Justice John Appleton noted that "if the common version of the Bible is to be objected because of denominational objections, so might the works of Locke, Bacon, Newton and Galileo."[25] The precedent set in the Donahoe case, declaring that a student might be expelled for refusing to read a text regardless of a student's religious views, would be in effect until 1890, when the *Edgerton* case in Wisconsin finally elevated the rights of conscience of a minority group over the traditional religious practices of the majority.[26]

25. Daniel Piar, "Majority Rights, Minority Freedoms: Protestant Culture, Personal Autonomy, and Civil Liberties in Nineteenth Century America," *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, 14 (2006), 1016–107.

26. Thomas C. Hunt, "The Edgerton Bible Decision: The End of an Era," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 67 (1981), 589–619.

As the Donahoe case made its way through the courts, the members of the Ellsworth School Committee placed blame for the entire incident on "Mr. Bapst." The committee members declared that the Jesuit was "responsible for the agitation of this subject, and all of the evil that has resulted." Prior to the arrival of "the Rev. Mr. Bapst, a Catholic priest, of the order of the Jesuits," they argued, "all was undisturbed harmony on this subject." Worse still, they contended,

> He is a foreigner by birth, education, and allegiance. Under his dictation a portion of our fellow citizens have deprived their children of the benefits of our schools, many of them stating to us that they themselves had no objection to the rule we have retained in reference to the Bible.[27]

In responding to these charges, Bapst attempted to reduce the question "to its simplest expression," seemingly banking on his faith in "the bright side of American liberty" that had arisen from his earlier experiences with Maine officials in places like Waterville and Skowhegan. Writing in the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier,* he questioned:

> Has the School Committee the constitutional power to force on the Catholic children the reading of a version of the Bible, which is forbidden by their Church and their conscience, and in case of refusal, to dismiss them, for that reason alone? If the Committee has such a power under the Constitution, then the Committee is right and the Catholics are wrong. But if the Committee has no such power, then the Catholics are right, and the Committee is answerable for the whole agitation.—But the question has not yet been decided by a competent tribunal. Therefore let us wait.

Ultimately, of course, Bapst was to be disappointed by the ruling. Yet even before the constitutional issue was decided, tensions in Ellsworth would reach new heights.[28]

Initially, it appeared as though the Bible controversy might simply be allowed to resolve itself in the courts as Bapst had hoped. Chaney's initial reaction to the dispute mirrored that of Bapst in calling for restraint. Chaney's *Herald* offered only limited coverage of the Bible controversy, reprinting accounts from the *Belfast Journal* and the *Augusta Age* along with

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27. The school committee remarks were reprinted in the *Bangor* [ME] *Daily Whig and Courier*, December 24, 1853, 1.

28. Bapst's response to the committee appeared in the *Bangor* [ME] *Daily Whig and Courier*, January 5, 1854, 1. On the "bright side of American liberty," see Bapst's letter to Billet, (1888), pp. 362–76.

an extended statement by the superintendent of public instruction in New York, who declared that no child should be forced to read a particular version of the Bible in school.[29] In a November editorial Chaney went so far as to urge calm from all sides, noting that "the discussion of any sectarian question, through the columns of a newspaper, never yet did any good, but in our opinion has always resulted in evil." He hoped that "like a little fire," the controversy "may be easily extinguished if taken in time, but if left to itself will soon kindle into a devouring flame."[30] These early calls for restraint, however, were soon replaced by a far more vitriolic tone as violence erupted on both sides of the controversy.

Within days of Chaney's call for calm, someone broke into a schoolhouse on the western side of town and destroyed fourteen King James Bibles. This act of vandalism was followed by name calling and threats of violence by Catholics against members of the Ellsworth School Committee. In the face of this Catholic violence, Chaney changed his tone, declaring the "Catholic Bible Question" part of an elaborate Roman Catholic conspiracy to undermine the American republic. The School Committee defended its actions and placed blame for the Catholic violence on Bapst in a letter to the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*. The Jesuit was quick to respond to the newspaper attacks, counseling patience and declaring that the charges leveled against him were entirely false.[31]

The Jesuit's response, however, only seemed to agitate Chaney further. The editor of the *Herald* would later admit that "when angered . . . my voice is loud and harsh my features become rigid, my little eyes set and seem to glow with the fierceness of a demon more than a human." Furthermore, Chaney declared, "I hold that a compromise implies a surrender of something that should be retained." Within a matter of weeks, an issue that Chaney had argued should remain out of the columns of a newspaper had become a personal crusade splashed across the pages of his publication.[32]

In addition to his concern for the future of the Republic, Chaney's change of heart may have resulted in part from financial concerns. The

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29. For Chaney's coverage of the controversy, see *Ellsworth Herald*, December 9, 1853, 1; December 23, 1853, 1.

30. *Ellsworth Herald*, November 11, 1853, 1.

31. Chaney's editorial appears in the *Ellsworth Herald* of December 9, 1853, January 6, 1854, and January 13, 1854. The school committee's letter is published in the *Bangor* [ME] *Daily Whig and Courier*, January 5, 1854. *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, vol. 6 (New York, 1855), p. 17. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World,* pp. 40–41.

32. Chaney, *Chaney's Primer of Astrology and American Urania*, pp. 123, 147.

Eastern Freeman noted that, during its initial restraint in covering the Bible controversy, the *Herald* was losing nativist subscribers at a rate of six to fourteen per day. The editors at the *Freeman* surmised that this decline had played a key role in the development of Chaney's anti-Catholic position, chiding, "Friend Chaney, you are not the first zealot that love of filthy lucre has made."[33] Yet, if increasing circulation was a factor Chaney's efforts, it was only a part of the Chaney's growing zealotry, as his efforts extended well beyond the pages of the *Herald.*

Beginning in late January 1854, Chaney organized a series of mass gatherings at Lord's Hall in Ellsworth to discuss the Catholic threat. At one meeting, following a series of anti-Catholic speeches given by a number of prominent members of Ellsworth society (including Chaney; Dr. Moses Pulsifer; the minister J. French; and J. S. Hawes, the principal of Ellsworth's high school), the group declared its intent to "destroy popery and everything appertinent thereto" and adopted the name the "Cast Iron Band."[34] Chaney's efforts did not end with the creation of the Band. In the weeks that followed the organization of the anti-Catholic nativist group, Chaney traveled throughout the neighboring villages of Hancock, Reed's Brook, Morgan's Bay, Blue Hill, Southwest Harbor, Surry, and Gouldsboro, speaking on behalf of the growing nativist forces gathering supporters throughout Hancock County. In the Know-Nothing movement Chaney finally seemed to have found his place.[35]

Throughout spring 1854 Chaney's editorial efforts mirrored those of his public speaking engagements. Presenting issue after issue, Chaney railed against the Catholic threat. Employing thinly veiled satire, political cartoons, and outright attacks, Chaney decried the efforts of Bapst and the "Jack Catholics"—his label for those who supported the Jesuit, including newspapers that appeared sympathetic to Bapst's cause such as the *Bangor Mercury* and the *Ellsworth Freeman*. By April, Chaney went so far as to publish a notice declaring that "1000 men [were] wanted" and issuing a call to "Protestant laborers everywhere" to "come to Ellsworth, and come quickly! for your services may yet be needed in more ways than one."[36] Chaney's call

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33. *Eastern* [Ellsworth, ME] *Freeman*, February 24, 1854, 1.

34. Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine," p. 54.

35. An account of the gathering appears in the *Ellsworth Herald*, February 24, 1854, 1. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" pp. 33–37.

36. For Chaney's attacks on competing newspapers, see *Ellsworth Herald*, January 20, 1854, 1; February 24, 1854, 1; March 10, 1854, 1. The call for "1000 men" appeared on April 14, 1854, 1 and was reprinted in the *Boston Pilot* on May 6, 1854.

for a "1000 men" came as members of the Cast Iron Band marched through town taunting and threatening Catholics. Catholic women who worked in Protestant households daily were ridiculed and heard their employers mocking the Catholic fish-and-egg diets on Fridays and slandering Bapst. For their part, Catholics cursed Chaney in the streets, and Irish women asked God to save them from the "devil Chaney."[37]

Before long, the tension simmering in Ellsworth and environs boiled over into outright violence. In mid-April, a rumor spread throughout Ellsworth that a group of Catholics had resolved to "blot out" Chaney and his press. When the attack on the *Herald* did come, Chaney and members of the Cast Iron Band, who had been keeping watch over the press as the rumors grew, defended the newspaper building and surprised the would-be Catholic vandals. A month later, Chaney was confronted by a fist-shaking Irish-Catholic named Tim Doyle who threatened to knock Chaney's teeth down his throat. The two men squared off, and Chaney beat Doyle until spectators managed to pull the editor away. By June, Bapst became the target of Cast Iron Band violence. Initially, the mob had hoped to seize Bapst in an attack on his home on June 3. When his housekeeper informed the members of the Band that the priest was away on a sick-call, they expressed their disappointment by shattering a window with a large stone. Three days later, the mob again returned, and unaware that Bapst had returned to Ellsworth, focused its anger on the town's new church, shattering every window in the building. Following this wave of violence, the bishop, fearing for Bapst's safety, reassigned the Jesuit to Bangor and ordered that he not return to the town even for Sunday Masses.[38]

In the wake of Bapst's departure, the *Eastern Freeman* offered a review of the recent "excitement." Authored by Lowell, Chaney's former law partner, the review was as much a revival of the two men's long-running feud as it was a condemnation of the recent violence. Lowell declared that "there is no more firm and decided Protestant in America, nor an individual with less sympathy with the Catholic Faith, than the humble writer of this review." Lowell added, however, that "any religion is better than none at all," and he therefore "wishes every person to worship God according to his own con-

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37. Mary A. Tincker, *The House of Yorke* (New York, 1872), pp. 128–29, Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" pp. 39–40.

38. *Ellsworth Herald*, May 26, 1854, 1; *Eastern Freeman*, May 26, 1854, p. 1; "Fr. Bapst's Narrative," *Woodstock Letters*, 18 (1889), pp. 133–36; McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World,* p. 26; Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine," pp. 55–56.

victions of right and duty." It was in this framework that Lowell offered his "review." In examining the root cause of the controversy, Lowell blamed a "sectarian spirit" and the "indiscrete language and temper" of leading Catholic officials; however, after the initial unsettlement, he argued that the controversy had "since been kept alive, extended, and greatly aggravated . . . by William H. Chaney." According to Lowell, Chaney's attacks had "kept up and aggravated the situation." His "prostituted press, a weak brain, and perverse spirit, have been able to impose on so many well-meaning citizens, and to excite and inflame the masses." Although Lowell certainly held a personal grudge again Chaney, his sentiments reflected the view of Ellsworth's non-nativist Protestant population.[39]

Far from bringing an end to the Cast Iron Band's activities in Ellsworth, Bapst's departure was viewed as a victory by the nativist group, sparking further violence. The activities of anti-Catholic mobs only increased in the ensuing period, with Catholics fearing to leave their homes after dark. On the night of June 13, members of the Cast Iron Band detonated a bomb on the steps of the old Catholic chapel that served as the home for the Catholic school, blowing the door from its hinges and shattering every window in the structure. This spate of increased violence drew the condemnation of many town residents, including Lowell, and the town selectmen called a meeting for July 8 at which they planned to denounce the Cast Iron Band and its supporters. Instead, the emboldened nativist band seized control of the town meeting, elected new selectmen, and passed a resolution offering Bapst

> an entire suit of new clothes such as cannot be found at the shops of any Tailor; and that when thus appareled, he be presented with a free ticket to leave Ellsworth upon the first *railroad operation* that may go into effect.

Within a month of the Jesuit's relocation, the Cast Iron Band had reached the height of its power.[40]

The following week, someone set fire to the new church, which, according to the *Eastern Freeman,* "if not timely discovered might must have proved the destruction of that building and the adjoining Catholic School." Although the nativist impulse seemed to have a firm grasp on Ellsworth and the surrounding communities, there was a growing regional backlash against the violence. The *Augusta Age* denounced the attack on the church, blaming Chaney for much of the violence and declaring that the attack was

39. *Eastern Freeman*, June 9, 1854, 1.

40. *Eastern Freeman*, July 14, 1854, 1. Emphasis in original.

the "fruit of a bitter campaign waged for months by the *Ellsworth [H]erald*." The *Bangor Mercury* echoed these sentiments, declaring that "we cannot believe that the numerous outrages in Ellsworth against the Irish Catholic population are countenanced by the people." Like their counterparts in Augusta, the editors of the *Mercury* criticized the "bitter crusade which the *Ellsworth Herald* has waged for many months." Whatever the cause, the Bangor paper declared, Ellsworth stands "disgraced in the eyes of all good citizens," particularly because the acts of violence violated the religious freedom that "is carefully protected by the constitution under which we live, and which protection has ever been regarded as the dearest right of the citizens." All of these assertions served as prelude to the peak of both the violence in Ellsworth and the backlash against it in fall 1854.[41]

* * *

In early October 1854, Bapst was called to Cherryfield, fifty miles southeast of Bangor.. Believing the nativist furor in Ellsworth to have run its course, Bapst decided to spend the night in Ellsworth (which was halfway to Cherryfield). On the evening of October 14, word spread throughout Ellsworth that the Jesuit had returned. This news elicited an immediate reaction. Local nativist leaders called a special meeting of the Cast Iron Band, while dozens of men and boys assembled in the Post Office Square. Shortly after 9:00 that evening, members of the Band donned masks, met in Post Office Square, and led the crowd through a driving rain to the Kent home where Bapst was hearing confession. Accounts vary as to what happened next. Some said that Bapst was dragged from the house by the mob; others stated that the Jesuit came of his own volition to protect the residents of the home. Either way, at long last the Cast Iron Band could make good on its selectmen's threat.

Although the mob initially debated how best to proceed, it eventually decided to follow through on the threat issued in the town meeting. Bapst was stripped of his clothes, robbed of his wallet and watch, tarred, and feathered him, with the group swearing at him. According to a Bangor newspaper, one mob members jeered, "why don't you call on your Virgin Mary for help?" Bapst then was placed on a sharp rail, carried for half a mile to the Tisdale shipyard, tossed unconscious upon the wharf. At that point, despite some calls to hang the priest, the leader of the mob called an end to the attack. A group of heavily armed Catholics who had been

41. *Eastern Freeman,* cited in Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine," p. 58; *The Augusta* [ME] *Age*, July 27, 1854, 1; *Bangor Mercury* repr. in the *Boston Pilot*, July 29, 1854, 1.

searching for Bapst since the attack rescued him, carrying him back to the Kent home. The next morning, Bapst insisted on celebrating Mass for his former parishioners before he was taken to Bangor to recover. He never would return to Ellsworth.[42]

The widespread outrage over the bombing of the Ellsworth parish church was only amplified by news of the attack on Bapst. Throughout the Northeast, newspapers decried "the Ellsworth Outrage." Initial reports as far away as western Pennsylvania suggested that Bapst had been killed in the attack as well as that the "ruffians" had stolen $50 from the priest and during the attack made "disgusting personal assaults . . . using various degrees of foul language." In Amherst, New Hampshire, the *Farmers Cabinet* reported that, before "this outrage," Bapst had "done much good among the Catholic population, and has brought about many useful reforms, winning commendation on all hands." The *Sun* in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, decried the attackers as "wretches" and expressed the hope that they would "be able to chronicle the hanging of every one of them."[43] Reaction against the attack intensified with proximity, with some of the most strident outrage coming from Bangor. The *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* not only decried the attack as "an abominable outage" but went so far as to argue that it was an affront to the core of what it meant to be an American. The editors of the *Whig and Courier* declared that

> such outrages as this array themselves not merely against Mr. Bapst, or the church of which he is a priest, but against the laws of the land, and all the pledges of a civilized society and the securities of our Constitution and the whole spirit and aim of our system of government.

In addition to their discussion of Constitutional freedoms, the Bangor editors decried the attack as a violation of the character of all New England: "No hearty New Englander, no right minded person should think for a moment of any other weapon in a case like this than that of debate and the ballot box." Resorting to violence was "a gross and wanton outrage, for which they can have no justifiable reason, nor even a plausible excuse." If

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42. "Outrage at Ellsworth," *Bangor* [ME] *Daily Journal,* October 17, 1854, 1.

43. "Death of the Catholic Priest Who Was Tarred and Feathered," *Washington* [PA] *Reporter,* October 25, 1854, 2, and "The Late Outrage at Ellsworth, Maine," *Washington Reporter*, November 1, 1854, 2; "The Outrage upon the Rev. Mr. Bapst," *New York Times,* October 27, 1854, p. 1; *Farmers Cabinet* [Amherst, NH], October 26, 1854, 1; *Sun* [Pittsfield, MA], October 26, 1854, 3; "The Catholic Priest That Was Tarred and Feathered and Ridden on a Rail," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* October 27, 1854, 1.

there was any threat to the Republic coming from Ellsworth, the Bangor editors believed it to be the nativist bands rather than a Catholic priest.[44] In the face of this widespread criticism the Cast Iron Band was defiant. Chaney called a meeting of the Band on the evening of October 24. The minutes of the meeting, which were widely published, provided a defense of the attack, declaring that Bapst had been "exiled by force of public opinion for his treasonable interference with our free schools" and that Bapst had brought the attack upon himself, although his "indiscretion and bravado in returning here after having made himself so exceedingly obnoxious to all respectable Protestants and lovers of their county and its glorious institutions." As for attacks on the character of the members of the Band, the group passed a resolution declaring that "we still hold ourselves as American freemen, accountable to law, and that we hurl back the charge of being 'rowdies, ruffians, and pirates' to the base source whence it emanated." Finally, according to printed accounts of the meeting, Chaney rose before the Band, speaking for "three-quarters of an hour, giving a history in short of the Roman Catholic trouble in Ellsworth, being often interrupted by the cheering of the audience, which was never larger in the hall."[45]

In the months that followed, Chaney's dedication to nativist politics continued to ensure his place in the Ellsworth community. The spirited defense of the attack on Bapst was only a beginning. His newspaper columns derided efforts to punish anyone for the attack on Bapst. As the November elections grew nearer, Chaney continued his efforts to drum up support for Know-Nothing candidates. It had been Chaney who had traveled to Boston in June 1854 to register the Hancock County chapter of the American Party; by that fall, the county had become a party stronghold in Maine. In the November 1854 elections Hancock County delivered hundreds of votes to American Party candidates, and Chaney was elected to serve as one of twenty-two state delegates representing Maine at the national convention in Cincinnati. Chaney's final act of dedication to the nativist cause in Ellsworth came in January 1855 when he purchased the *Herald* (made possible in part with loans from his cousin, Josiah Chaney, of Portland and Ellsworth nativist John True) and renamed it the *Ellsworth American*. Running under the new name on the masthead, the paper declared, "Americans can govern America without the aid of Foreign

44. "An Abominable Outrage at Ellsworth," *Bangor* [ME] *Daily Whig and Courier*, October 17, 1854, 1.

45. "Mass Meeting at Ellsworth," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier,* October 28, 1854, 1.

Influence." Despite an initial reticence, Chaney, in taking up the nativist cause, had made himself a pillar of the Ellsworth community.[46]

Yet as the nativist wave in Maine crested and retreated, so, too, did Chaney's place in Ellsworth society. As the new Republican Party began to draw away members of the Know-Nothings, Chaney denounced those who fled the party, declaring,

> when we left the old Democratic Party it was not to return again, like a dog to his vomit, nor was it to go into the arms of the dying Whig Party, but it was to help build up a new party and adhere to it.

Those who "profess friendship with the self-styled Republican party . . . are committing adultery with the deformed nondescript."[47] Chaney's cries for loyalty went unheeded, and he began to look elsewhere for opportunities as he realized he was fighting a lost cause. Only twelve months after purchasing and renaming the *American*, Chaney left for New Bedford, Massachusetts, in December 1855, abandoning his second wife and two sons. Faced with the political adultery of Ellsworth partisans, Chaney hoped to find nativist sympathizers in Massachusetts. In February 1856, he established the Know-Nothing *New Bedford Evening Express*. As in Maine, however, the diminished nativist impulse left Chaney without much of an audience for his new endeavor, and Chaney, without any expression of embarrassment, abandoned the American Party. In a presidential election year, Chaney—keenly aware of the shifting political winds—renamed his paper the *New Bedford Express* and endorsed James Buchanan and the Democratic Party.[48]

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The anti-Catholic violence in Ellsworth was not unique. Just days before the attack on Bapst, about 100 miles south of Ellsworth, the "Old South Church" in Bath, Maine, had been destroyed as the result of a series of nativist, anti-Catholic sermons delivered by John Orr, an itinerant preacher who went by the name of the Angel Gabriel. In the months that followed the attack on Bapst, scattered outbreaks of such violence occurred in places like Manchester, New Hampshire; Dorchester, Massachusetts; and Louisville, Kentucky. In Louisville on August 6, 1855,

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46. *Ellsworth Herald*, October 20, p. 1; October 27, p. 1; November 3, p. 1; and December 28, 1855, p. 1; *Ellsworth* [ME] *American*, January 12, 1855, p. 1.

47. Cited in Herbert Silsby, "Looking Backward," *Ellsworth American* , August 22, 1996, 20.

48. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" pp. 44–45.

Know-Nothings inspired by nativist editorials in the *Louisville Journal* set fire to blocks of dwellings tenanted by the Irish, with entire families being roasted to death or shot as they attempted to escape. Even in Ellsworth, the final act of anti-Catholic violence occurred on April 27, 1856, with the destruction of the Catholic Church that Bapst had helped to construct three years prior.[49]

Yet, the attack on Bapst was in many ways the denouement of the vitriolic strain of Know-Nothingism that Chaney had fostered in Ellsworth and Hancock County as a whole. The public interplay between Bapst and Chaney, the Donahoe court case, the rise of the Cast Iron Band (most notably its takeover of the Ellsworth town government), and the brutality of the tarring and feathering of the Jesuit generated a great deal of public attention and helped to turn public opinion against this anti-Catholic impulse. Bapst himself believed that regret over the attack would "be extremely useful to the cause of the Church in Maine."[50] True to Bapst's expectations, the people of Bangor called a special meeting mirroring that of the Cast Iron Band's defense of the Ellsworth attack; this gathering of Bangor's Protestant population passed resolutions lauding the Jesuit for his "admirable patience," his "Christian forbearance" and his "courageous zeal" and declaring Bapst to be a "blessing" and an "honored" resident of Bangor. Following the reading of the resolutions, the chair of this meeting, "amid deafening applause," presented Bapst with a "well filled purse" and a gold watch to replace the timepiece that had been stolen from him during the attack. The engraving on the cover of the watch read:

TO REV. JOHN BAPST, S.J.
FROM THE CITIZENS OF BANGOR, MAINE
AS A TOKEN OF THEIR HIGH ESTEEM

In many ways, the attack in Ellsworth only helped to entrench Bapst in eastern Maine. He would remain in Bangor for another five years, overseeing the construction of St. John's Church, the largest in the state at that time. He was transferred to the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1859. During his final years in Maine, Bapst witnessed a political sea-change.

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49. See, "Variations on a Borderlands Theme," p. 132; Baillargeon, "Father John Bapst and the Know-Nothing Movement in Maine," p. 72.

50. John Bapst to John Fitzpatrick, October 20, 1854, cited in John McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom* (New York, 2003), p. 61.

This political shift ranged from the partisan to the personal as members of Ellsworth's newly formed Republican Party—many of whom had been Know-Nothings—sought to distance themselves from the anti-Catholic violence that had gripped Ellsworth. In attempting to assign blame, the Ellsworth Republicans found their target in recently minted Democrat Chaney. The former editor of the *Herald*, now *American*, they argued, was responsible for the core of the anti-Catholic tumult and violence. Chaney, for his part, not only monitored the news from Ellsworth but also responded in his characteristic style. Writing from New Bedford, Chaney offered "A Litany for Ellsworth, Me.," in which he condemned his former town:

May fire and brimstone never fail
To fall in showers in Ellsworth, Maine;
Mayall the leading fiends assail
The thieving town of Ellsworth, Maine.

May beef or mutton, lamb or veal,
Be never found in Ellsworth, Maine,
But garlic soup, and scurvy kail
Be the food of Ellsworth, Maine.

May fame resound a dismal tale
When 'er she lights on Ellsworth, Maine;
May Egypt's plagues at once prevail
To thin the knaves of Ellsworth, Maine.

May frost and snow, and sleet and hail
Benumb each joint in Ellsworth, Maine;
May wolves and bears trace and trail
The cursed crew of Ellsworth, Maine.

May want and woe each joy curtail,
That e'er was found in Ellsworth, Maine;
May no coffin want a nail
That wraps a rogue in Ellsworth, Maine.

Oh! may my couplets never fail
To find a curse for Ellsworth, Maine;
And may grim Pluto's inner goal
Forever groan with Ellsworth, Maine.[51]

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51. William Chaney, "A Litany for Ellsworth, Me," *New Bedford* [MA] *Evening Express,* April 8, 1856, 1. Somewhat ironically, Chaney's poem was republished in Boston's Catholic newspaper, the *Boston Pilot*, on April 19, 1856.

The former Ellsworth editor went on to distance himself from the violence in a series of editorials in his Massachusetts newspaper, pointing to his initial calls for calm in the *Herald* when the Bible controversy had first erupted, neglecting all of the vitriol and rage that would follow. Rather than accepting blame, he denounced the people of Ellsworth and argued that he had "a clear record in reference to the Ellsworth outrage."[52]

By 1856, many of the former members of the Cast Iron Band were fleeing from the legacy of the once-powerful group. Although larger xenophobic, populist, and reform forces were in play throughout the United States driving the rise of the Know-Nothing movement, it was the role of individuals driving this latent impulse to the heights of violence and these acts of violence that alienated many would-be supporters. For Chaney, his 1856 endorsement of Democrat James Buchanan marked the final turn from his Know-Nothing advocacy and an end to the height of his political influence—he would spend the rest of his life attempting to find a place for himself before dying in Chicago in 1903.[53]

By way of contrast, Bapst continued the work he started in Maine for much of his life. Unlike Chaney, who abandoned his populist efforts following the collapse of the Know-Nothings, Bapst continued to employ a populist approach in advancing his Catholic missionary work in the United States. Key to these efforts was an active interest in Catholic education with a specific goal of engaging Americans of every faith. Following his time at the College of the Holy Cross, Bapst went on to serve as the first president of Boston College. As president of the newly established college, Bapst declared that "our zeal should not be restricted to the Catholics alone, but should be extended to all." Reflecting his own missionary approach, he argued that scholastics at Boston College should be actively educated in the issues of the day, if only to be able to answer directly Protestant objections to the Catholic faith. Failure to train scholastics to engage in such dialogue would leave them "to the past," making them "strangers to the present," and prevent them from engaging in their work.[54]

As Superior of the New York and Canada Mission, Bapst wrote Jesuit Superior General Peter Jan Beckx in 1870, supporting the creation of a

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52. *New Bedford Evening Express,* August 16, 1856, 1; September 9, 1856, 1. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" pp. 45–46.

53. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" p. 46.

54. Chestnut Hill, MA, Burns Library, Boston College, John Bapst to Fr. Angelo Paresce, January 29, 1863, John Bapst Papers, Box 1, Folder 7; McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, pp. 59–62.

new college in Jersey City, New Jersey. "Conditions there," Bapst declared, "will soon make it one of the most important cities in the union." A college "situated in the central part of the city and easily accessible" could serve the growing immigrant population. Despite the many challenges facing the Jesuits in America, Bapst continued to recognize the opportunities available to the Jesuits in the United States and the level of engagement required to realize those opportunities. By 1879, Bapst's mental and physical health was failing, and he left his post. He ultimately resided at Mount Hope Retreat near Baltimore where he died in 1887.[55]

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For both Bapst and Chaney, the populist impulse that marked American politics in the turbulent decade of the 1850s proved a moment of opportunity. Each man worked in his own way to take advantage of this climate. For Bapst, it meant engaging Catholics and Protestants throughout Maine in an effort to spread the Catholic faith. For Chaney, it meant riding the wave of Know-Nothing politics in an effort to secure a place for himself in coastal Maine society. The efforts of both men ultimately became entangled in local and national politics. At the peak of their entanglement, Chaney and his supporters, in a fit of populist outrage, resolved that Bapst be tarred, feathered, and ridden out of town on a rail. Although the Band ultimately made good on this threat, the violence marked the beginning of the end for its movement, which Chaney himself would disavow only a few years later. For Bapst, the widespread outrage that followed the attack provided evidence that his popular outreach could succeed eventually. The Ellsworth attack, far from ending Bapst's missionary efforts, only served to reinforce his resolve to strengthen the place of Catholics in United States by engaging the people of the young nation.

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55. John Bapst to Jesuit Superior General Peter Jan Beckx, cited in Schroth, *The American Jesuits*, pp. 75–76; "Father John Bapst. A Sketch," *Woodstock Letters,* 20 (1891), pp. 409–11; McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, pp. 59–62.

Book and Film Reviews

General and Miscellaneous

Journeys in Church History: Essays from the Catholic Historical Review. Edited by Nelson H. Minnich. (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2016. Pp. viii, 135. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-2834-1.)

In 2007 the *Catholic Historical Review* initiated a series of essays inviting colleagues who have made distinguished contributions to church history to reflect on their own professional lives and work. Edited by Nelson H. Minnich, this book reprints the first fruits of this program, essays by Elizabeth Clark, Caroline Walker Bynum, Jean Delumeau (as translated by Daniel V. Frascella), John W. O'Malley, S.J., Margaret Lavinia Anderson, and Philip Gleason. It is an intellectual treasure to have these six essays between the covers of a single book.

Minnich organizes the volume in the chronological order of the periods which the essayists have made their own: Clark on patristics, Bynum on medieval Christian thought and practice, Delumeau and O'Malley on early modern Catholicism, Anderson on political Catholicism in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany, and Gleason on American Catholicism. Beyond clarifying their chosen subjects' cultural and historical contexts, each essay reprises how the contributor's own publications have made these topics part of the historiographical mainstream. As a group, the essays show both the utility for church history, and the limits, of insights drawn from areas as diverse as ethnography, network theory, post-modern theory, gender studies, cliometrics, social history, neo-Scholasticism, art history, and rhetoric. Apart from Delumeau, whose story takes us into the uplands of French academia, the contributors' careers offer a capsule history of the fortunes of church history in American higher education from the 1960s to the present. Gleason has spent his whole career as student and teacher at one institution, the University of Notre Dame, assisting its development into a nationally regarded research university. While O'Malley has taught at a series of Jesuit institutions, his early career, as he tells us, benefited richly from Harvard's old boy network. The lack of similar mentoring there for women was a factor moving Bynum away from Harvard, eventually holding chairs at Columbia and the Institute for Advanced Study. Both Anderson and Clark thrived at private liberal arts colleges that enabled them to shape their own early programs, before moving respectively to Berkeley and Duke.

Readers will be intrigued by the autobiographical features of these essays. Some contributors found and developed their subjects and methodologies basically on their own. Others had their research topics handed to them by their professors. In some cases it was reading a particular book, or accepting an invitation to speak

at a conference on a hitherto unrehearsed topic—or eating a gelato in Florence—that proved to be a professional game-changer. The essays of Bynum and Anderson tell us more about their own subject-matter findings than do the other essays. But readers will learn much from all of them, as well as having the decided pleasure of making new acquaintances even as they re-encounter old friends and much-revered authorities.

It is to be hoped that the editor of *CHR* will continue the series so auspiciously launched in 2007, and that reprints of the essays of other luminaries in the field will take their place side by side with the collection so warmly welcome in the volume under review.

Yale University MARCIA L. COLISH

God Mocks: A History of Religious Satire from the Hebrew Prophets to Stephen Colbert. By Terry Lindvall. (New York: New York University Press. 2015. Pp. xi, 347. $35.00. ISBN 978-1-4798-8673-9)

Writers with an inclination to satire invariably encounter the challenge of where to draw the line between admissible and excessive expressions of mockery and derision. Terry Lindvall's ebullient and wide-ranging survey of the satiric tradition within Christian literary culture begins precisely by drawing lines. Conceding that the concept of a Christian satirist always approximates an oxymoron, he proposes a model for evaluating satirical texts in the form of two intersecting axes, the *x* axis running from ridicule to moral purpose and the *y* axis from rage to humor. This cruciform graphic appears once in each of his ten chapters, offering a useful visual measure of authors' didactic intent (or lack thereof) and what Lindvall terms the "affective nature of the discourse," that is, the emotions from which the satire originates and the responses it elicits (p. 8). Lindvall offers this "Quad of Satire," not as an empirical evaluation, but as a helpful graphic for mapping out the perennial tension between the genre's corrective and its destructive potential during various periods of Western history.

The historical scope of Lindvall's study is panoramic, beginning with brief chapters on the Hebrew and Roman antecedents to the satires of Christianity and concluding with an account of the recent migration of the literary tradition of religious satire into mass media—whether in the irreverence of *Monty Python's Life of Brian* or *The Onion* or in the "indirect satire" of the Sunday school–teaching, late-night TV host Stephen Colbert (p. 264). Lindvall's argument assumes two guiding lights for Christian satire, which at its best, he believes, "combines laughter and a vision of reform" (p. 7). This uncontroversial, modest pair of claims—that piety must be moderated with laughter and that ecclesial corruption deserves mockery—at times fails to allow for the application of more fine-grained theological or historical scrutiny. For example, the conciliatory placement of the verbal adversaries Martin Luther and Thomas More together at the intersection of the Quad of Satire begs the question of whether vying Protestant and Catholic accounts of grace and

justification have different aesthetic and moral resonance in the history of satire (p. 80). The capacious notion of "reform" as the licit fruit of satire also results in the perhaps surprising choice to discuss the anticlerical satire of Voltaire and the anti-Christian satire of Nietzsche. If this is a study of "religious satire," it is principally a study of Christian satire but not at the exclusion of satires *of* Christianity, whose purposes range from upbuilding to demolition.

Lindvall's rollicking compendium of religious satire rightly proposes that a history of Christian humor belongs alongside, or within, our histories of Christian art, architecture, poetry, and literature. Given the often political and social nature of satiric discourse, this book offers the historian a rich companion to periods from the early Church to the Reformation and Enlightenment, from the flourishing of satire during the first half of the twentieth century in Britain to its apparent demise of late. Lindvall's language at times replicates the humor of the texts and writers he discusses, bringing to life the historical contexts in which jokes were first cracked and satiric wounds first inflicted. Whether satire is, as Lindvall implies, inevitable in Christianity, his wide-ranging discussions of great Christian satirists—including Tertullian, Erasmus, Swift, Kierkegaard, Chesterton, and many more—is a reminder that human levity is a cultural-historical force not to be taken lightly.

Villanova University HELENA M. TOMKO

The King James Bible: Across Borders and Centuries. Edited by Angelica Duran. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Duquesne University Press. 2014. Pp. x, 398. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-8207-0477-7.)

Carrying the momentum established by 400th anniversary publications and conferences, this book bodes well for the direction of KJV studies, as it becomes a cohesive field in its own right—and not one for just English professors any more. The "world literature" focus of the essay collection helps it bridge the gap between English literary approaches and biblical studies, creating a space for reception history of the Bible to unfold in accordance with individual scholars' prior areas of expertise and new research directions.

All of the essays make valuable contributions, while one stood out to me as particularly noteworthy and representative of the kind of helpful work that now can be done, building on the foundation laid out in KJV anniversary volumes c. 2011. In "Words of Justice in a Secular Society: the KJV in Australia," John Harris ranges in historical focus from colonialism to today, to show the KJV's role in a not "particularly Christian" place, a British penal colony from the late eighteenth century. While informing the reader of the essentials of Australian Christian history, Harris examines the experience of Aboriginal peoples, who have inhabited the land for 40,000 years, suffered oppression under European colonization, and yet today, after generations of Protestant missions and biblical education, call for the completion of the Bible's translation into Aboriginal Kriol. This is in part due to the positive influence of Christian advocates for Aboriginal justice in Australia, including

Roman Catholic Ben Chifley, of whom one wishes more had been said in the essay, and his use of the Douay-Rheims Bible (p. 166). Harris writes that biblically-educated Aboriginal political activists from the nineteenth century onwards "expressed their frustration with Anglo-Australians whose very descendants had introduced the language and culture that came with the KJV to their ancestors, because many of them seemed so unmoved by it and even ignorant of it" (p. 168). This point resonates with my own experience in undergraduate teaching at an elite American liberal arts college, where students of color are more likely than students of European descent to have prior knowledge of the KJV. This compelling essay, which I will assign in my undergraduate courses, overall represents the exciting and relevant directions of KJV scholarship today and in this volume specifically, where informative and well-researched colonial case studies invite us to reflect on broader issues of so-called "post biblical culture" in all areas of the globe shaped by Christian European colonization.

Other essays show positive developments in KJV research as biblical studies, English literature, and global religious history. Gordon Campbell, a major author and respected lecturer in the 2011 celebrations, explores the sounds and musicality of the KJV—its "rhythmical flexibility"—as heard by seventeenth-century listeners. Campbell acknowledges that most of them could not read, enhancing the significance of the heard aspects of the KJV and challenging still-popular assumptions that *sola scriptura* Protestantism, having supplanted hierarchical Catholicism, quickly resulted in a much more widely literate population in England. Patricia Demers offers a beautifully researched essay on the KJV in children's literature, with attention (among many other authors) to the prolific nineteenth-century writings of Charlotte Tucker, who "specialized in novels about abandoned, neglected, but spiritually resourceful waifs in the industrial centers of London and Manchester" (p. 279). Katherine Clay Bassard attests to the continued preference for the KJV in today's African American churches and congregations and examines it as "a wellspring of linguistic, imagistic, and cultural resources for African American writers" (p. 195). Trevor Cook's essay explores the role of the KJV in Mormonism, where twenty-four-year-old, self-taught Joseph Smith published his own "plagiarized" (in LDS teachings, inspired) version of the text, known as *The Book of Mormon*.

The volume's weaknesses include lack of systematic attention to the following: Catholic Bibles in relation to the KJV, Catholic readers of the version, the reasons for Tridentine Catholic opposition to Protestant Bibles, the continued importance of the Vulgate in scholarly or listening contexts of English religious and cultural life, or comparisons of Protestant missions to Catholic missions in the colonial essays. As a volume appearing between major anniversary years, there could have been some anticipation of the quincentenary celebrations of Erasmus' Greek NT in 2016 and Luther's Ninety-five Theses in 2017.

Overall, the volume successfully extends and deepens the recent scholarly conversations about the KJV, carried out by an increasingly diverse group of learned voices. The emerging field of KJV studies is well on its way to becoming a well-

defined scholarly discipline, and with the appearance of this fine essay collection, we have hope that this transition will be complete by the time we celebrate the quincentenary of Tyndale's NT in 2026.

Middlebury College Ellie Gebarowski-Shafer

Ancient

Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion. By Stephen J. Shoemaker. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press. 2015. Pp xi, 289. $38.00. ISBN: 978-0-300-21721-6.)

Stephen Shoemaker's excellent book makes an important contribution to our knowledge of Marian devotion in early Christianity. Indeed, he is probably the first to undertake the academic task of recreating the development of Marian piety and cult up to the fifth century with a clear sense of timeline and the incorporation of a diverse range of sources.

Shoemaker uses the historical evidence convincingly to dismiss two over-simple answers to the question. The first, which may be a popular Roman Catholic or Orthodox viewpoint, is that devotion to the Virgin Mary extends back unbroken to her lifetime. There is simply no evidence for this. The gospels of Luke and John honor Mary in their different ways, but there is no indication of underlying cultic practices in the early period (such as prayers or hymns invoking her, pilgrimage to her shrines, feast days in her honor, and reports of apparitions). The second-century *Protoevangelium of James* and the writings of the apologists Justin Martyr and Irenaeus extend the belief in her personal holiness and special place in the divine plan of redemption, but once again, these are textual rather than material pieces of evidence. Prayers and feast days do not appear until at least the third century.

The second and diametrically opposite viewpoint, which Shoemaker relates to a Protestant-based critique of the cult of Mary, is that devotion to her did not arise until the Council of Ephesus in 431, which declared her to be the *Theotokos* due to the campaigns of Cyril and Proclus in opposition to Nestorius. Shoemaker argues—and I think his evidence brings to an end any doubt on the matter—that Ephesus' designation of Mary as *Theotokos* was made possible by widespread Christian Marian devotion in the Roman Empire by this date and was not the cause of it.

Shoemaker's scope is comprehensive; he draws upon a range of sources that help to strengthen our knowledge of the development of early Marian veneration. First of all, he cites texts that appear in his previous work, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (2002), in which Mary's death is remembered through ritual and story, dating from the third century. Secondly, he puts more emphasis than previous authors on the apocryphal, heterodox corpus in which "Mary" is named as a teacher of the divine mysteries because of her special intimacy with Jesus. While many of these references are regarded as referring to Mary *Magdalene*,

Shoemaker feels, with much justification, that where Mary is not designated specifically as Magdalene or Mother, then a conflated figure results whom early Christians could have understood as either. Finally, Shoemaker considers Mary within the more general context of the devotion to non-martyr saints, especially Thecla.

There is a lacuna in Marian doctrinal sources between the second-century apologists and the fourth-century establishment of Christianity as the state religion, when Mary became the ideal virgin and intercessor in the writings of Church fathers. Shoemaker offers two answers to this, which he considers equally plausible and could both be true in some measure: first, that devotion to Mary emerged in heterodox and esoteric circles, and was ignored for a time by orthodox theologians; second, that popular devotion to Mary, as it often does, preceded doctrinal development.

This is a well-written and valuable book which will be enjoyed by the general reader as well as the scholar, as Shoemaker takes great pains to summarize and clarify the content of each chapter. Both general reader and scholar will embrace it as a definitive account of the development of devotion to Mary from first to fifth centuries.

St. John University and Centre for Marian Studies CHRIS MAUNDER

Alms: Charity, Reward, and Atonement in Early Christianity. By David J. Downs. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press. 2016. Pp. ix, 340. $59.95. ISBN 978-1-60258-997-1.)

Despite its title, this book is not about what early Christians did for the poor, but studies the texts deployed by early Christian writers from the first to the third century to articulate the meritorious or atoning power of almsgiving. In contrast to Roman Garrison's 1993 *Redemptive Almsgiving in Early Christianity*, David Downs argues that avowal of the atoning power of almsgiving was not opposed to "avowal of the unique, atoning death of Jesus" (p. 6). Since Christians drew extensively on the Septuagint, the book is as much about how we read key Jewish as well as Christian texts.

An introduction distinguishes between "meritorious" and "atoning" almsgiving, sketches how wealth was unequally distributed in the empire, and identifies "two different models of almsgiving": the "philanthropic," which envisages gifts "along a vertical axis from those with an abundance of assets to those with minimal resources"; and the alternative model of "mutualism" with "a more horizontal exchange of resources among those of lesser means" (p. 17).

Chapters One to Three concern the reward for care of the poor in the Jewish Scriptures. Chapter One examines first Prov 16:6 (LXX Prov. 15:27), where human or divine compassion is linked to atonement, and then Deut 24:13 and Dan 4:24, where the Hebrew for "righteousness" was replaced by the Greek word for "merciful action" (*eleemosyne*) that may later refer specifically to almsgiving. Chapter Two examines the sense of *eleemosyne* in the Greek versions of Tobit (pp. 58–70) and Sirach (pp. 71–81), and what is meant where they speak of merciful acts

that purify or expiate sin. At several points (e.g., Tob 12:9 and Sir. 29:11–13) fresh readings are proposed against those of Gary Anderson in recent publications. Chapter Three rebuts the widely-held notion that atoning almsgiving develops out of the so-called "prophetic critique of sacrifice" (p. 84).

Chapters Four to Six consider the New Testament, and Jesus's promise that those who assist the poor will be rewarded by treasure in heaven. Downs rejects the traditional translations of Mt 6:1–3 and Acts 10:2 as treating of "alms" rather than "merciful deeds" (p. 115). Of particular interest is his reading of Lk 11:41, where he argues for the translation "give alms *with respect to the things within,*" so that "Jesus offers almsgiving as a means of purifying the [Pharisees'] greed and wickedness" (pp. 126–27). Pauline texts on the care of the poor, such as Gal 2:10, are likewise re-assessed to establish the apostle's concern for meritorious almsgiving that includes but goes beyond collections for the Jerusalem church. Chapter Six specifically concerns the assertion at 1 Pet 4:8 that "Love covers a multitude of sins" and its second-century reception.

Chapters Seven and Eight consider what is said of almsgiving more widely in Christian texts from the second and third centuries to show how "practices of and discourses about almsgiving . . . stood at the centre of competing conceptions of Christian identity, solidarity, and community" (p. 232). Cyprian in particular is to be credited with a concept of almsgiving as atoning for post-baptismal sins rooted in a prosopological reading of LXX Prov 15:27 and Sir 3:30 together with Lk 11:40–41.

Downs' study forms a valuable "prequel" to Peter Brown's *The Ransom of the Soul*. It offers fresh, persuasive readings of numerous texts to challenge a Protestant prejudice that the concept of atoning almsgiving must be unscriptural or at the expense of atonement by the death of Christ, while also challenging anachronistic readings of those Jewish and Christian Scriptures which have so often been heard to speak of almsgiving when they referred more widely to works of mercy.

Blackfriars Hall, University of Oxford Richard Finn, O.P.

Il divino senza veli: La dottrina gnostica della 'Lettera valentiniana' di Epifanio, Panarion *31 5-6. Testo, traudzione e commento storico-religioso*. By Giuliano Chiapparini. [Studia Patristica Mediolanensia, vol. 29.] (Milan: Vita e Pensiero. 2015. Pp. xiii, 278. €30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-343-2918-4.)

Scholars are often (begrudgingly) grateful to Epiphanius for his preservation of otherwise lost texts in his massive heresiology, the *Panarion*. In particular, those interested in "Gnosticism" have benefitted from Epiphanius's documentary practices, especially for Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora* and portions of Irenaeus's *Against Heresies* in their original Greek. While there is a growing body of recent scholarship interested in studying Epiphanius in his own right, there is also a long-standing scholarly practice of mining his writings for information on those whom he condemned as heretics. The learned study under review here fits into the latter category and will be of particular interest to scholars of Valentinian Christianity.

Ensconced in the entry dedicated to the Valentinians in *Panarion* 31 is an anonymous letter, identified by Chiapparini as the *Lettera dottrinale valentiniana* (LDV). Scholars have marginalized or even dismissed the significance of this letter because the text is perceived to be in such a mangled state—the result of multiple recensions—that it lacks coherence and is thus not useful for understanding early Valentinian theology. In addition, the contents of the letter seem to exhibit significant variance with other known writings in the tradition, in particular a strong and consistent sexual component, and so scholars have pushed the date of the text closer to the end of the second century. However, through careful philological and theological analysis, Chiapparini offers a completely different dating, context, and interpretation of the text. He suggests that much of the problem lies with the modern textual tradition of the *Panarion*, in particular the edition of Karl Holl, first published in 1915. Scholars have long been aware of Holl's penchant for conjecture and unnecessary emendations to the text; and in the case of the LDV, Chiapparini argues that Holl's choices have had a problematic impact on the scholarly reception of the letter, evident most poignantly in faulty translations of the text into modern languages. And so Chiapparini returned to the manuscript tradition, revised the text, and has recovered what appears to be a more coherent theological exposition that exhibits rhetorical sophistication, intertextual engagement with the New Testament, and evidence for a lively intra-Valentinian cosmological debate. Furthermore, he has untangled the bewildering list of aeons found at the end of the letter, by suggesting that the names were originally in an early Syriac that became distorted in transliteration. This in turn suggests that the provenance of the letter might be better situated in the east, and because of its esoteric contents intended for an audience deeply familiar with the teachings of Valentinus

Chiapparini argues that the LDV belongs to the period 160-165, subsequent to the expulsion of the Valentinians from Rome, but before they polemically separated themselves from their accusers and drew much sharper distinctions between the "psychic" and the "spiritual." Chiapparini carefully examines and compares the writings of both the accusers (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Epiphanius) and the accused, and in the LDV finds a more "optimistic" outlook, one that accommodates a wider swath of people and their potential access to salvific knowledge. This same sense of optimism is reflected in the letter's revelatory cosmology and view of theodicy. According to Chiapparini's analysis, absent from the LDV are the sexual undertones identified by earlier scholars, any roles assigned to the Demiurge and the devil, and any anthropological or ethical concerns. It is at its heart, as Chiapparini proposes, a "mini-apocalypse" in the form of a letter, intended for an internal audience.

It remains for other scholars of Valentinian Christianity to accept Chiapparini's date, context, and interpretation of the LDV, but they can rest assured that his arguments are built on careful philological work and insightful theological analysis.

Calvin College YOUNG RICHARD KIM

MEDIEVAL

Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages. Essays to Honor John Van Engen. Edited by David C. Mengel and Lisa Wolverton. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. 2014. Pp. xiv, 522. $68.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03533-4)

The chapters assembled in *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages* explore European history across centuries and regions. The volume's coherence and charm arise from the hommage offered by each contribution to an inspiring historian and teacher—John Van Engen. Van Engen's work has treated diverse areas of medieval religious life, as the list of his publications offered on pages 501-506 shows. He has impressively studied twelfth-century monastic life and thought, as well as religious initiatives developed by and for lay people—often women—in the cities of north west Europe in the later Middle Ages. He also wrote an influential article „The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem"[1] which forms the volume's *leitmotif*.

Part I, "Christianization," includes four 'think pieces' which cut across the centuries: R I Moore offers a masterly historiographical survey of the term 'cathar' since 1849; Lisa Wolverton combines historiographical reflection with analysis of written and material sources to support a new reading of the Christianization of Bohemia, highlighting regional influences on religious culture; Catherine Caldwell Ames reflects historiographically on the emergence of a diverse "medieval religion," especially through attention to what used to be called "popular religion," in the later twentieth century.

Part II, "Twelfth Century Culture," opens with three nicely honed lessons in reading texts and images. Maureen Miller calls for the discipline of context to be applied in the treatment of twelfth-century art, as against the search for "art of reform"; Jonathan Lyon observes the use by Otto of Freising of classical language—especially the term "tyranny"—to describe new institutional and political dilemmas in the twelfth-century Empire; Rachel Koopmans nicely identifies networks of influence and patronage in the testimonial letters incorporated into collections of Becket miracles. The section ends with two chapters based on broad themes: Dyan Elliott explores how bold intellects imagined counter-factually in fruitful ways, while Giles Constable shows–often in similar communities—the continuing centrality of the Cross in devotional and liturgical lives.

Part III, "Jews and Christian Society," is made of three chapters each demonstrating a fruitful approach to the study of Europe's Jews. Susan Einbinder juxtaposes a Hebrew lament and a *cantiga* to compare their treatments of the fall of a court Jew in 1279; William Jordan reminds us how much work is yet to be done in the interpretation of images contained in private books like the *Christina*

1. *American Historical Review* 91(1986), pp.519-52.

Psalter; and David Mengel develops a detailed analysis of Charles IV's attitude to Jews through a comparative study of urban communities.

Particularly strong is the fourth and longest section, "Late Religious Medieval Life." Here authors are inspired by Van Engen's article "Multiple Options: the World of the Fifteenth Century," published in 2008.[2] Close studies of interesting texts show institutions in constant flux and change: Walter Simons introduces the Count of Flanders' petition to John XXII on behalf of "his" beguines, long-established and orthodox; William Courtenay extracts from the register of bishops evidence on the uptake of university study by parish priests and its possible effect on religious instruction; James Mixson evaluates the Observant Giovanni Dominci's polemic against classical learning, the elegant *The Firefly*, penned in response to Salutati; Marcela Perett introduces the vernacular polemics developed by John Pribram against Hussites. The apocalyptic mood of the fifteenth century is discussed in a text introduced —and edited—by Daniel Hobbins, while Roy Hammerling concludes the volume with a tale by Luther for his Augustinian brothers, in which he encouraged them to become "spiritual beggars."

This rich and well-written volume offers something of interest for every medievalist. It also reminds us how often good medievalists are at creating graceful and learned "emotional communities."

Queen Mary University of London MIRI RUBIN

Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval. Edited by Michel Lauwers. (Turnhout: Brepols. 2014. Pp. 620. €75,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-5381-4.)

This extensive collection of specialized articles on seventh- to fifteenth-century monasteries and social space covers models, places, movement, hierarchy, functions, and settings at Saint-Gall, Cluny, Marmoutier, Fontevraud, and other famous abbeys in Western Europe and the British Isles. Michel Lauwers notes that Western monasticism moved from fourth-century solitude to seventh-century community, with a standard architectural structure of a cloister surrounded by specialized buildings. Ninth-century monasteries included laypersons: patrons, laborers, pilgrims, possibly armed men, resulting in a complex society and accompanying physical structure, which Sofia Uggé divides into community spaces: church, cloister, refectory, dormitory, and chapter; property spaces: cellar and sacristy; separate spaces: infirmary, guest house, and novitiate; and work spaces: workshops, kitchen, and garden. In Italy Federico Marazzi and Élisabeth Lorans add an abbot's house, library, school, stables, forge, cemeteries, churches, and chapels. Moving forward, Uta Kleine shows the twelfth-century monastery engaged in production and trade, both a retreat from the world and a dominating center of real-estate holdings. Jean-

2. *Church History* 77(2008), pp. 257-84.

Michel Picard and Paul Fermon note that monastic maps and architectural drawings imposed a social hierarchy on the landscape, depicting the monastery as a sacred celestial center with a profane terrestrial periphery of granges, manses, towns, parish churches, and fishing stations, with complicated economic rights.

Fragmentary information in cartularies and foundation stories can be contextualized within this framework of monastic construction and expansion. Jean-Michel Picard notes the recent use of magnetic gradient survey, revealing linear anomalies in the soil at the sites of cloisters or buildings and showing the construction process. Nicolas Reveyron and Cécile Caby find little and marginal change in monastic space to preserve the quiet of the house. Monasteries were shaped by earlier lost structures, site constraints, water resources, and a heritage of respect for the initial gift, venerated tombs, and the terms of property ownership. Relocation rarely occurred. Hans Rudolf Sennhauser notes the pre-eminence of the *opus Dei* led monks to prefer building around an existing worship center. Foundation stories describe twelve monks sent to build a monastery in a wilderness, but records and survey often show previous occupation of the property, the founders' provision of masons, and the monks' arrival with building plans based on site inspection. Lorans shows Marmoutier's progressive construction beginning with the abbatial church and proceeding to the claustral square, guest house, infirmary with a chapel and cloister, service buildings, specialized cemeteries, peripheral churches, and a distant abbot's house. Étienne Louis and Luc Bourgeois describe enclosures determined by natural boundaries, ditches, walls, and defensive fortifications.

Internal spatial organization imposed boundaries between sacred and secular spaces and accommodated the movement of persons of different statuses within the same space. Caby notes the church and claustral buildings were used exclusively by the monastic family on its daily rounds. Alain Rauwel, Anne Baud, and Sébastien Bully describe formal mobile liturgies: perambulations of the property, processions, circuits of the altars, and stations of the cross, sometimes facilitated by long galleries. Separation was achieved by horizontal and vertical space (terraces and hilltops) and by scheduling time. Monks were separated from nuns by balconies and grills, from laymen by *conversi* passages, and from pilgrims by crypts. Daniel Prigent shows that twelfth-century Fontevraud contained four separate monasteries for the abbess and nuns, monks, female penitents, and lepers, with strict enclosure, divisions in worship, and a great cloister to accommodate processions. Gisella Cantino Wataghin and Eleonora Destefanis show monastic burial places reflected both hierarchy and community.

As a composite this collection provides a penetrating overview of monastic construction and operation. Individually, it includes studies of famous monasteries with fine illustrations, architectural drawings, and maps.

Georgetown University RUTH HARWOOD CLINE

The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum. By Owen M. Phelan. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. ix, 312. $ 105.00. ISBN 978-0-19-871803-1.)

This is a welcome book. The author argues how reformers under Charlemagne used baptism, understood as *sacramentum*, as the fundamental organizing principle for Carolingian imperial society—a development that would shape the European world throughout the medieval period and beyond. One of the great strengths of this book is how it combines the study of intellectual history, ritual theory and practice, the framing and legitimizing of political power, and the development of a particular religious identity within an imperial framework. Chapter 1 offers a genealogy of *sacramentum* as an ordering concept from Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. Key here was the overlap between legal and theological meanings. Indeed, *sacramentum*'s Roman origins as a military oath of allegiance later proved remarkably useful to Carolingian reformers keen to link expectations of loyalty to the imperial regime with the spiritual transformation of baptism.

The next three chapters provide a sustained analysis of sources from Charlemagne's reign, when intellectuals worked to transform baptism conceptually and ritualistically into a program for imperial Christian identity formation. Chapter 2 examines how *sacramenta*, especially baptism, gave Carolingian leaders ways of framing their political authority in religious terms in order to envision the *imperium christianum* as a polity. The chapter largely explores Frankish interactions with "others," such as Spanish heretics in the Adoptionist Controversy, Saxon pagans who repeatedly rejected their coerced baptisms and Frankish political domination, and Jews who were expected to take non-baptismal pledges of loyalty in order to enjoy protections and privileges within the empire. Chapter 3 focuses on the intellectual Alcuin's efforts to develop a program for producing Christian imperial subjects. Here Phelan investigates Alcuin's missionary theories, his concerns for moral education, his influential interpretation of the rite of baptism (the *Primo paganus*), and his circle of important allies and correspondents who embraced his baptismal program. Chapter 4 analyzes the Carolingian machinery of Christian identity formation at work through a series of sources from Charlemagne's last years, in particular his encyclical letter on baptism (811/812) and the numerous episcopal documents created in response to that questionnaire. Central to the author's argument is that Alcuin's approaches to baptism provided the basis for theological unity in these later discussions, while still allowing for ritual and liturgical diversity.

Chapter 5 examines how ninth-century authors—in particular Bishop Jonas of Orléans and Dhuoda of Septimania—adapted Carolingian conceptions of baptism for lay readers. Since infant baptism predominated, godparenting, confirmation, and the sacrament of penance became crucial to maintaining baptismal promises, thereby serving to shape Frankish Christian identity formation after imperial expansion ended. Phelan's choice of ninth-century authors and texts is strategic and necessary due to the tremendous increase in theological writings after Charlemagne. The conclusion turns to Notker the Stammerer's *Gesta Karoli* in order to

illumine how this particular late ninth-century author criticized Charlemagne's descendants for failing to understand baptism's theological and ritualistic power to expand the *imperium christianum*.

Phelan's findings are convincing. It is refreshing to see Frankish Christianity linked so unreservedly to Carolingian imperial ambitions. Future studies of other sources, including ninth-century biblical commentaries and handbooks for priests, may complicate the author's view of the creation of imperial Christian subjects not only from the standpoint of theologians and bishops, but also of common priests active in pastoral care. Overall, this thoughtful study persuasively casts the Carolingian Empire as a fundamentally religious enterprise in the medieval exercise of power.

University of Tennessee, Knoxville MATTHEW BRYAN GILLIS

Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia. By Simon Barton. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2015. Pp. viii, 264. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4675-9.)

In *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines* Simon Barton analyzes the varied and complicated ways in which group identity, interfaith sexuality, and power interacted in medieval Iberia—centering on relationships between Muslims and Christians. He focusses on interfaith sexual liaisons showing how they were "conducted, perceived, manipulated, and above all, controlled" (p. 4), and how attitudes towards this mixing changed over time, as a reaction to local circumstances and general trends. Even though the book centers on the medieval period, both within al-Andalus and the Christian dominated lands, it also explores the reverberation that the cultural memory of those relationships had in Iberian culture. Indeed, the popular festivals that continue to be celebrated in some towns even today serve as a reminder of the deep sense of cultural difference that exists in Spain, and the exoticism it has been endowed with thanks to the region's Islamic past.

The book is divided into four chapters framed by an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter One, "Sex as Power," centers on early medieval Iberia from the eight to eleventh centuries, a time in which Muslim lords took Christian women as wives and concubines. These unions have to be understood not only as a tactic for building diplomatic alliances, but also as a means for Muslim lords of showing their superiority, and even as a tool of psychological warfare. The remaining chapters deal with the central and late medieval period, that was characterized by a progressive shifting of power in favor of the Christian-ruled realms that eventually manifested itself at the end of the fifteenth century in the form of policies of mass conversion or expulsion, and the establishment of an Inquisition dedicated to ending religious heterodoxy in Iberia. Chapter Two, "Marking Boundaries," examines why after about 1050 interfaith marriage declined and how religious and secular Christian authorities harden their positions, and condemned and discouraged interfaith unions and sex—a development that came partly as a consequence of the new balance of power, the reform of the papacy, and the development of canon law. From

the twelfth century onwards, sexual intercourse between Christian women and "outsiders," which is to say Muslim and Jewish men, provoked great anxiety—in Spain, as it did across the Latin West. The following chapter, "Damsels in Distress," also examines Christian political and cultural discourse against interfaith sex, but focuses on narratives that presented Christian women as vulnerable, unprotected, victims of Muslim men's voracity. The final chapter, "Lust and Love on the Iberian Frontier," analyzes a series of mostly literary texts that display interesting, parallel narratives. On the one hand, there are stories of Christian women who sought Muslim sexual partners and who therefore were disgraced, and, on the other hand, there are tales of Muslim women as gaining social standing precisely because they had engaged in relationships with Christian men, and converted to Christianity—which served also as a symbol for submitting to righteous and virtuous Christian power.

This book is an important contribution to the field of medieval Iberian studies. Barton engages with an array of sources as diverse as laws, charters, letters, polemical texts, legends, hagiography, and diverse literary texts and through them constructs a very detailed and nuanced picture of the complexities of interfaith miscegenation. He lucidly illustrates "the symbolic importance of the relationship between sex, power, and cultural identity" (p. 142). This book is going to be of interest not only to scholars focusing on specific academic fields, such as medieval Iberia and the Mediterranean, or gender studies, but to any scholar or student interested in the history and literature of Europe in the Middle Ages.

University of Colorado at Boulder NÚRIA SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ

Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung: Gedenkschrift für Klaus Zechiel-Eckes. Edited by Karl Ubl and Daniel Ziemann. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte, Band 57.] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2015. Pp. vii, 268. €48.00. ISBN 978-3-447-10335-0.)

Gefälschtes Recht aus dem Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Herstellung und Überlieferung der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen. By Steffen Patzold. [Schriften der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 55.] (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 2015. Pp. 76. €24.00. ISBN 978-3-8253-6511-0.)

These two books outline recent thought and current lines of enquiry on the origins and dissemination of the great canon law forgeries widely known as Pseudo-Isidore, which today are commonly believed to have begun life at or around the monastery of Corbie in the 830s. The Pseudo-Isidorian decretals are often considered one of the most influential forgery collections of the Middle Ages; many Pseudo-Isidorian concepts would go on to provide a platform for the "Gregorian reform" and the growth of papal power in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Recent Pseudo-Isidorian studies have been galvanized by the work of Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, who died in 2010 and is honored by the collection *Fälschung als*

Mittel der Politik?, edited by Karl Ubl and Daniel Ziemann. In 2000, Zechiel-Eckes' discoveries shattered an old consensus on Pseudo-Isidore's origins; since then, the field has been developing rather quickly, as these two volumes attest. Both works are oriented firmly towards specialists, and the uninitiated will probably want to chase up some of the introductory references provided to grasp the full import of this latest scholarship.

Fälschung is based on a colloquium held in 2013 in Zechiel-Eckes' honor. According to the editors, contributors were asked to test Zechiel-Eckes' hypotheses concerning the provenance of Pseudo-Isidore, to interrogate the relationship between the various versions and combinations of the forgery complex, and to consider the role of forgery in political culture more generally. Abigail Firey tackles the question of Corbie origins head on with an exemplary paleographical analysis of a canon law collection usually deemed to have been an early product of Pseudo-Isidore's workshop. She shows how Corbie's role in the Carolingian economy of book production presents a methodological problem in the pursuit of manuscript provenance. Eric Knibbs uncovers evidence for what looks to be a hitherto unnoticed early recension of the corpus in the manuscripts of the so-called "A1" version. Semih Heinen and Steffen Patzold argue from different perspectives that the forgery project was stimulated not, as Zechiel-Eckes believed, by the rebellion against Louis the Pious of 833–835, but by the earlier rebellion of 830–831. Gerhard Schmitz searches for common sources in Pseudo-Isidore and the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita, while Clara Harder asks whether papal jurisdiction was more than simply a means to an end for the forgers (her arguments are now available in full in her *Pseudoisidor und das Papsttum* [Vienna: Böhlau, 2014]). Patrick Breternitz and Courtney M. Booker each turn to prominent figures of the 830s who have been implicated in the Pseudo-Isidorian project at some stage. Breternitz looks at Paschasius Radbertus, the abbot of Corbie famously identified as the forger-in-chief by Zechiel-Eckes, and the second book of his *Epitaphium Arsenii*, a work sometimes invoked as evidence for his own involvement, stressing that this text must be read as a product of the time it was composed (*c.* 850). Booker, meanwhile, examines how Archbishop Ebbo of Rheims—deposed in 835 for his role in the rebellion against Louis—was long implicated in the forgeries by virtue of a reputation for wickedness and treachery that was cultivated over the course of a millennium. Wilfried Hartmann concludes the volume by paying tribute to Zechiel-Eckes' talents as a researcher of canon law and reflecting on his legacy.

In addition to contributing to *Fälschung*, Steffen Patzold has also written *Gefälschtes Recht aus dem Frühmittelalter*, a short book (indeed, it is the length of an extended article) on the origins of the relatively neglected "C-class" recension of Pseudo-Isidore. Patzold argues that C—long presumed to be a much later version because no surviving manuscript of it predates the twelfth century—in fact represents a ninth-century recension produced at Corbie. He further suggests that Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims had access to something resembling C by comparing its contents with Hincmar's canonical citations in his *Opusculum LV capitulorum* (870). Patzold's fresh study succeeds in bringing the C version into the discussion

on Pseudo-Isidore's genesis and transmission, though he has probably not had the last word on the provenance of C. Readers of *Fälschung* will doubtless wish to seek out *Gefälschtes Recht* and vice-versa. These two insightful volumes are fine tributes to the ingenuity of Klaus Zechiel-Eckes. They represent the state of the art in Pseudo-Isidorian scholarship and set the stage for continued investigation of the origins, dissemination, and influence of the forgeries.

University of Liverpool EDWARD ROBERTS

Psellos and the Patriarchs: Letters and Funeral Orations for Keroullarios, Leichoudes, and Xiphilinos. Translated by Anthony Kaldellis and Ioannis Polemis. [Michael Psellos in Translation.] (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. 2015. Pp. x, 242. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03328-5.)

By its translations in numerous languages, Michael Psellos' *Chronography* made the text accessible to audiences not necessarily familiar with the medieval Greek of one of the most sophisticated Byzantine authors. On the grounds of style, rhetorical vividness, and especially of the authorial-self that pervades it, the text is deservedly considered a major achievement of the eleventh-century Byzantine literary production. In contrast to the *Chronography*, access to the rest of Psellos' œuvre, which comprises almost all literary genres, displays a variety of stylistic levels and rhetorical devices, and predominantly sets the subject matter within a theoretical framework, has long been exclusively available to the specialists. In this regard, the series "Michael Psellos in Translation" offers to historians of the Middle Age as well as to the informed public and students a valuable tool for assessing the intellectual aspirations of a key-figure in the development of medieval thought. The first volume of the series presented texts in which are evidenced Psellos' perception of and attitude toward family bonds; the second introduces the long funeral orations he wrote for three successive mid-eleventh century patriarchs of Constantinople, Michael Keroullarios, Constantine Leichoudis, and John Xiphilinos. Letters he addressed to Keroullarios and Xiphilinos complete the selection of texts comprised in the volume.

Aspects of the specific thematic choice are insightfully analyzed by Anthony Kaldellis and Ioannis Polemis in the introductory chapter of the book.

The *Funeral Orations* were composed to celebrate the memory of the deceased patriarchs on the anniversary of their death. Whether they were actually orally delivered in public or read to a limited group of relatives and friends, the texts, remark Kaldellis and Polemis, are the earliest examples of encomiastic speeches for ecclesiastics, who were not sanctified and therefore did not deserve hagiographical encomia. Indeed, none of the three Patriarchs had manifested any significant religious vocation in the early stages of their lives; instead, they were deeply involved in secular activities, political (as is the case of Keroullarios), administrative (Leichoudes), or heading high-level schools of Constantinople (Xiphilinos). Moreover, all of them were chosen to lead the Patriarchate of Constantinople and later

deposed by imperial resolution. These substantial changes in the course of their lives served Psellos for constructing the orations "in two movements" and exploring the abstract notions of "virtues and states of being" (p. 2).

In the "Historical and Interpretative Essay" (pp. 10–35), Kaldellis and Polemis contextualize Psellos' relation with the patriarchs and thoroughly discuss the different ways by which he approached each of them. They also consider the framing of the discourses on the secure, for Psellos, philosophical ground and their stylistic elegance, which supports the appreciation of Leichoudes' personality as the "harmonious mixture of all the best elements of human life," but barely veils criticism toward Keroullarios and Xiphilinos—the former for his bigotry and false Neo-Platonic reasoning, the latter for moving away from the true philosophy to adhere to conservative positions.

Transposing a text from one language to another is a delicate endeavor, especially in the case of the writings of Psellos, who was relishing allusiveness and constantly dialogued with his subjective perception of persons and events with the assistance of ancient authorities. Yet, the excellent translations of the *Letters* and the *Funeral Orations* render the subtleness of the texts and enable the modern reader to follow effortlessly the, often complicated, argumentation of Psellos. The volume concludes with the bibliography of sources and secondary literature, and a useful index.

Institute of Historical Research Christine Angelidi
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Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200: *Practice, Morality and Thought*. Edited by Giles E. M. Gasper and Svein H. Gullbekk. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2015. Pp. xii, 292. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-4724-2099-2.)

We have come a long way in the last half-century in our understanding of the Church's involvement in and influence on medieval economic life and thought. The thirteen essays in this volume present excellent examples of this sophisticated understanding.

The contributors come from a range of disciplinary backgrounds: economic history, economic theory, numismatics, religion, and literature. Although the collection is admirably focused on the subject announced in its title, the presentations are decidedly heterogeneous. Some provide bibliography for the kind of general information useful to college students, some provide only technical monographs on their particular subject, some no secondary sources at all. Some essays provide extensive citations from primary sources, with the Latin in the footnotes, and some, whether citing directly or paraphrasing, provide no Latin in the notes. Some are clearly pointed toward a general introduction of use in college classes, while others,

primarily those with a numismatic focus, assume a background in the subject. Some essays are three or more times longer than others. As the Introduction notes, the focus is entirely on Northern Europe, with Scandinavian studies well represented and none venturing south of Normandy. This is fine, and it serves as a balance to the more common southerly focus, but it would have been helpful, and I think advisable, to have included the word "Northern" in the book's title.

Given the period that the essays cover, it is not surprising that most are directed toward the active role of the Church in the momentous process of European monetization. As virtually all the authors are aware, this theme sits somewhat awkwardly beside a parallel development, which saw churchmen expressing a growing suspicion (often shading into a fierce critique) of the ever-expanding place and power of money in their world. Recognition of the awkward balance between these dual (and dueling) processes is one of the strengths of recent work in medieval economic history, and it adds a level of intriguing complexity to many of the essays in this collection. A few examples can illustrate the place of this theme in the collection overall.

At a number of points in the book's final chapter, "The Church and Money in Norway c. 1050–1250," Svein Gullbekk describes the Church as the "driving force" in the process of monetization, providing evidence to support the claim that in this process, "a commodification of religion, monetization of vocabulary, and an increasing awareness of financial matters from an ecclesiastical and vernacular perspective can all be observed" (p. 238). Rory Naismith's contribution, "*Turpe Lucrum*: Wealth, Money and Coinage in the Millennial Church," makes use of a wide range of source—miracle stories, saint's lives, chronicles—to provide evidence that a profound fear in church circles of money's power grew right alongside the ever-increasing rationalization of monetary management and collection on the part of ecclesiastical institutions of all kinds. Giles E. M. Casper illustrates other aspects of this theme in his essay, "Contemplating Money and Wealth in Monastic Writing c. 1060–1160." His investigation of a half-dozen monastic chronicles reveals their author's increasing concern with and consciousness of the economic changes affecting their institutions, leading to their evolving attempts to anticipate and "navigate market fluctuations" to the benefit of their houses. But he goes one step further when he writes (p. 42) that monastic writing of this period "highlights not only the monetisation of the economy, but also of contemporary conceptual frameworks. . . ." Greti Dincova-Bruun's essay, "*Nummus falsus*: The Perception of Counterfeit Money in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Century," takes this insight yet further by tracing sharp shifts in the metaphorical uses of the coin in theological writings.

In "A Herald of Scholasticism: Alan of Lille on Economic Value," Odd Langholm gleans evidence of Alan's understanding of the implications of monetization from a reading of his surviving writings. Langholm makes the decision to rely exclusively on Alan's writings, neglecting the rich secondary literature that exists on both Alan and on the fear of avarice among clerics (which Alan shared) that mushroomed in the twelfth century. Langholm's survey reveals a number of attitudes common to the twelfth century but one gem in particular (p. 102), found in an allegorical poem within Alan's *Liber parabolarum*:

> Things are not bought dearly by *the law of markets* (my emphasis)
> Seller and buyer are there equal regarding the goods:
> But nothing under the sky is bought more dearly
> Than what long entreaty buys with downcast brow.

Langholm does not, for some reason, provide the Latin for either this or any other of the selections he offers, so we are left to wonder about the phrase "the law of markets," especially its early appearance here in the twelfth century, but he assures us that he has made a literal translation, and he adds that these words reveal Alan's recognition that "supply and demand establish a just market price which buyer and seller both accept" (p. 102). Since there are contemporary historians of medieval economics who still maintain that talk of a "market price" in the medieval period is "anachronistic," this early poem represents an important finding and recognition.

Space considerations determine that I can only give brief mention to the five essays above, but there are many in this collection that are notable for their general interest and the strength of their research and presentation. Given the heterogeneity of the collection, I hesitate to say that the book as a whole would work as a class text, but there are numerous individual articles here that certainly would.

Barnard College/Columbia University JOEL KAYE

The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity: *1050-1500.* Edited by R. N. Swanson. [Routledge Histories.] (New York: Routledge. 2015. Pp. xxvi, 344. $205.00. ISBN 978-0-415-66014-3.)

As the spate of movies and television programs attests, the popular fascination with things medieval shows no signs of abating. A challenge for medievalists, especially those who teach, is to harness and educate this enthusiasm without diminishing it. Aptly, a goal of *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity*: *1050–1500*, edited by R. N. Swanson, is to present the history of medieval Christianity as a living discipline. The most thought-provoking essays in the volume highlight new research and show how strategies for studying Catholic Christianity continue to change.

Like other recent works tackling Christianity's history over a long span of time, the volume is the fruit of many hands. Twenty-two scholars produced the twenty-three essays and introductory overviews. Although neither the temporal nor the geographical framework for the volume is controversial,[1] the introduction explains the chosen parameters; Western Europe from the mid-eleventh century to the Reformation shared a religious culture. It is this culture, as it "impacted on virtually every aspect of human existence" (p. xxi), which is the focus of the volume. Essays are arranged thematically, the choice and arrangement of themes reflecting the concern to adopt neither a top-down nor a two-tier model. Part

1. See, for example, Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, eds., *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

One, "Structures," introduces the "organizational systems and mechanisms that allowed [Christianity] to function and gave it a kind of unity and coherence" (p. 1), including not only the chief personnel (papacy, clergy, and religious) but also administrative units (bishoprics and parishes.) With this skeleton in place, the following sections ("Forming the mindset," "Catholicism in practice," Challenges," and "Shaping Catholic society") provide the flesh. Through discussions of schooling, worship, pastoral care, ritual, material culture, law, heresy, gender, holy war, economic life, literature, and magic, the essays aim to depict Catholicism as "a vibrant and significant cultural force, whose influence reached into and helped to shape every individual existence across these four and a half centuries of Catholic Europe" (p. 280).

As the essays are independent works of scholarship, they differ in their approaches, tones, and in the degree to which they point readers to future study through bibliography. None is strictly a survey. While not all can be described here, essays such as James D. Mixson's on religious orders, Peter D. Clarke's on canon law, Catherine Rider's on magic, and Kim M. Philip's on gender and sexuality integrate substantive overviews of their topics with discussions of recent scholarship, interpretive turns, and areas of current speculation. Thus Clarke characterizes contemporary scholarship in canon law as "resembl[ing] a battlefield," although the "skirmishes" over the viability of long-held assumptions have been mostly "amicable" (p. 77). Peter Biller's treatment of heresy and dissent puts interpretive debates at the center of his essay. Framing his survey of medieval heretics as a long-accepted story now subject to attack, he warns that it is no longer sufficient to learn a standard narrative such as that in Malcolm Lambert's classic *Medieval Heresy*. He lays out the types of evidence that are behind its construction as well as the historiography and methodology employed by challengers. Other essays, like Christopher Tyerman's on violence and holy war and Jonathan Elukin's on Christianity and Judaism, exemplify new approaches to their respective topics. Tyerman contextualizes crusading by analyzing the roots of Christian-sanctioned violence; Elukin provides an argument questioning portrayals of Jewish/Christian relations as characterized by persecution and victimization. In several cases, more extensive bibliography would be welcome, especially since the targeted audience includes undergraduates. As a whole, however, the volume succeeds in demonstrating the vitality of medieval Catholicism and its study.

Fordham Medieval Fellow SUSAN R. KRAMER

William of Malmesbury: The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Edited and translated by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom. [Boydell Medieval Texts.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2015. Pp. lxvii, 154. $115.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-016-3.)

In the 1120s and 1130s, English Benedictine monks produced an influential and remarkable set of collections of the miracles of the Virgin Mary. Unlike earlier Marian miracle collections produced on the Continent and the more usual type of

miracle collection being compiled at English shrines in the period, the stories in these English Marian collections were cosmopolitan, ranging widely in time and place, with stories of the Virgin's miracles in Italy, Spain, and the eastern Mediterranean as well as in northern Europe. William of Malmesbury's lengthy text of some fifty-three chapters holds an important place within this flowering of Marian collections: it represents, as the editors of this text put it, "the culmination of this first creative impulse, before its spread to the Continent and incorporation in much larger collections, from the late twelfth century onward" (p. xviii).

William's collection has been edited twice before, once in 1959 in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis and again in 1968. This edition, including a facing-page translation, is the first title in the "Boydell Medieval Texts" series. It was undertaken by two scholars, Rodney Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, who have edited and translated nearly all of William of Malmesbury's other works. Their combined efforts have given William's Marian collection the edition it deserves, and will make this important text far more widely available and accessible.

Much of the edition's introduction is taken up by a discussion of how the editors decided to order the chapters of the collection, necessary because there are only two manuscripts that preserve William's text, and both have problems. The first manuscript is a preliminary version of the collection which appears to include a "pending file" of stories that William planned to integrate into a text at a later date. The second manuscript, though it is clearly William's later, revised version of the text, is missing quires and badly fragmented. In addition to their painstaking comparative analysis of these two manuscripts, the editors draw on a number of other manuscripts that contain selections and abbreviations of William's stories to aid them in their reconstruction of the text as a whole.

The introduction's extensive discussion of the manuscript tradition and structure of the collection leaves little room for discussion of the text itself. Aside from a few spare paragraphs noting the collection's internationalism, virulent anti-Semitism, and arrangement of stories by rank (starting with bishops and ending with lay men and women), the editors say little more about its contents. It is left to others to explore the text's many other fascinating aspects, such as its stories regarding images of the Virgin, liturgical celebrations, pregnancies, alms-giving, monasticism, the deaths of children, miracles that strike William as trivial, and the fact that a number of the miracles do not concern the Virgin at all. Some of the most interesting passages in the collection signal William's hesitations regarding the content of some of the stories he found in his sources. Though the editors comment on the often "significant differences" between William's source texts and his own retelling of the miracles, the nature of these differences is not discussed in detail in the introduction nor in the footnotes to the individual stories: readers will have to consult William's sources on their own. The laconic nature of the edition's footnotes and abbreviations is something to be regretted. Though the footnotes are a very rich reserve of references and cross-references, they can be difficult to follow. For example, though there are frequent references to the English Marian collections "MB,"

"HM," and "TS," the reason for these abbreviations is never given, and the reader is directed to short footnotes in the introduction for discussion of this key source material. The edition also, rather surprisingly, lacks a bibliography.

Such regrets aside, Thomson and Winterbottom have provided readers with the first fully reliable edition and translation of an important text that has presented significant editorial challenges. More work lies ahead in the analysis of the collection's contents and its place within the Marian miracle tradition, but the editors are to be warmly congratulated and thanked for their labors on this collection and on William of Malmesbury's œuvre as a whole.

York University, Toronto RACHEL KOOPMANS

The Making of the Historia scholastica, *1150-1200*. By Mark Clark. [Studies and Texts, 198; Mediaeval Law and Theology, volume 7.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2015. Pp. xvi, 322. $95.00. ISBN 978-0-88844-198-0.)

The *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, Chancellor of Notre-Dame until around 1178, has been unjustly neglected as an exegetical masterpiece of the later twelfth century. Clark seeks to overturn an assumption made by Martin Grabmann and others that Peter Comestor should be bracketed more with so-called "biblical-moral" teachers like Peter the Chanter than speculative theologians like Peter Lombard. Such a dichotomy, Clark argues, does a profound disservice to Peter Comestor, who he argues was a close and loyal disciple, not just of Peter Lombard, but of the *Magna glosatura* on the Bible, which Peter Lombard played a key role in establishing. Given the wide influence of the *Historia scholastica*, the task of editing and contextualising this work of exegetical synthesis is no easy task.

Clark has two principal goals: to examine the literary influences that shape the way in which Comestor identified *historia* that he saw as the foundational narrative of Scripture and always aimed at students in the schools, and the way in which Stephen Langton used, lectured on, and revised the *Historia* from before 1176 until around 1193. He argues that the *Historia scholastica*, dedicated by Comestor to William of Whitehands, Archbishop of Sens, sometime between 1168 and 1173, implements a Victorine conception of *historia* as a foundation for both allegorical and tropological readings, while selecting from a mass of glosses on Scripture that a succession of masters had compiled, following the pioneering achievements of Anselm of Laon and his immediate disciples in the early twelfth century. In particular, Clark places great emphasis on Comestor's reliance on the *Magna glosatura* on most books of Scripture as it stood after the death of Peter Lombard in 1160. While only Lombard's glosses on the Psalter and the Epistles of St. Paul are known, Clark is keenly aware of the fact, known through Stephen Langton, that Peter Lombard also lectured on much else of the Old Testament as well as on the Gospels. The *Historia* is one of the earliest texts to draw heavily in its exegesis on what it refers to simply as "the Gloss," a vast collection of comments culled from

the writings of the Fathers, Josephus, as well as some later masters. Comestor was thus providing an enormous aid to students of exegesis, by providing a synthesis of Scripture as a historical narrative as well as quick access to those glosses that helped expound historical matters. Given that Augustine's approach was often allegorical, while Gregory gave most attention to its moral message, Comestor was extending the historical perspective of Hugh and Andrew of St. Victor with the wealth of information given in these glosses, above all as synthesised by Peter Lombard.

After exploring Comestor's unpublished lectures on the Four Gospels (itself a project of major significance, given the priority often accorded by theologians to the Pauline Epistles), Clark considers not just the organizational achievement of the *Historia*, but the various presentations and reading of its text offered by Stephen Langton. He leaves us in no doubt that Comestor played a central role for Langton, who he argues was responsible for editing the *Historia* to make it accessible to students. Clark does not comment on the potential contribution of Peter of Poitiers (who took over from Comestor as teacher of theology in 1169) in closing the *Historia* with an influential set of genealogical diagrams, preserved in key manuscripts of the work, or the polemical claims about Lombard and Peter of Poitiers made by Walter, Prior of St. Victor, as late as 1178. Nonetheless, Clark clearly explains how Langton ensured that the *Historia* would be respected as an introduction to Scripture.

Monash University Constant J. Mews

Scottish Episcopal Acta, Volume 1: *The Twelfth Century*. Edited by Norman F. Shead. [Scottish History Society, 6th series, Volume 10.] (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press. 2015. Pp. lxxxvi, 410. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-906245-40-8.)

Norman F. Shead's new edition of the 259 surviving episcopal *acta* from twelfth-century Scotland is extremely welcome. Although many articles have appeared on individual bishops and the foundation of cathedral chapters (by G. W. S. Barrow, Dauvit Broun, A. A. M. Duncan, and, of course, those by Shead himself), historians of the emerging medieval Scottish episcopate are still reliant on the much earlier work of Gordon Donaldson and—now more than a century old—that of John Dowden. The texts of many twelfth-century episcopal *acta* were also only available in nineteenth-century editions, of which many are problematic. This new edition does not disappoint. There is an efficient yet wide-ranging introduction setting out major narrative issues for the Scottish church, including: the yet-to-be-fully-discarded notion of a "Celtic church," the supposed increase in the number of bishoprics under David I (1124–53), relations with new and old monasticism, and between the institutional church and the Scottish kingship and aristocracy. There are two extremely useful empirical appendices: lists of attested episcopal absences from the Scottish kingdom, and tables of acts (and how they survive) listed according to bishopric and bishop, which any working scholar will appreciate. There is also a glossary at the end, so that scholars who are not familiar with the technicalities of twelfth-century Scotland can use this edition more easily.

The *acta* themselves survive as seventy-two single sheets and 182 medieval copies (mostly in cartularies) and five as antiquarian transcripts. Shead does not firmly identify any forgeries among the originals (p. xli), a conclusion that other scholars might take on elsewhere. The diplomatic introduction is brief but useful, concentrating on the internal form of the documents, and produces interesting observations (such as the variety of ways the small bishopric of Dunblane had for safeguarding its rights). But there is no discussion of the hands among the seventy-two single sheets, so the reader remains uninformed about the production context and, given the importance of monastic houses in preserving the large proportion of surviving episcopal *acta* (particularly so given that many acts focus on that relationship), more could have been said on the archival context and its significance.

There are some real gems among the *acta*. Some will delight the specialist (the bishop of Dunblane, for example, being titled "bishop of Strathearn" in no. 38). The relationship between the bishop of Brechin and Arbroath Abbey is something which comes out particularly clearly. Most of the fifteen surviving episcopal *acta* (nos. 12-27) from Brechin (of which the earliest dates from the episcopacy of Turpin, March 1179–1191/98, and the latest to that of Ralph, 1198/9–1212/14) have some reference to handing over churches and church land to the nearby abbey of Arbroath, a royal foundation set up by King William after his defeat and capture in the 1173-74 Great Rebellion against Henry II. This gives one a sense of the intrusion of these major foundations into local society and their effect on developing episcopal jurisdiction (no wonder *salvis episcopalibus* appears so frequently among the *acta*). But there is also wider relevance: the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical courts (e.g., no. 113); the performance of homage to make peace (no. 108).

In addition, it is possible (through the generosity of the editor himself) to link this new edition to new digital search platforms, which themselves can create new research agendas. In 2007, the editor, Norman Shead, provided the new AHRC-funded project, "The Paradox of Medieval Scotland," headed by Dauvit Broun at the University of Glasgow, with his then near-complete edition. That project (together with "The Breaking of Britain") produced the combined charter-factoid and prosopographical database, "The People of Medieval Scotland, 1094-1314" (www.poms.ac.uk). Shead's edition of charter texts can thus be combined with the major search engine which PoMS provides, allowing for further and large-scale data collection and analysis of the links between institutional production, social networks, and charter diplomatic. Shead's edition is a remarkable achievement; by its publication, it will allow new research questions to be asked, make the material more accessible to other scholars, and will enrich study of this place and period.

King's College London ALICE TAYLOR

Liturgy, Books and Franciscan Identity in Medieval Umbria. By Anna Welch. [The Medieval Franciscans, volume 12.] (Leiden: Brill. 2015. Pp. xii, 270. $142.00. ISBN 978-9-0042-427-8837.)

At its heart Anna Welch's volume is the study of a Franciscan missal produced in Umbria in the late thirteenth century. She writes that she began with the assumption that in the course of her project she would identify distinctive liturgical characteristics that in turn would reflect distinctive Franciscan identities. She found something quite different and produced a volume that those of us who work on illuminated manuscripts need to consider as we ask how illuminators worked with their clients including religious orders. Indeed she concludes, "I have argued that liturgy was not the primary means of establishing (or attempting to establish) a common identity within the order" (p. 216). Moreover, her effort to connect liturgy to community identity ends with a convincing revision of the theory that the Latin liturgy evolved in a linear manner across the thirteenth century, in what she calls "the implementation of a uniform liturgy" (p.13). This concept, developed in the middle of the twentieth century by Stephen J. P. van Dijk, O.F.M., and Joan Hazelden Walker, remains fundamental to the study of Italian liturgical manuscripts.

The missal at the center of her project is the Codex Sancti Paschalis, a late thirteenth-century missal that belongs to the Order of Friars Minor at St. Paschal's College in Box Hill, now on permanent loan to the Rare Books Collection of the State Library of Victoria at Melbourne. She describes it as one of five missals that in turn belong to a larger group of manuscripts decorated by the Perugian ateliers of the Maestro di Deruta-Salerno and Venturella di Pietro. Among a number of virtues Welch's volume successfully argues several points: that art historians, anthropologists, liturgists, and historians must work together; that art historians should be circumspect in attributing the styles of painters to religious orders whose works they may have decorated; that a call for a unified liturgy does not indicate that one existed earlier, but, more logically, that it had not; and that the call for the reform of a text does not mark the moment of its introduction.

She observes that at times scholars engage in circular argumentation; liturgists often date manuscripts by their ornamental style, while art historians often depend on liturgical history for dates. She observes that art historians have tended to overgeneralize when speaking of the relationship between the order and the manuscript illuminators, given that many of the painters appear to have been lay professionals rather than members of religious orders. Indeed Welch convincingly questions the theories of scholars who have attempted to identify what might be called a Franciscan style of ornament, characterized by a small figure style. Yet while she stresses the choices made by individual painters and scribes, I would argue that she doesn't push individual agency far enough. Decisions about the form of a manuscript might also fall to clients or patrons, whether the heads of communities, or the lay commissioners of manuscripts, willing and able to pay for luxury manuscripts. Ultimately Welch reminds us that beyond this individuals and individual communities had multiple, intersecting, "layered" (p. 46) identities.

There are just a few things I wish Welch had done differently. To begin, the discussion of issues in the early chapters is dense and at times difficult to follow. And it would be helpful if she had explained what a missal is at the start of her discussion. This is especially important since the missal is a relatively late liturgical format. Finally, I regret that she did not consider musical notation at least in passing and what that might tell us about the process of producing liturgical books.

Bates College REBECCA W. CORRIE

Bonifaz VIII. (1294–1303). Erster Halbband: *Benedikt Caetani*. By Peter Herde. [Päpste und Papsttum, Band 43,1.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersermann Verlag. 2015. Pp. x, 295. €158,00. ISBN 978-3-7772-1508-2.)

The book is the first part of a two-volume planned biography of Pope Boniface VIII. This volume is dedicated to the life of Benedetto Caetani up to his coronation as pope on January 23, 1295, and to his first public acts as such. The biography as a whole finds its place in a series (Päpste und Papsttum) that since its beginning in 1970 has been expressly conceived to collect the popes' lives and studies about the papacy as an institution. In fact, this work was announced already in 1980 by its author, Peter Herde, who as a prominent connoisseur of papal history was also one of the editors of the series itself. The work is therefore the result of thirty-five years of research.

The theme in itself is huge, many-sided, and difficult. Also recently it does not cease to be object of historiographical attention, spawning many essays, while the last monograph on Boniface VIII was published by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani in 2003.

This first volume, based on a rich documentation, provides a wide and complete look on Benedetto's days before his pontificate. Firstly, it surveys his life and career stage by stage and in great detail, trying to point out the very moments in which the most relevant issues of his later experience arose for the first time. In this sense, since Benedetto's experiences are read in the light of his pontificate and this does seem to be the touchstone by which everything is evaluated, Boniface's pontificate ends up as a sort of key to an understanding of the whole work. Secondly, Herde puts Benedetto's life in a broad political and ecclesiastical context. Thirdly, and most meaningfully, through a critical use of contemporary sources the author carries out a steady (and besides essential) confrontation with the many distortions of Boniface's image spread by tradition and proposes a careful revision of them.

The book is made of three chapters. The first of them (pp. 1–154), which is also by far the most extensive part of the work, deals with the youth and the first steps of Benedetto's ecclesiastical career. The most ancient documentary evidences report his presence in Anagni and Todi. Perhaps thanks to his family connections he then entered the Roman Curia and found himself directly involved in some central political matters of the period, at first as a member of Cardinal Ottobono Fieschi's circle and as Urban IV's chaplain, then as papal notary. These years

allowed him to have many different experiences, which would have been important in his later pontificate. When he was appointed cardinal in 1281, a new phase of his career began. After some time spent in routine activities, he was entrusted with weighty legations.

In the second chapter (pp. 155–209) Herde describes Benedetto's experiences "on the way to the papal throne" during the vacancy that followed Pope Nicholas IV's death in 1292 and then through Celestine V's pontificate. The author re-examines here the relationship between the Pope and Benedetto and tries impartially to evaluate the cardinal's role in Celestine's resignation.

The third and last chapter (pp. 211–48) is first concerned with Benedetto's election as pope, referring to the various traditions that give an account of the event and focusing on the people involved in the choice. The description of Benedetto's ordination and coronation follows as well. The volume is closed by a list of sources and literature (pp. 249–78) and by an index of places and people (pp. 279-95).

University of the Sacred Heart, Milan Lucia Dell'Asta

Illuminators and Patrons in Fourteenth-Century England: The Psalter & Hours of Humphrey de Bohun and the Manuscripts of the Bohun Family. By Lucy Freeman Sandler (London and Toronto: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2014. Pp. xxi, 383, 240 ills. $70. ISBN 978-0712357579.)

During the fourteenth century, Pleshey Castle in Essex was the locus of a remarkable confluence of patrons, artists, and scribes. The patrons were members of the wealthy and prominent Bohun family, and two of the artists, John de Teye and Henry Hood, were Augustinian friars attached to their household. During the second half of the century, the illuminators and scribes at Pleshey produced a number of profusely-decorated manuscripts, of which twelve complete or fragmentary examples remain as witnesses to a large and coherent group. In *Illuminators and Patrons,* Lucy Freeman Sandler places a prayerbook made for the last male Bohun in the context of this important group.

The first part of *Illuminators and Patrons* addresses the historical background of the Bohuns and their artists, and surveys the surviving manuscripts (pp. 1–36; see also the appendix pp. 346–49). Sandler then turns to the titular manuscript, a psalter and hours now in the British Library (MS Egerton 3277), which here receives its first full scholarly description and analysis. She argues that the unusual organization and subject matter of this prayerbook was informed by the synergy of patron and illuminator at Pleshey. Here, as in other Bohun manuscripts, each verse begins with a historiated initial that contains a tiny painted scene. These initials provide the engaged reader with visual narratives drawn primarily from the Bible, which proceed along their own course in a way that sometimes dovetails with but is never captioned by the devotional texts. While Sandler's overview of the illumination program explores the structure and the context of these paintings (pp. 37–91), her analyses of each of the illuminations in the next chapter are the heart of

this part of the book. Here, Sandler explores the interplay between the texts, the biblical initials, and the other figural imagery that was painted in marginal complexes outside the "primary" material (pp. 92–158). The complex and literate relationships between these different elements are suggestive of the relationships between the original readers and some of the artists, particularly John de Teye.

Illuminators and Patrons is the culmination of three decades of work by Lucy Freeman Sandler, the *doyenne* of fourteenth-century English manuscript studies, who since 1985 has published several shorter articles on various aspects of the Bohun manuscripts as well as a monograph on one of the psalters. Several of these are republished in the second part of this book, updated and furnished with more color reproductions. This is a valuable compilation of both easily-available journal articles and essays that can be harder to track down. Presented here in a thematic organization, these studies present additional overviews of the group and its historiography, and either address themes, like political imagery, across several manuscripts (pp. 179-202), or individual members of the Bohun group, like the psalter in Vienna (ÖNB cod. 1826*; pp. 290–306).

Illuminators and Patrons, like the manuscripts it discusses, is a copiously illustrated book, but it also includes a CD that provides images of every folio from Egerton 3277 in files large enough to allow close inspection of the texts and images. The manuscript is, at this writing, fully digitized at the British Library website (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_3277), but the disk is a more convenient adjunct to the analyses in the book. This volume, in conjunction with Sandler's study of *The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2004) provide by themselves an essential library on this unusual group of illuminated manuscripts, and will no doubt provide an important foundation for further studies.

University of Missouri ANNE RUDLOFF STANTON

Giovanni di Rupescissa: *Vade mecum in tribulatione.* Edizione critica a cura di Eleana Tealdi. Introduzione storica a cura di Robert E. Lerner e Gian Luca Potestà. [Dies Nova: Fonti e studi per la storia del profetismo.] (Milan: Vita e Pensiero. 2015. Pp. 330. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-343-2998-6.)

This excellent addition to what one of the editors of this volume calls the "Rupescissa renaissance" is more than simply an edition of one of John of Rupescissa's (ca. 1310–1366) shorter apocalyptic works. While manuscript survival alone is not necessarily an indicator of popularity, the forty-six manuscripts bearing all or some of the *Vade mecum* speak to widespread medieval interest in the Franciscan visionary-cum-alchemist's work, which only recently has been matched by scholars'.

The edition of the Latin text, edited by Eleana Tealdi, consists of just over fifty pages, and includes a medieval synopsis of the contents. Written shortly after the completion of a lengthy magisterial prophetic work, the *Liber ostensor* (which stretches to roughly 750 printed pages), the *Vade mecum* offers something closer to a synthesis of

Rupescissa's thought rather than any radical developments. Building on the work of late medieval Joachites such as Peter Olivi and Arnold of Villanova, Rupescissa's goals in the *Vade mecum* are to demonstrate the imminence of the apocalypse by cataloging the various signs of decline, make the case for John's special role as the herald of the coming tribulations, characterize enemies and champions of Christendom, and describe those who will endure, if not necessarily survive, the end times.

While Rupescissa's text is the heart of the volume, three introductory essays (one in English and two in Italian) by Robert Lerner, Gian Luca Potestà, and Tealdi precede the text. Lerner and Potestà, both long-standing experts on the history of medieval apocalypticism, offer contextual essays in a section devoted to historical introduction of the *Vade mecum*, while Tealdi focuses on the *Vade mecum* itself. Lerner's essay is a brief, but detailed biography of Rupescissa. While Rupescissa often has been described as a Franciscan Spiritual, Lerner rightly complicates this idea, pointing out Rupescissa's fidelity to Olivian views of poverty, but also his obedience to and acceptance of Pope John XXII's spiritual authority, which had been rejected by even erstwhile moderate Franciscans in the tow of Minister General Michael of Cesena. Potestà's essay focuses on thematic continuities and developments within Rupescissa's own works and those that appear to have had the most influence on his thought.

Tealdi's longer introduction focuses principally on the manuscript tradition and the *ratio editionis,* but she gives some attention to the content of the text itself. Much of the discussion of the content is summary, but it is a nuanced one. For instance, Tealdi skillfully recapitulates Rupescissa's painstaking mental gymnastics to avoid the title of prophet yet retain a kind of prophetic authority, and she does so without compromising the subtlety (or messiness) of the friar's argument.

If there is a fault in the edition, it may be the plurality of introductory essays. There are some redundancies among them and none of them engages recent secondary scholarship overmuch. A longer co-written introduction may have served the reader better, but it is difficult to quibble overmuch with the decision to include more material rather than less, and it may well be that shorter essays on discrete topics will be a boon to medievalists and early modernists whose interest in Rupescissa or medieval apocalyptic is tangential. This commendable edition of the *Vade mecum* is certainly brief enough to be accessible and is, in its own right, an important and very welcome contribution to the study of medieval apocalypticism.

Boston College ZACHARY A. MATUS

Beyond Reformation? An Essay on William Langland's Piers Plowman *and the End of Constantinian Christianity*. By David Aers. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. 2015. Pp. xix, 256. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02046-0).

In this fine, provocative essay David Aers extends his previous studies of *Piers Plowman* to explore Langland's attitudes toward the theological and social issues of

his time as set out in the final version of the poem, the C-text, and reflects on their relevance to current concerns. He believes that those writing "grand narratives" of the history of religious movements need to take fuller account of the poem, which addresses a very modern topic, the dechristianization of society. Aers argues that explorations of Langland's position have been so concerned to demonstrate that he was not a Wycliffite, as he was painted at the Reformation, that they have overlooked his very unorthodox views. Wyclif's solution to the corruption of the Church is voiced in the poem by *Liberum Arbitrium* reflecting on the Donation of Constantine, by which, it was supposed, the Church was endowed with material possessions, with disastrous results. *Liberum Arbitrium* proposes the transfer of ecclesiastical possessions to the Crown. This vast addition to the king's powers is not Langland's solution, though sixteenth-century readers marked out the passage as a prognosis of what was to come, for the proposal is superseded by the narrative of the last part of the poem. To appreciate this we need to grasp Langland's method of argument, which Aers describes very well as "a dialectic which is rooted in a logic of disputation." He continues: "It moves by expressing a range of positions and their consequences. . . . Superseded moments are not simply abandoned to be forgotten. For they too, in their very supersession, remain constitutive of the total dialectical moment" (pp. 98-99).

This insight helps to evaluate one of the key figures in the two final sections of the poem. Conscience seems at first to be a trustworthy guide, set up by the Holy Spirit ("Grace") to lead the Pentecostal Church, called Unity, before Grace and Piers Plowman set out as pilgrims to evangelize "wyde as the world is." When first Pride and then Antichrist attack the Church, Conscience commits a series of terrible errors. He urges the people to stay inside Unity and build fortifications, not realizing the presence of the enemy within. The problem of the erring conscience in a dechristianized society was addressed in 1993 by Pope John-Paul II's encyclical *Veritatis Splendor*, where the faithful are advised to rely on the truth of "the Church and her Magisterium," advice, Aers argues, diametrically opposed to Langland's views. By the end of the poem Piers and Grace have left the institutional Church and Conscience sets off in search of them; for Langland, it seems, the Church is indeed "beyond reformation," and the true Christians are those few "fools" who are left to fight Antichrist. Aers sees similarities with the theology of Ockham maintaining that "the pope is not Christ's vicar in any temporal matters whatever" (p. 30).

Aers's dialectic resembles that of Langland himself, progressing through seventeen numbered sections in which arguments are recapitulated and quotations repeated in different contexts. Some of the disadvantages of this to-ing and fro-ing would have been minimized by providing fuller summaries of the action of the last two passus of the poem for those less familiar with Langland, since Aers aims to widen the readership of *Piers Plowman*. If he succeeds he will have performed a useful service.

University of Nottingham THORLAC TURVILLE-PETRE

Early Modern

Politics, Gender, and Belief: The Long-Term Impact of the Reformation. Essays in Memory of Robert Kingdon. Edited by Amy Nelson Burnett, Kathleen M. Comerford, and Karin Maag. [Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Vol. 121.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2014. Pp. 320. $49.20 ; CHF41.00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-600-01820-3.)

The ten essays gathered in the present collection had their origins in a series of 2011 conference presentations honoring Robert M. Kingdon, who had passed away the previous year. Authored by senior as well as younger colleagues, friends, and former students, they attest to the strength of Kingdon's influence and the broad reach of his interests. The contributions are highly impressive in their own right and serve as a fitting tribute to a pre-eminent scholar.

A number of the essays address subjects that were of immediate importance to Kingdon, while others speak more to his concerns for the wider contours of the early modern past. Falling into the former category is an initial clutch of studies assessing the impact of the Reformed movement, a subject that figured prominently in Kingdon's own work. Thus, Barbara Pitkin offers a comparative reading of John Calvin and François Hotman's employ of biblical texts as vehicles for understanding the difficulties that sixteenth-century Reformed Christians faced. For its part, Martin Klauber's essay on the debate between Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron over the nature of the Eucharist turns more on understandings of patristic writings. And James Tracy casts the net a bit wider in his analysis of the manner whereby Reformed ecclesiastical authorities at Geneva and Zurich sought to evaluate the strength of the Ottoman presence in Eastern Europe as they formulated advice to Reformed co-religionists living there.

A second group of essays focuses on broader questions regarding church-state relations. Kathleen Comerford examines Cosimo dei Medici's reliance upon the Jesuits in his efforts to strengthen the Florentine state. Together, they sought to inculcate correct religious belief and ward off potential political opposition. Sean Perrone directs attention to the Castilian orbit and the financial support that the Church lent the state in a complicated European-wide network of monetary relationships. Church-state relations within Protestant territories were no less complex than in Catholic areas, as elucidated in chapters by David Mayes and Timothy Fehler. Mayes examines the role of governing authorities in resolving the clash between Lutheran and Reformed communities in Hesse-Kassel and Hanau after the mid-seventeenth century. The quarrel was over which confessional group had the prevailing right to supervise and discipline the faithful. Fehler, on the other hand, points up the extensive peaceful and fluid contacts between Anabaptists and Reformed Christians in East Frisia. Remarkably, some individuals seem to have moved effortlessly back and forth between the two communities.

The final three essays examine gender, family, and marriage—topics that especially interested Kingdon and on which he published extensively. Marjorie E.

Plummer provides a fascinating account of the circumstances surrounding former Catholic nuns in the early years of the Lutheran Reformation. What, in particular, were their legal rights regarding the dowries they had originally brought to the convent? Close inspection of women's testimony in court cases involving marriage permits William Bradford Smith to help us better understand women's articulation of their honor and their understandings of marriage. Finally, William Naphy investigates accusations of infanticide brought against women in the Genevan criminal courts between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. In the process, we learn a great deal about the anxieties of unmarried pregnant women and society's view of them.

Altogether, this is a lively and topical set of essays. They are well written and address significant questions much under discussion among scholars of early modern Europe. Their findings will be as stimulating and appealing to specialists in the field as they would have been to Kingdon. The editors—Amy Nelson Burnett, Kathleen Comerford, and Karin Maag—are to be congratulated for a fine volume.

University of Iowa RAYMOND A. MENTZER

Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World. By Noel Malcom. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2015. Pp. xxx, 604. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-19-026278-5.)

Historiography has paid particular attention to Mediterranean history, which is not surprising considering the importance this sea (surrounded by the coasts of Europe, Asia and Africa) had as a business, political, and cultural trade area among these three continents. Serving as a connecting zone between the confessional states in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, during the modern age the Mediterranean has been the stage where numerous characters acted, and who, despite their different responsibilities, contributed to connecting the Christian West with the Muslim East. In this context, alongside the figures with institutional tasks at the service of the States, there were also corsairs, spies, interpreters, religious people, and political intermediaries who played a significant role, which historiography has acknowledged only partially up to now. Considering this subject from this original point of view, Noel Malcom focuses his research on two Albanian families, Bruni and Bruti, which settled down and made a fortune in Ulcinj, a city situated in what is present-day Montenegro.

In the sixteenth century, Albania was a barrier between East and West, which is to say the Christian world and the Muslim one. It was a trade area which also witnessed comparisons and debates among Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, and Islam. Formerly subject to the Republic of Venice, in the second half of the fifteenth century, Albania was under the influence of the Ottoman Empire. Taking into account an unpublished manuscript composed by Antonio Bruni about the history of his family, Malcolm focuses his attention on the political and cultural

landscape which characterized the relationship between the European States and the Ottoman Empire. Giovanni Bruni seems to have been a remarkable figure. An Albanian orator born in Ulcinj, he became archbishop of the diocese of Bar, a city situated on the border between the Ottoman territory and the areas under the influence of Greek Orthodox and Lutheran confessions. Thanks to this experience, which put him in touch with faiths and religious confessions different from Catholicism, in 1562 he was summoned by Pius IV to the Council of Trent (1545–1563), an occasion in which the Roman Church tried to define its confessional identity after the Protestant Reformation. When he returned to his diocese, he put into practice the Tridentine decrees. When control of Albania passed from the Venetian State to the Ottoman Empire, Giovanni was taken prisoner and put into the Ottoman galleys of the 1571 Battle of Lepanto.

Thus, Giovanni was killed by a group of Spanish soldiers, who, overlooking his plea that he was a Catholic bishop, executed him. Together with Giovanni, his brother Gasparo is also remarkable. In 1567, he joined the Knights of Malta and, four years later, he took part in the Battle of Lepanto, playing a leadership role in the Christian fleet.

Bartolomeo Bruti, cousin of Giovanni and Gasparo Bruti, worked as a translator at the Venetian embassy in Constantinopole. Surpassing national and religious borders, Bartolomeo offered his linguistic and political diplomatic skills indiscriminately to Venice, Spain, and the Ottoman Empire. Malcolm's original and accurate research, focusing on very interesting unpublished sources, helps us to understand the unique role of the Mediterranean during the early modern age, before the main political and trading routes moved to the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea. Thanks to the coexistence of different factors, such as its small size and mild climate, the Mediterranean became an area of cultural debate and confrontation, which contributed in shaping the identity of Europe and Asia in the modern age.

Thanks to trade, political relations, and war, the Mediterranean Sea brought into close contact three continents, facilitating the dialogue and exchange of knowledge between different societies, languages, religions, and cultures. Thus, Malcolm's work may serve for integrating the historiographical interpretation, which focuses on geographic-political borders as a key element for understanding modern Europe and their consequences for political and cultural relations between the Christian West and the Muslim East.

The Catholic University of Milan Marco Rochini

Dying, Death, Burial and Commemoration in Reformation Europe. Edited by Elizabeth C. Tingle and Jonathan Willis. [St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2015. Pp. xi, 219. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-472-43014-4.)

During the past few years, cultural practices and beliefs associated with the passing of life, and the ways in which they have been accepted, adapted, or rejected

have been identified as being of importance in assessing the impact of the Reformation. Scholarly research on death and dying, particularly in the Reformation period, has seen a number of new studies published as edited collections. Readers of the recently published *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015) will also be interested in this volume entitled *Dying, Death, Burial and Commemoration in Reformation Europe*. It provides the reader with a series of another ten in-depth studies on this broad theme characterized by a multidisciplinary approach, with contributions from different research perspectives, such as history, literature, musicology, and theology.

The collection opens with a profound overview of the key areas of the topic (e.g., dying well, funeral and burial, memorials and commemoration) reflecting the current state of the research in this area. The editors justifiably give weight to the fact that investigations in these fields reveal a series of important insights in terms of the ways "in which the Reformation itself was negotiated by individuals and communities" (p. 2). While the introduction states the intention to follow a broad geographical perspective within a European context, readers will notice that the contributions are dominated by the (Post-) Reformation period in England.

The first case study examines church orders of the Palatinate to show how the process of dying, death, burial, and commemoration was accompanied not only with pastoral care and consolation for the sick and dying, but also an opportunity to offer instruction (some inaccuracies in the footnotes, e.g., Eike Wolgast as "Eika" or "Wolfgast," do not diminish the relevance of this contribution). Subsequently, the following chapter emphasizes the importance of being well prepared for a godly deathbed in post-Reformation England. Godly deaths provided useful exemplars for the edification of audiences, whose prayers could no longer traverse the gulf between living and dead. By investigating death-related pieces of music in Reformation England, the third contribution describes how these compositions became a vehicle for delivering subjective feelings associated with death and burial by means of the modes and tunes that were thought to correspond to feelings. The following case study reports on measures against the Catholic minority in early modern England, and focuses on families who had been denied the right to bury the deceased in the parish churchyard, and in spite of the persecution by local authorities sought to sustain Catholic beliefs and customs surrounding death and burial. A chapter about the London Company of Drapers gives insight into the corporate traditions of a fraternity which found a way to recast their former rituals and continued to commemorate their brethren throughout the sixteenth century by creating cultural practices that met the needs of their members. The following contribution studies the change of commemorative practices during the Reformation through the medium of French funerary monuments by outlining the development of different types of tombs (with six black-and-white illustrations), and traces religiously motivated violence targeting these religious status symbols. A series of "Livres des Martyrs" is the subject of another contribution. The authors of this genre of martyrology stressed commonalities between the martyrs and contemporary victims of religious massacres (members of the Reformed Church in France and the Low Countries), which is why they

included and commemorated those who had died in such killings alongside martyrs. The chapter "Ghost stories" examines the role of accounts of apparitions from beyond the grave in debates about the afterlife in sixteenth-century France. By returning and bearing witness to the reality of the doctrine of purgatory, ghosts and spirits also had become useful agents in the war for souls, before the clerical ghost narrative as a didactic form declined by the end of the sixteenth century. As is frequently found in edited collections, some contributions are rather peripheral to the main theme, which is the case with the last chapter about the veneration of a relic attributed to Ildephonsus of Toledo in Spain.

Only five of the nine individual chapters are equipped with marked conclusion, but with its helpful index, the collection is a valuable resource and remarkable contribution for anyone interested in the culture of death and dying, particularly during the Reformation period.

Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities CLAUDIA RESCH
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Justice in the Marketplace in Early Modern Spain: Saravia, Villalón and the Religious Origins of Economic Analysis. By Michael Thomas D'Emic. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield. 2014. Pp. xxx, 277. $126.00 Hardback. ISBN 978-0-7391-8128-7.)

The last decades have seen a remarkable revival of interest in the economic thought of the so-called « late scholastics »—a variegated group of theologians and canon lawyers, often connected to the University of Salamanca, who were particularly active in the Spanish empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The bulk of the secondary literature has investigated selected chapters on usury and just pricing in the learned work, written in Latin, of some of the most famous representatives of this movement, such as Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, Luis de Molina, Leonardus Lessius, and Juan de Lugo. Through the seminal work by Joseph A. Schumpeter and Majorie Grice Hutchinson, those moral theologians have become known as the fathers of modern economic analysis. However, scholars have become increasingly aware that the economic thought of the late scholastics cannot be reduced to those famous authors alone. Instead, there are many lesser known figures who, often long before the big names even published their work, had already rendered a detailed account of the profound changes that occurred in Spain's economy and of the moral questions accompanying the rise of capitalism.

The work under review draws attention to two such lesser-known sixteenth-century Spanish scholastic theologians: Cristóbal de Villalón and Saravia de la Calle. Very little, if anything, is known about the lives of these men. Villalón studied at Alcalá and Salamanca before occupying a chair in the faculty of arts at Valladolid, the then seat of the imperial court. He was the author of a treatise on money-exchange, commerce, and usury, the *Provechoso tratado de cambios y contrataciones de mercaderes y reprovacion de usura*, first published in Valladolid in 1541.

Saravia de la Calle's career remains a mystery, but in 1544 he is mentioned as the author of a manual for merchants, the *Instrucción de mercaderes muy provechosa*, published at Medina del Campo, the center of gravity of trade and economic exchange in Spain. Because they wrote their work in Spanish, the diffusion of Villalón's and De la Calle's ideas beyond the Spanish empire remained limited. Villalón and De la Calle did not share the glorious fate of the afore-mentioned scholastics who gained eternal fame because they were still being cited by Protestant natural lawyers such as Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf. Yet, if anything, their works bring us even closer to the empirical reality of the transformation of economics and finance at the dawn of capitalism than the learned treatises « On Justice and Right » (*De iustitia et iure*) or the commentaries, in Latin, on Thomas' *Secunda Secundae*.

Although they were working in the same scholastic tradition, drawing on the same late medieval sources, Villalón and De la Calle held opposing views as to the moral legitimacy of the fundamental changes that were happening in the marketplace. While both authors did not refrain from expressing contempt at merchants' and bankers' insatiable desire to make money, their analysis of the market and the solution of specific cases of conscience differed considerably. The author of the book under review rightly emphasizes that the contradictory analyses of the justice of the market price in the *Provechoso tratado* and the *Instrucción*, respectively, defy conventional historical wisdom about the free market orientation or not of the late scholastics. Most historians have tended to consider the Spanish scholastics as the first moral advocates of the free market, while others have noticed the origins of a labor theory of value in the same scholastic sources. As a matter of fact, D'Emic convincingly demonstrates that both views co-existed in the 1540s, since Villalón emphasized the labor cost theory of value while De la Calle promoted a radical utility theory of value. It would seem, though, that in the long run, especially in Jesuit scholastic sources from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, De la Calle's opinion prevailed.

KU Leuven WIM DECOCK

John Knox. By Jane E.A. Dawson. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2015. Pp. x, 373. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11473-7.)

Jane Dawson's long-awaited Knox biography draws on some previously unknown source materials as well as significant advances in our understanding of sixteenth-century Britain since the landmark treatments of Knox by Jasper Ridley (1968) and Stanford Reid (1974). The subject is certainly neither unknown nor noncontroversial, in part because of the very dramatic portrait Knox gave of himself in his own rather polemical *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, published after his death, using materials he had left behind. Dawson does an admirable job of cutting through some of that fog and presenting a portrait of Knox for the twenty-first century, one which contextualizes his flaws without necessarily excusing them.

The major new primary source here is a small collection of letters between Knox and his friend, fellow Marian exile and sometime ministerial colleague

Christopher Goodman, held in the Denbighshire Record Office. Dawson uses these to shed light on Knox's movements, particularly during 1566-67, when he was temporarily exiled from his pulpit in Edinburgh. Knox settled for a while in Ayr, on the west coast of Scotland, and the letters reveal that Goodman, who had accompanied Sir Henry Sidney to Ireland, was trying to lure Knox there to join the effort to bring a Calvinist-style reformation to that island. Knox appears to have considered but declined this offer. He returned to Edinburgh after the deposition of Mary Stewart, but not before first paying a clandestine visit to northwestern England and London. These contacts highlight Knox's transnational nature. While today he is generally associated with his native Scotland, he also held positions in the Edwardine Church of England, and ministered to the "English" congregation in Geneva. His first wife, Marjorie Bowes, was English, as was his close friend Goodman.

Dawson is also keen to stress how Knox's experience of the Church of England and its apparent overturning by Mary Tudor contributed to his inability to consider what may have been pragmatic compromises through the twists and turns of Scottish ecclesiology and politics between his return to his native kingdom in 1559 and death in 1572. Certainly, his rigid attitudes proved counterproductive, and would-be allies found him exasperating. While Dawson is generally sympathetic to her subject, she does not paper over these flaws. Nor does she offer much in the way of excuses for his most colossal miscalculation: the publication of *The First Blast of Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* from Geneva in 1558. With the death of Mary Tudor and the succession of her sister Elizabeth to the English throne shortly after its appearance, this initially anonymous work brought disrepute to the whole Genevan exile community and, in Dawson's view sent "the Protestant Churches of the two countries [England and Scotland] on diverging paths that altered the history of the British Isles" (p. 317). Of course, the charge most often leveled against Knox for the *First Blast* is misogyny, not poor timing. Dawson does not overlook this, but turns away quickly to discuss Knox's friendship with the English exile Anna Locke, whose *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* was the only publication by a woman to come out of the English exilic community of Geneva.

Given Knox's poor political instincts, Dawson sees his lasting influence more in the areas of Scottish liturgy and ecclesiology, in which he authored or co-authored foundational texts. She also stresses his theatricality, which may have contributed to how he framed Reformed ritual, as well as how he presented himself in the pages of his own *History*. But theatricality sometimes requires donning a mask; in Dawson's telling it becomes clear that Knox the confident prophet was subject to deep depressions, and these particularly marked his later years.

University of Akron MICHAEL F. GRAHAM

Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life. By Gerard Kilroy. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2015. Pp. xxii, 458. $135.99. ISBN: 978-1-4094-0151-3.)

This is an outstanding book, a biography of the young Jesuit Edmund Campion, who was executed for treason at Tyburn on December 1, 1581. Thomas Alfield, in his eyewitness account written for publication shortly after the events of Campion's trial and death memorably described him as "The flower of Oxford … and an honour to our country."

Gerard Kilroy's intention, discussed in his introduction, is to re-imagine through the documentary evidence available Campion's scholarly and priestly life. And he succeeds in doing so impressively and without a hint of hagiography. Kilroy's meticulous scholarship, careful reading of a vast range of historical, literary, and visual sources—including several previously unknown, recently discovered manuscripts—his perceptive analysis and interpretation of these, bring to life on the page the boy, the scholar, the Jesuit priest, the missionary, and the martyr; the man who as a young scholar, had been earmarked for preferment by Queen Elizabeth herself and whose death scandalised the whole of Europe. His findings, however, go much further. They notably clarify, add to, and in some cases change our understanding of the Elizabethan settlement at this critical point as the Queen and her counsellors negotiated the matter of the Anjou suit and the succession within the immediate consequences of the bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, of Pius V and the intentions of Nicholas Sander, the King of Spain, William Allen, Sir Francis Englefield, and others in promoting rebellion in Ireland. In addition, they provide new insight into the internal politics and factionalism of the Catholic community at home and in exile.

Kilroy's detailed re-creation of Campion's early years provides clues to the man. The son of a radical Protestant stationer, Campion was brought up among the tight-knit print community who lived and worked in and around St. Paul's churchyard. This upbringing, he shows, exercised a potent influence throughout his life. Campion's intuitive understanding of the power of print characterised his scholarly and missionary work. So too, this upbringing exposed him from an early age to the culture of the spoken word: in sermons, most notably at Paul's Cross, in dialectic, and in oratory. It nurtured in him a lifelong devotion to disputation, "a belief that intellectual argument was the only solution to the theological differences of the period" (p. 15). Campion's inherently sweet nature, combined with his wonderfully receptive intellect, Kilroy shows, singled him out early for patronage by the city elders who ensured his education in its own schools: St Paul's, Christ's Hospital—and later St. John's, Oxford.

The chapter on Campion's Oxford career is outstanding. Kilroy's identification and use of previously unknown material in his reconstruction of the Queen's visit in 1566 throws new light on this event. Campion's skills in oratory and disputation famously so impressed Elizabeth on this occasion that she instructed Leicester to offer him "preferment and patronage on an unlimited scale" (p. 43). Kilroy's findings contextualize and clarify the anxieties, tensions, and factionalism in the

regime during these days as the matter of the Queen's marriage and the succession became the fulcrum around which a series of complex diplomatic shifts and personal manoeuvres were executed. He shows too the consequences of Leicester's appointment as Chancellor of the university as, with the transfer of power from a Catholic majority to a Calvinist minority, large numbers of Catholic scholars swiftly migrated from Oxford to Louvain.

Campion's formative time in Ireland, his scholarly work there, conversion, and departure for Douai in 1571 are particularly well brought out. It is not possible in a short review to do justice to Kilroy's expert reconstruction of Campion's career which then followed. His use of known, and previously unknown archival sources to reconstruct Campion's pilgrim journey to Rome, entry into the Society, his novitiate in Brno, ordination and the six happy and fulfilled years spent in Prague, his teaching and scholarship reveals much which is new.

All of this ended in 1579 when, with the expectations of Sander and William Allen running high in relation to Ireland, Campion was called by his General to Rome and the English mission. Kilroy argues convincingly that having witnessed in Prague a successful Jesuit mission operating within a policy of religious toleration, Campion had anticipated a similar framework for his work in England. However, Kilroy's further argument that from the time of Everard Mercurian's request Campion "showed himself detached from the political and strategic aims of the mission" (p. 135) is more problematic. He had perhaps traveled as far as Rheims with this intention because only then did William Allen tell him of Sander's expedition to Ireland. But the situation he encountered on arrival was very different from that which he had experienced in Prague. The exploits of Sander and the Catholic rebellion in Ireland, the fear of imminent papal invasion and another Catholic uprising in England exacerbated by a hostile reaction to the unpopular Anjou marriage had created a dangerous climate for missionary activity. Campion's statement in the "Brag" suggests that his approach had been modified in the light of the situation he encountered. Kilroy's argument here needs further clarification.

The narrative of the mission is meticulously detailed, so too is the seamless account of Campion's capture, torture, disputations, trial, and execution. Kilroy is to be congratulated for this superb narrative recuperation. Campion was the subject of more torture warrants, of dubious legality, than anyone else in history and given the savagery of torture he endured it is astonishing that not only did he refuse to conform but that he revealed so little information. When torture failed, flattery was tried but not even the Queen, who, Kilroy suggests, met Campion privately during the trial and offered him an archbishopric, could move him. His trial, as Kilroy's detailed analysis of the proceedings shows, was a travesty in which justice was subordinated to the political interests of the crown. When Campion mounted the gallows he and all those who had gathered there to witness the execution understood its significance. It was a stark signal by the State to those disquieted by the prospect of the Anjou marriage and to Catholics alike, that it had a legal right to deal with its Catholic subjects as it saw fit.

Gerard Kilroy and his publishers, Ashgate, are to be congratulated. This is a fine book of meticulous scholarship and astute analysis. With its detailed footnotes and excellent bibliography, it will be an invaluable resource for everyone working on the history, literature, and theology of the period.

Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge ANNE DILLON

The Trial of Galileo: Essential Documents. Translated and edited by Maurice A. Finocchiaro. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company. 2014. Pp. xii, 160. $34.95 clothbound: ISBN 978-1-62466-133-4; $12.00 paperback: ISBN 978-1-62466-132-7.)

In his acclaimed *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History*, published in1989, Maurice A. Finocchiaro collected, translated, and edited the most important documents pertaining to the trial and condemnation of Galileo. The eighty documents that he presented, together with the critical apparatus and notes, make up a book of about four hundred pages. He has now selected the most important documents, those that can be called crucial and essential to an understanding of the most dramatic episode in the history of the relations between science and religion. His new book opens with an excellent introduction and a useful glossary of terms and names. He has also taken the opportunity to correct a few minor oversights in the earlier collection, and he has incorporated some items from his *Retrying Galileo, 1633–1992*, which appeared in 2005.

An essential aspect of the trial of Galileo concerns the legality of the proceedings, and Finocchiaro rightly stresses that what is legally pertinent in the twenty-first century cannot be assumed to have been relevant in seventeenth-century Italy. The weight played by ecclesiastic or canon law will not be familiar to the modern reader, but it was decisive. An interesting case is the legal opinion solicited by the government of the Republic of Venice and written by the Friar Paolo Sarpi, an important figure in his own right. This document outlines a procedure to render legally valid in Venice the decree of the Roman Congregation of the Index condemning Copernicus. From the evidence available, it would seem that the decree of the Index never became legally valid in Venice, and that the situation was analogous in France.

Although the legal side of Galileo's trial is of considerable importance, the trial itself was not primarily or exclusively a matter of jurisprudence, as some authors have been inclined to see it. At issue was also the theological problem of the validity of scriptural arguments against scientific hypotheses. This question was fraught with epistemological difficulties that were intertwined with social, bureaucratic, and political commitments, which were not always recognized. The documents make it clear, however, that Galileo was not challenging the magisterium of the Church. He considered himself a staunch Catholic and was convinced that his defencs of Copernicanism was in the interest of the Faith. The Roman inquisitors

took a harsher line and found him "vehemently suspected of heresy," a specific category of religious crime intermediate in seriousness between formal heresy and slight suspicion of heresy. In effect, Galileo was being convicted of the second most serious offense handled by the Inquisition. He was condemned to imprisonment but this was immediately commuted to house arrest. He was made comfortable enough to resume his work on the nature of motion and write the book that would become the *Discourses on Two New Sciences* on which his fame as a physicist rests.

The Trial of Galileo: Essential Documents is a useful collection of material related to the trial, and it can be warmly recommended not only to scholars and students but to the general public.

University of Padua (Emeritus) William R. Shea

Scandal and Religious Identity in Early Stuart England: A Northamptonshire Maid's Tragedy. By Peter Lake and Isaac Stephens. [Studies in Modern British Religious History, Volume 32.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2015. Pp. viii, 395. $99.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-014-9.)

Readers familiar with the work of Peter Lake will be aware of his long-standing interest in early Stuart murder pamphlets, as a means both of shedding light on the popular religious thinking of the period and critiquing the historiography of English Protestantism, the first fruit of which was an article in *Midland History* (1990): "Puritanism, Arminianism and a Shropshire Axe-Murder." The present study, a brilliant work of history, written in collaboration with Isaac Stephens, begins with another murder, this time from Northamptonshire, which leads on to an investigation of the religious beliefs and practices of a selection of inhabitants drawn from one of the most divided English counties. In 1637 a local Puritan minister, John Barker, was executed at Northampton, along with his niece (Beatrice) and servant (Ursula), on a joint charge of infanticide. As with the earlier Shropshire murder case of 1633, where the perpetrator was an allegedly Puritan farmer, Enoch ap Evan, anti-Puritans sought to make religious capital out of the resulting discomfiture of the "godly"; in both instances the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional predestination was pilloried as a prime cause of the downfall of such self-deluded "elect." But whereas the Shropshire Puritans responded by denying that Enoch ap Evan had ever been one of their number, the Northamptonshire Puritans, in the event, co-opted the condemned Barker as an edifying spectacle of gallows repentance. These rival polemics, so Lake and Stephens convincingly argue, are a genuine reflection of two very different varieties of popular Protestantism on offer at the time. Thus they are able to demonstrate that most of the views caricatured in the fascinating anti-Calvinist manuscript pamphlet *The Northamptonshire High Constable* really do feature in the extant sermons preached at the Kettering combination lecture, by the moderate Puritans Robert Bolton and Joseph Bentham. Such "public" teachings, of the kind purveyed by Bolton and Bentham, also serve to inform the "private" writings of Robert Woodford, a radical Puritan attorney and Steward of Northampton, and the godly gentlewoman Elizabeth Isham of Lam-

port in the same county. Lake and Stephens identify the author of *The Northamptonshire High Constable* as Peter Hausted, whose *Ten Sermons* (1636) include a number of closely related doctrinal and ceremonial themes. Hausted's "private" counterpart is the Northamptonshire cleric and scourge of Puritans Robert Sibthorpe, a clutch of whose letters survive from the year 1639 as the "personal rule" of Charles I began to unravel. Here it is worth spelling out that the sermons of Bolton and Bentham had been licensed for publication by chaplains of Archbishop Abbot in the early 1630s, before the complete clampdown on Calvinist doctrine, whereas the very different notions of Hausted, his sermons licensed in 1635 by a chaplain of Archbishop Laud, were characteristic of the new Caroline dispensation. While Lake and Stephens rightly criticize present-day historians who dismiss vast swathes of the religious writing of the time as mere "polemic," they also take to task those—often one and the same—who seek to collapse genuine and deeply held religious differences into a "consensual" Protestantism or Anglicanism. The idea of "Anglicanism," they memorably write, "like Rasputin . . . seems impossible to kill" (p. 364), although their book certainly provides a formidable challenge to the sort of myth- makers they have in mind. At the same time, our two authors pay a heartfelt tribute to John Fielding, on whose first-rate edition of Robert Woodford's diary they draw extensively. The present reviewer also wishes to join with them in expressing the hope that Fielding's work on Peterborough diocese, much of it still unpublished, may yet see the light of print. Likewise publishing *The Northamptonshire High Constable* would be an eminently worthwhile task, since the manuscript encapsulates so many Laudian preoccupations, such as altars and bowing toward them, anti-Calvinist teaching on predestination, sermons at the expense of liturgy, patristic scholarship, the alleged socially upstart nature of Puritanism and subversive threat posed by lecturing (fuelled by what Hausted claimed to be an overproduction of university graduates), the benign nature of so-called "good fellow" pastors, and the cult of neighborliness, even down to the short hair ostentatiously affected by male members of the "godly" (p. 40) —the Roundheads as they soon came to be called. The chronological focus of this splendid book is very much the 1630s and the religious landscape conceived of as being peopled by Puritans radical and moderate, Calvinist conformists, and an avant-garde which morphs into Laudianism, although there are some references back to earlier decades, notably the beginning of James I's reign and the portrait painted by Fielding of a group of "proto-Laudian" clergy (p.127) clustered around Bishop Thomas Dove of Peterborough (1601-30). Many years ago now the late Patrick Collinson postulated the existence of a widespread "Pelagianism" at the parish level and for which, by implication, the traditional Catholic priesthood had sought to cater. In an essay of 1994, Lake went on to develop this suggestion in terms of a countervailing "Manichaeanism" into which the Puritan clergy were able to tap. As a consequence it is possible to envisage both Laudianism and Puritanism as religious movements with widespread appeal. Moreover while Lake and Stephens are understandably reluctant to read back the Civil War divisions into the 1630s, or indeed earlier, it is none the less striking how polarized a vision even the "moderate" Bentham presents, recommending "a charitable Christian hatred" on the part of the "saints" toward members of the wider society. While Bentham was to become a

royalist, another erstwhile moderate, William Prynne, whose prosecution by the Caroline authorities greatly exercised Northamptonshire Puritans, in his *A Vindication of Psalm 105. 15* (1642) went on to deduce, from the doctrine of predestination, a right of political resistance as belonging to God's "anointed" - that is to say the "elect." Such is just one of the many potential avenues for further research opened up by this immensely rich and rewarding book.

University College London NICHOLAS TYACKE

On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court. By Erin Griffey. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 2015. Pp. xii, 372. $85.00. ISBN 978-0-300-21400-0.)

This deeply researched and beautifully produced book differs from most art-historical discussions of monarchs in paying attention not only to paintings and other images but the whole range of material display that surrounded Charles I's consort, Henrietta Maria, at various stages of her life. Not that Griffey neglects images: to the contrary she thoroughly examines painted and engraved portraits of her subject from childhood until her final years, carefully charting changes in iconography and suggesting meaningful comparisons to images of other contemporary monarchs. She also makes a strong case for this queen's significance as a patron of the arts and architecture, from her early interest in the painters Jan van Belkamp and Orazion Gentileschi to her rebuilding of Somerset House in the 1660s. But the book also exploits an unusually full series of inventories reproduced as appendices at the end, along with other evidence to reconstruct the décor of Henrietta Maria's palaces and many details about her wardrobe, her investment in jewelry and luxury furnishings, and the arrangement of pictures and other objects in her chapels and privy lodgings. As Griffey rightly argues, it was the total impact of this opulence, rather than paintings and engravings in isolation, that projected an image of the Queen to contemporaries. In addition to making a substantial contribution to the growing body of secondary literature on Henrietta Maria, *On Display* is the most complete and rigorous study yet published of the material culture of a major baroque court.

Much of the book is organized around "passages" of the queen's life, involving both physical crossings of the sea and a transition from one state to another. The earliest of these involved her marriage to Charles I in 1625 and voyage to England. Griffey analyzes the magnificent proxy wedding in Paris and Henrietta Maria's progress to the French coast and then Dover and London, as well as the contents of her trousseau, valued at £30,000, which emphasized the queen's identity as a Bourbon princess and devout Catholic. Three chapters deal with Henrietta Maria's subsequent years in England, one devoted to her first four years and two to her role as a royal mother in the 1630s. Woven into the discussion is an account of the queen's investments in her chapels and increasingly assertive efforts to proselytize on behalf of her faith.

A final substantial section of the book deals with Henrietta Maria's departure for the continent at the outset of the Civil War, her court in exile in France, her return to England at the Restoration, the rebuilding of Somerset House to designs by the architect Hugh May under her auspices, and her final retirement to a quasi-monastic existence at Colombes and Chaillot, near Paris. Griffey provides an excellent discussion of the queen's iconography as a pious royal widow, while showing that she continued to live in considerable luxury as she simultaneously advertised her Catholic piety.

Griffey repeatedly demonstrates the many ways that Henrietta Maria advertised her Catholic piety through material objects and suggests that this would have antagonized English Protestants. While this is undoubtedly true up to a point, Henrietta Maria worked quite closely with committed Protestants at court through most of the 1630s, often in pursuit of an anti-Spanish alliance. The degree to which her Catholicism provoked negative reactions depended not only on displays of piety but contingent political circumstances. But of course this was not Griffey's subject and her book makes a highly valuable contribution.

University of Massachusetts Boston R. MALCOLM SMUTS

L'Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumppenberg. Édition et traduction. Edited by Nicolas Balzamo, Olivier Christin, and Fabrice Flückinger. (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Éditions Alphil—Presses universitaires suisses. 2015. Pp. 512. CHF 49.00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-88930-031-0.)

This beautiful edition of the German original and translation into French of Gumppenberg's *Atlas Marianus* is of great interest to scholars of Catholic history for several reasons. First, the *Atlas Marianus* was both a highly successful and peculiar book in seventeenth-century Catholic literature, which makes it an interesting object of study for the history of piety. It is not an atlas, but a collection of legends about miraculous images of the Virgin Mary, with engravings representing the miraculous image. Whereas such books were usually confined to specific places, regions, or polities, Gumppenberg's project was to assemble all the known miraculous images and to show in this way that "the world is Marian." His goal was to defend Marian piety against Protestants, to help preachers and missionaries, and to enable the readers to deepen their spirituality by making, so to speak, pilgrimages in their mind. According to him, the copies of the images had something miraculous, so that the engravings helped one to get in touch with the Mother of God. As a collection of legends from different countries, the *Atlas Marianus* gives insights into the way Catholics conceived the Virgin Mary and their relation to her in the seventeenth century. It displays a confident religion having gotten rid of the doubts of the early sixteenth century, accepting popular religiosity, and endorsing an optimistic view of the relationships between believers and Heaven. It shows also that Catholic culture was clearly universalistic.

Second, the *Atlas Marianus* is interesting from the point of view of information history. To realize his ambitious goal, the Jesuit Gumppenberg asked the

provincials and college rectors of the Society for information about miraculous images in their regions. He then integrated the material he received. The sample of images is thus quite haphazard, including hardly-known images and ignoring major ones. But the fact that the Atlas is a collective product of the Jesuit network shows what a German Jesuit could know about the Marian cult in different parts of Europe and the world. Gumppenberg always gives precise information about his printed sources, and the names of Jesuits who have given him intelligence.

The editors have decided to edit the *Atlas'* first edition (1657), which comprises 100 legends, not the augmented Latin version of 1672 with 1,200 legends (but without engravings). They have added to the original engravings other baroque reproductions of the miraculous images, enabling comparisons. The translation into French is of high quality. The introduction is informative and stimulating, even if it contains some hazardous assertions. It claims that the *Atlas* shows the globalization of Marian cult in the seventeenth century although Gumppenberg's book contains only two American images, and no information about images in Asia or eastern Christianity at all. To a modern reader, it is also striking that Gumppenberg thought Tenerife is in Chile. The Jesuit network obviously did not enable him to realize his universalistic project, and this may be a sign for a lower grade of globalization of information than assumed by the editors. The "ontology of images" developed by the editors is also somewhat bizarre because it suggests that, for the believers, the Marian images had a personality and acted on their own. Gumppenberg's text, on the contrary, clearly attributes the miracles to the Virgin, not to the images. However, this does not diminish the great merit of this edition and translation which makes accessible and contributes to the exploration of a major product of baroque Catholicism.

Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg DAMIEN TRICOIRE

The Wanton Jesuit and the Wayward Saint: A Tale of Sex, Religion, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century France. By Mita Choudhury. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2015. Pp. xiv, 234. $64.95. ISBN 978-0-271-07081-0.)

An examination of a dispute in eighteenth-century France that saw a young woman and her supporters locked in a factual, legal, and public relations battle against a Jesuit priest and his supporters, this work aims to be a case study of how the formation of a public opinion critical of monarchical and ecclesiastical authority foreshadowed the French Revolution. From 1728, Jean-Baptiste Girard, S.J., had been the spiritual director of Catherine Cadière, in Toulon; but in 1730 she accused him of witchcraft (of bewitching her), of touching her in indecent ways, of impregnating her, and of inducing an abortion. Girard denied all of it and insisted that she was a liar and a hysteric engaging in a false show of supposedly divinely-given ecstasy and of sanctity. Choudhury does a good job of showing that hard evidence was lacking on both sides, though she speculates, perhaps less persuasively, that the two did have a sexual relationship albeit a consensual one. The author

notes, correctly, that by the 1730s an accusation of witchcraft had lost the kind of credibility it could have had a century or so earlier, and thus it did not do much to help Cadière's case.

The royal law court (*parlement*) of Aix-en-Provence found neither party guilty of anything. Choudhury highlights how this judgment did not please the large crowds assembled in Aix, and the many other people that followed with keen interest the proceedings; she suggests, with some hyperbole, that "everyone in France had an opinion about the affair" (p. 127). But some were more interested than others in its details and outcome, and Choudhury shows, convincingly, that French Jansenists used the controversy to promote their anti-Jesuit agenda. Jansenists were only too happy to depict Jesuits as hypocritical in their vow of chastity, and as deceivers and schemers never to be trusted. Anti–Jesuit polemic used images as well as words, and such polemic could mimic or parallel anti-Semitism: Choudhury includes among her excellent illustrations one in which "Father Girard's features follow conventions of anti-Semitic caricatures" (p. 139). Other images and texts depicted Girard and his confrères as inhuman, as demons and animals, especially wolves, and as deviants of various kinds and as sodomites. One may wonder if the France Choudhury depicts was more a preview of 1930s Nazi Germany than of 1790s Revolutionary France. Girard left Toulon quickly after the *parlement*'s decision. His departure may have saved his life: crowds eager to exact what they thought was justice burned him in effigy.

This work could have benefited from greater knowledge of Jesuit history. Choudhury stresses that Jesuits were extremely close to the French monarchy, and this was certainly true in some ways, but she seems unaware of tensions between Jesuits and French monarchs, as in the *Régale* controversy of the late 1600s that saw French Jesuits caught between differing papal and royal demands. The author also imagines that Jansenists valued individual conscience, while Jesuits did not do so: a simplistic dichotomy that will not withstand close scrutiny. From Choudhury's notes and bibliography, and from her analysis, it is obvious that she is well-grounded in the Jansenist side of things; she appears largely unaware of the copious Jesuit sources from the period, and of the current abundance of new studies on Jesuit topics. Yet this remains a fascinating book and one I highly recommend, one that will interest a broad range of scholars.

College of the Holy Cross THOMAS WORCESTER, S.J.

Abbé Sicard's Deaf Education: Empowering the Mute, 1785–1820. By Emmet Kennedy. (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. 2015. Pp. xix, 212. $79.99. ISBN 978-1-137-51285-7.)

Emmet Kennedy's newest book presents the fascinating account of the life of Abbé Roch-Ambroise Sicard (1742–1822) and the early development of education for the deaf in France. In fact, the originator of the new approach to such education and the initiator of the first systematic language of signs was Sicard's mentor, the

much better-known Abbé Charles-Michel de l'Épée (1712-1789), who had been active in Paris since the 1760s. But it was Sicard who struggled successfully to carry on his predecessor's work during the tumultuous events from the beginning of the French Revolution through the Restoration of 1815, thus firmly establishing the first *Institution des Sourds-Muets*. Kennedy follows Sicard's efforts in considerable detail, as he modified l'Épée's techniques somewhat, found the funds and buildings to maintain a viable institution, recruited students and patrons, and fended off threats to the survival of the school. By the early nineteenth century, the Abbé had won international fame, giving demonstrations of his students' abilities to the crowned heads of Europe and even to Pope Pius VII. Thereafter, through the activities of his students and successors, his techniques were spread through much of Europe and the United States—where they were influential, notably, in the reform activities of Thomas and Edward Galludet.

But all such achievements were possible only through Sicard's extraordinary talents for survival, and in many respects Kennedy's portrait of the Abbé's sinuous personality and remarkable knack for self-promotion is as interesting as the institutional history of the school itself. Although Sicard's ultimate goal may well have been the preservation of his institution, the good Abbé was always prepared for a measure of personal glorification. He was also a political "*girouette*" par excellence, adapting with consummate skill to the successive governments of the Old Regime royalty, the Constitutional monarchy, the First Republic, the Terror, the Directory, the Napoleonic Empire, and the Restoration. His itinerary was all the more remarkable in that he always refused to take the clerical oath of 1791, never renounced the priesthood—even in the midst of the anticlerical attacks of the Terror and the Directory—and served as editor of the ultramontane *Annales Catholiques* under the Directory.

Kennedy explores with some care the secrets of this survival. There can be no doubt that a measure of luck was involved: notably when he emerged as one of the extraordinarily rare priests imprisoned in Paris in the summer of 1792 who miraculously escaped the September Massacres—after a local sans-culottes intervened and demanded his release as he was about to be executed. Sicard also won fame as a theorist of grammar, an achievement for which he is all but forgotten today, but for which he was lionized in the Napoleonic period and elected to the Académie française. But perhaps most important was the extent to which the Abbé's enterprise seemed the very embodiment of *bienfaisance* and the improvement of humanity, which were, after all, among the central goals of Enlightenment culture, both before and after the Revolution. For centuries deaf-mutes had been widely imagined to be mentally handicapped, if not altogether insane. To see Sicard's students not only communicating with one another, but reading, writing, and discussing religion and philosophy made an extraordinary impression on the age. By the early nineteenth century, Sicard could charge admission for demonstrations and the high-born and wealthy flocked to see the students "perform." Indeed, Kennedy justifiably compares such demonstrations to those of Anton Mesmer at the end of the Old Regime.

The book is based on an impressive grounding in library and archival sources in France, Britain, and the United States. Kennedy is to be congratulated for this important achievement.

University of California, Irvine TIMOTHY TACKETT

LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

The Holy See and the Emergence of the Modern Middle East: Benedict XV's Diplomacy in Greater Syria (1914-1922). By Agnes de Dreuzy. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2016. Pp. xiv, 303. $69.95. ISBN 970-0-8132-2849-5.)

The pontificate of Benedict XV has been often studied through the lenses of Vatican diplomacy deployed throughout the years of World War I with a particular focus on Europe. Agnes de Dreuzy has shifted the attention to the Middle East, presenting a work on a topic rarely discussed and proposing a positive view of Pope Benedict XV, but, more importantly, showing the agency of Catholic institutions in the Middle East. *The Holy See and the Emergence of the Modern Middle East* is organized in two main parts and divided into eight chapters. De Dreuzy has relied on a large body of material coming from the Vatican Archives and other Vatican institutions; if on the one hand this is indeed the real strength of this work, on the other hand the absence of non-Vatican material raises a number of questions about the analytical solidity of the author's arguments.

Geographically confined with the borders of Greater Syria—today's Lebanon, Syria, Palestine-Israel, and Jordan—the first part of the book deals with the Vatican and Catholic interests in the prewar and war times. The first two chapters set the context, discussing Pope Benedict XV and his attempt to stop the war, and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. In the long chapter dedicated to wartime foreign policy, De Dreuzy suggests that Benedict XV was promoting a stronger union with the local Catholic churches in order to protect Catholic interests in the region. Though this is indeed well proven by the sources used by the author, questions remain unanswered in relation to the reaction of the local churches. While discussing the protection of clergy and properties, the narrative does not offer any hint of the conditions of the local population—a few pages are dedicated to humanitarian assistance, but for the most part this is a debate about the competition between Catholic and Protestant institutions. While the first part of this work is certainly interesting and offers the Vatican perspective of the Middle Eastern wartime events, the omission of some crucial secondary sources and more importantly of other archival materials weakens the overall argument and unintentionally seems to reinforce the view of a general lack of Vatican understanding of the region.

The second part is dedicated to the postwar era covering the years from 1917 to 1922. De Dreuzy has brought to general attention the apostolic letter *Maximum*

Illud showing how this document radically changed the role of the Catholic Latin Church in the Middle East as formation of local clergy, respect of local cultures, and end of missionary nationalism were made a priority; nevertheless it is important to say that many in the Church disapproved of this approach. De Dreuzy then suggests that Benedict XV in some way anticipated the decolonization era, though it may not be too far-fetched, there is not much evidence supporting this. The two chapters dedicated to the Holy See and its relations with Syria and Palestine are indeed interesting but, as mentioned earlier, the lack of local or other international sources and a limited choice of secondary readings have reduced the analytical value and potential of this work. For instance, when discussing the Holy See and Zionism, it is immediately apparent that Vatican sources alone cannot answer the multitude of questions that may be asked on such a significant topic.

The Holy See and the Emergence of the Modern Middle East is indeed a welcome contribution, one that shows the amount of work that still needs to be done in order to understand the formation of the modern Middle East. De Dreuzy should be praised for her work in the Vatican Archives and the new perspective offered to readers and scholars: which is one step more in the right direction.

University of Limerick Roberto Mazza

Catholic Progressives in England After Vatican II. By Jay P Corrin. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. 2013. Pp. x, 523. $49.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02310-2.)

We English Catholics are well-trained in the art of keeping our heads down. Perhaps it is the result of a long-history of state persecution of Catholics after our home-grown Reformation in the sixteenth century. Or that most of us (a good 90 per cent) can trace our roots back to more recent immigrant families, mostly Irish, and therefore feel in some hard-to-define way that we are still outsiders, not quite as thoroughly English as our brothers and sisters in the established Church of England.

It is, granted, nowadays more of a collective memory than anything tangible, but we are still a minority faith (fewer than ten per cent of the population, even by the most optimistic estimates) and so are pleasantly surprised when anyone takes us as a subject of serious study, as Professor Jay P. Corrin of Boston University has done. He charts the troubled relationship in the 1960s among the Catholic hierarchy, the domestic Catholic press, and what he calls the "Catholic New Left," a small number of progressives, inspired by Vatican Council II to campaign to make their local Church more outward-looking and socially and politically involved.

It is a story that is still very much within living memory, and several of the key players—notably Terry Eagleton, the prominent academic and public intellectual—are quoted extensively. And, as a tale of engaged, passionate lay Catholics, inspired by gospel values, struggling against institutional apathy and clerical conservativism, it is lively and will have strong echoes in other parts of the Catholic world.

Indeed, Professor Corrin's account of a group of progressive Catholics, some left-leaning and attracted to Marxism, gathered around the Cambridge-based publication *Slant* in the middle and late 1960s, left me lamenting that such activism is today once more lacking in our typically cautious, heads-down English Catholic Church. For many of the leading lights of *Slant* ultimately either left, or found themselves pushed to the very margins.

For some—especially the priests, monks, and nuns among their number—disillusionment with the institution was mixed with a vocation to marriage. The best-known example was that of Charles Davis, arguably the only theologian on these shores at the time on a par with the great conciliar minds of continental Europe. When Davis announced in December, 1966, he was leaving the Catholic Church because he could no longer accept its claim to authority, he made front-page headlines in the secular press. Some even hoped his defection might prompt a revolution in English Catholicism. As it was, it fizzled out. Davis married, disappeared to teach in North America, and was largely forgotten by the resolutely business-as-usual English Church by the time he returned home late in life, once more attending the sacraments before his death in 1999.

There is much to admire in Professor Corrin's painstakingly-researched account, not least the invitation to recover and reconsider such names as that of Davis and his close collaborators. And there is a particular interest in seeing how a government measure—the 1944 Education Act which brought the Catholic Church's high-achieving secondary schools into the state-funded system—produced a whole new generation in the 1950s and 1960s of working-class, highly-educated young lay Catholics, intellectually light years ahead of their bishops.

When these young idealists got caught up not only by the spirit of Vatican II but also by the parallel political upheavals of the 1960s, symbolized by the anti-war movement and the campaign against nuclear weapons, it proved to be a heady cocktail. The historian Adrian Hastings, a fellow traveller, remarked of the *Slant* circle, that they were "intellectual Beatles."

One of the consequences of its introspection is that the English Church has more than its fair share of idiosyncrasies, and on occasion Professor Corrin can miss the nuances. He lumps together G.K. Chesterton and Graham Greene, for instance, as part of a group of writerly converts to Catholicism, when their attitude to the faith could not have been more different. And he quotes waspish comments by the journalist Auberon Waugh, son of the novelist and convert, Evelyn Waugh, as if they should be taken at face value, ignoring the younger Waugh's habit of saying the opposite of what he thought in an effort to stir up controversy.

More broadly, this is a book that requires persistence. Corrin's prose can be heavy and occasionally muddy, while his approach to structure is often to circle round and round a subject before finally grasping it. But those who stick with it will be blessed with rich rewards.

London, England PETER STANFORD

Galen: Wege und Irrwege der Forschung. By Joachim Kuropka. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2015. Pp. 457. €29,90 paperback. ISBN 978-3-402-13153-4.)

On October 9, 2005, Pope Benedict XVI beautified Cardinal Clemens August Graf von Galen, bishop of Münster (1933–1946). The Church singled out Galen for his piety and for his defense of Catholicism and Catholic morality in the face of National Socialism. Though there is great support in and outside Germany, especially in the Münster diocese, for Galen's cause of sainthood, a significant number of individuals, historians and non-historians alike, have challenged his worthiness for such a distinguished honor. Joachim Kuropka, professor emeritus of modern European history at the University of Vechta, cannot, however, be counted among this number. For almost four decades, Kuropka has defended Galen's honor by refuting the many charges made by his critics. In his latest collection, "Galen: Truths and Errors of Research," Kuropka assembles twenty-six of his lectures and articles, spanning the years 1989-2011, which examine Galen's life and ministry from a variety of viewpoints and perspectives. While there is significant overlap of content, there is much to be gleaned from the evidence presented.

Kuropka argues that the majority of Galen's critics have centered upon what the bishop did not do rather than what he did. For him, such individuals suffer from presentism and thus fail to comprehend the significant challenges Galen and the Church faced under National Socialism. In particular, his tone is repeatedly critical, even dismissive of many of his peers, especially Beth Griech-Polelle (*Bishop von Galen: German Catholicism and National Socialism* [New Haven, 2002]), whom he accuses of passing judgment on Galen through an "American self-assurance of moral superiority" (p. 236). Kuropka observes that "it is always dangerous" for an historian to "declare what contemporaries of seventy or eighty years ago should have done" (p. 237). Rather, he suggests, historians must ask what actually could have been done under the circumstances.

Throughout the essays, Kuropka endeavors to reveal what Galen actually did to challenge National Socialism's encroachment upon Münster's Catholic milieu. Already in November, 1933, only fifteen days after his enthronement as bishop of Münster, Galen protested state intrusion in religious education. In his Easter letter of March, 1934, Galen challenged the state's "brutal force" as it "trampled over" the legal rights of German citizens (p. 224). In the summer of 1941, Galen also spoke against the Gestapo's excessive force and the state's euthanasia program through bold, decisive sermons for which he will always be remembered. Yet, despite setting the facts straight about what Galen did, Kuropka also attempts to convince his readers that Galen spoke out for Jews. Here his argument does not convince. Even Kuropka himself admits that the extant documents cannot offer us definitive evidence of Galen's record in behalf of German Jews. There is evidence that Galen did financially assist a few German-Jewish families and indirect evidence that after *Kristallnacht* he issued a directive to his clergy encouraging them to pray publicly for Jews. Yet, Kuropka's efforts to persuade the reader that, in 1938, Galen instituted a catechetical campaign to refute the National Socialist's racial ideology fall

flat, especially in the face of the evidence presented by Ulrike Ehret in a 2010 article in *European History Quarterly* (pp. 35–56).

Still there is much to learn from this collection, notwithstanding Kuropka's inability to take seriously the research of other historians, which centers upon the limitations of Galen's protests in the face of the persecution and murder of European Jews. This will lessen the impact of his insightful work. Kuropka also does not convincingly address Galen's nationalism. Even Walter Adolph, an avowed opponent of the Nazi regime, a priest of the Berlin diocese, and chancery advisor to Konrad von Preysing, the bishop of Berlin, had doubts about Galen's allegiances. In December, 1937, Adolph wrote in his journal: "It is very difficult to have complete insight into Clemens August [von Galen]. We suspect that he does have an affinity for the National Socialist system, after all" (*Geheime Aufzeichnungen aus dem nationalsozialistischen Kirchenkampf 1935–1943*, Ulrich von Hehl, ed. [Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald, 1987], p. 201). Clearly, a definitive study of Bishop Galen is still to be fully researched and set down in writing.

Stonehill College KEVIN P. SPICER, C.S.C.

Giuseppe Dossetti e le Officine bolognesi. By Paolo Prodi. (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2016. Pp. 281. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-15-26352-0.)

Paolo Prodi died on December 16, 2016, at the age of eighty-four. He taught modern history, focusing mainly on the Counter-Reformation era, at universities in Italy and abroad and served as rector of the University of Trent. He also served as a deputy in the Italian Parliament's eleventh legislature in the 1990s and was widely known beyond academia as the brother of Prime Minister Romano Prodi. *Giuseppe Dossetti e le Officine bolognesi* is something of a memoir or perhaps a personal history of a place and an era, Bologna, particularly scholarly Bologna, in the 1950s and 1960s, and heavily influenced by a man, Giuseppe Dossetti, the Christian Democratic politician-turned-priest. Prodi will not, he declares, engineer a "general reconstruction," but rather only provide "a few plugs" to the story (p. 98).

Prodi delivers a personal story about his scholarly development in postwar Italy, where he struggled to develop a viable dissertation subject and negotiate that decision with his supervisors, particularly Hubert Jedin and Delio Cantimori. Prodi needed to justify his choice of Reformation-era Italy, focusing on the diocese of Bologna. Most graduate students should recognize and appreciate this saga. Prodi weaves his personal account into politics and the foundation of what is now known as the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies. From its start in the early 1950s the institution reflected the personality of its founder, Dossetti, a scholar, World War II Resistance leader, Catholic politician, and, later, priest. Would this "workshop" (*officina*), called initially the Center for Documentation (*Centro di documentazione*), be a place of scholarship or one of prayer and reflection? To what extent would it be connected to the University of Bologna? Prodi attributes the spring of 1955 as the beginning of major changes at the Center. In May Bologna's archbishop, Cardinal Gia-

como Lercaro, pushed Dossetti to launch a bid in upcoming communal elections, hoping to get a Christian Democrat on the city council and challenging the city's popular Communist mayor, Giuseppe Dozza. Dossetti reluctantly acquiesced, an act of submission that Prodi bitterly condemns as "contrary to the freedom of the Christian layman" (p. 65). Predictably, when the elections occurred the following year Dossetti lost and he eventually abandoned politics and entered the priesthood, distancing himself more and more from the institute that he founded. Others, such as the historian Giuseppe Alberigo took up most of the task of running it. Prodi continues the story through the Second Vatican Council, which he remembers as an "adventure" and the most exciting time in the Center's history. For young scholars it opened new terrain for study, particularly in the areas of Scripture and religious history. By the end of the Council, furthermore, Dossetti had returned to the field, and the organization morphed into the Center for Documentation – Institute for Religious Sciences. Although the Second Vatican Council ultimately disappointed Dossetti and Prodi, the subsequent years witnessed impressive scholastic accomplishments until 1972 which Prodi considers to have been the "apex" of the institute's influence. The narrative largely ends at that point although Prodi goes on to conclude with a section devoted to passages from Dossetti or about him.

The University of Scranton ROY DOMENICO

The Vatican «Ostpolitik», 1958–1978. Responsibility and Witness during John XXIII and Paul VI. Edited by András Fejérdy. [Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae, Roma, Studia 5.] (Rome: Viella editrice libreria. 2015. Pp. 271. €32.00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-6728-582-2.)

The relationship between the Vatican and the Eastern European Communist regimes during the 1960s and 1970s has been a topic vehemently discussed but rarely studied *sine ira et studio*. The most controversial aspect of this relationship has been a complex of diplomatic meetings, discussions, agreements, and their ramifications in various countries under Communist rule, often subsumed as "Vatican *Ostpolitik*." The very term goes back to West Germany's diplomatic engagement since Willy Brandt aimed at finding a *modus vivendi* with Communist regimes in Europe within the limits set by the Cold War confrontation.

Among the most hotly debated problems related to Vatican *Ostpolitik* are those related to its effects on the Communist regimes and the Catholics who lived under their rule: Did the *Ostpolitik* of Rome, did the efforts of Cardinal Agostino Casaroli as the main diplomat entrusted with the delicate diplomatic task in Eastern Europe by Paul VI, favor in the end only the Communist regimes by raising their international prestige and their national position while the oppressed churches and believers were betrayed? Or were those negotiations with the Communist governments, as Casaroli claimed, the only possible way to solve urgent pastoral problems in an atmosphere of understanding? Until today, these questions are debated, often even mixed with the other great controversy about the effects of the Second Vatican Council.

From the perspective of historiography one could conclude that while debates in general could stimulate further research, in this case, the polarization and formation of extreme positions on this main question have until recently almost paralyzed historical research. Furthermore, the complexity of the historical problem and questions of Vatican *Ostpolitik* require broad and intensive international co-operation of researchers of the history of the Vatican, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, the United States—to name only the most important actors in this global drama. Finally, half a century after the most intensive phase of Casaroli's diplomatic mission, both international co-operation and new various scholarly approaches are beginning to appear on the horizon. Independently of each other, two new compilations have seen the light most recently: Apart from the volume under review, Piotr Kosicki has edited the book *Vatican II behind the Iron Curtain* (The Catholic University of America Press, 2016) which studies the participation of a number of Eastern European bishops in the Council.

András Fejérdy's edited volume *The Vatican «Ostpolitik», 1958–1978*, based on a 2014 conference at the Hungarian Academy of Rome, is a ground-breaking new book that every scholar who is interested in subjects like Vatican diplomacy, the role of religion during the Cold War, or the history of Catholics in Europe during the 1950s and 1960s has to consult. The book offers so many new insights, highlights new, completely forgotten, or rather: never even considered events, personalities, documents, and archives, that, without exaggeration, it will change the course of historiography in this particular field.

The thirteen collected essays—most of which are (not always good) translations—are divided into three groups: general diplomatic studies on the Vatican, the Soviet Union, and Austria (Introduction, Pál Hatos, Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, Adriano Roccucci and Thomas Gronier), new sources from Moscow, Latvia, the United States, and Czechoslovakia (Nadezhda Belyakova, Adam Somorjai, Inese Runce, Pavol Jakubčin), and four case studies of the negotiations between the Holy See and Communist regimes (Fejérdy, Emilia Hrabovec, Krysztof Strzałka, Roland Cerny-Werner).

The tension between historians who argue that Casaroli's mission was not a derivation from the long history of Vatican diplomacy and supported by all popes including John Paul II (Morozzo della Rocca, Roccucci) and those who still believe that it was naïve to negotiate with the Communist regimes (Hatos) can still be felt. However, Hatos' fascinating review of the "Cultural context of the Vatican's Ostpolitik" rests on an exaggerated dichotomy between West and East and between Pius XII and John XXIII, and it reduces Catholicism in Eastern Europe to nationalism. Gronier discusses Austria as a neutral country between East and West that had a strong interest to contribute to an improvement of relations between both sides of the Iron Curtain, and Cardinal Franz König, the Archbishop of Vienna, became one of the most important messengers from the Pope to Eastern Europe, in a time when Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky was also engaged in bringing

politicians from both camps together, also drawing from an older Central European mission of the country. Three chapters highlight the importance of new available primary sources, mostly from Communist archives of the former Soviet Union: Belyakova analyzes Soviet studies of Vatican policies, and how they, within very strict ideological boundaries, changed over time. Somorjai, O.S.B., studies, based on primary sources related to Cardinal Mindszenty during his time in the United States Delegation/Embassy in Budapest, various ideas and strategies among American diplomats. Jakubčin provides insights into the thinking of the Czechoslovak Secret Services. A very exciting, although also very problematic source, the diaries of Cardinal Julijans Vaivods of Riga (Estonia), are presented by Runce, who shows how important the "softspoken" cardinal was, probably the most influential Catholic bishop in the Soviet Union, who wanted to change "the hearts of human beings," that is, the Communists he negotiated with, when the Communist regime seemed to be unchangeable. Did his conciliatory approach, his constant dialogue with Communist functionaries lead to improvements for the oppressed Catholics in contrast to the stubborn resistance of some older clergy? Or did the Latvian cardinal profit from the decline of the Soviet empire? His diaries offer fascinating insights, as Runce shows, but have to be studied critically when new sources on the fate of the Catholic Church in Latvia will (hopefully) be available one day.

The other four studies in the book are case studies: Fejérdy compares the negotiations of Casaroli with Budapest and Prague, emphasizing a number of similarities in the strategy and aims of the Communist governments beyond the very different atmosphere of negotiations ("almost cordial" in the Hungarian, "intransigent" in the case of Czechoslovakia). He concludes that while Moscow co-ordinated the activities of both countries' diplomats, they had "substantial freedom to shape their policies" (p. 206). At the time, it seemed as if the Communist governments gained much in the field of international recognition and legitimation of their regimes while the Vatican could only hope that the specter of national churches was banned. The case studies by Hrabovec (negotiations with Czechoslovakia, a very complex situation), Stzalka (1974 Polish-Vatican Agreement), and Cerny-Werner (Casaroli's visit to East Berlin, 1975) further contribute to a better understanding of the ramifications of Vatican Ostpolitik.

The Catholic University of America ÁRPÁD VON KLIMÓ

AMERICAN

In the Beginning Was the Word: The Bible in American Public Life, 1492–1783. By Mark A. Noll. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2015. Pp. xiv, 431. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-026398-0.)

The Bible, according to the eminent religious historian Mark A. Noll, is by far "the single most widely read text, distributed object, and referenced book in all of American history" (p. 1). *In the Beginning Was the Word* is a sweeping, yet nuanced, "public history" of that book in America, from the first European encoun-

ters with the New World through the War for American Independence. Its focus is on the Bible's use for "political, imperial, and national purposes" (p. 5). This is an ambitious project, given that Christianity and its sacred text are thoroughly intertwined with the narrative of American history.

Noll begins his richly textured and well documented volume with a brief prelude on the first Bibles in the New World brought by Catholic explorers and priests. What follows is mostly a Protestant story. The first three chapters examine the place and critical role of the Bible—specifically the vernacular Bible—in European Reformation culture and Protestant theology. The Protestant notion of the "priesthood of all believers" diminished the role of the Church and its priests as mediators between God and man and made it essential for believers to have access to the Bible, which Protestants regarded as authority in all matters of Christian faith and practice, in a language they could read and understand. Noll then turns his attention in the remaining chapters to the Bible in Britain's North American colonies, with chapters on the Bible in New England's Puritan colonies, mid-seventeenth-century challenges to these Puritan Bible commonwealths, the Bible in an age of religious awakening, the interaction between the Bible and "the population that Christendom had enslaved" (p. 208), and the status of the Bible in a mid-eighteenth-century world shaped by the Enlightenment's expanding influence. The final two chapters examine the complicated rhetorical uses of and appeals to Scripture by opposing sides during the revolutionary era.

Noll emphasizes that, inherent in Protestant theology, each believer is authorized not only to read God's Word but also to interpret the Scriptures as led by the Holy Spirit. Thus, even though Protestants followed the Bible "above all other human authorities" (p. 2), they were often deeply divided on how to interpret Scripture and apply it to the concerns of this world. At one extreme within this tradition, Noll observes, there were ardent "biblicists," such as the early New England Puritans, who "questioned any authority except the Bible," and at the other extreme there were those who accepted authorities other than the Bible so long as they "did not contradict Scripture" (p. 10). The Bible was at times invoked as explicit authority in matters regarding social order, economic life, and political principle, and at other times it "operated in the background" (p. 15) to affirm, justify, and sanctify principles and practices derived from extrabiblical sources. Noll recounts and amply illustrates the changing influence of biblicism at various times and places and among selected sects in the colonies.

Far too often, Noll opines, historians have recognized the ubiquity of the Bible in American history "but have treated it as wallpaper, simply a backdrop for more important objects of attention" (p. 19). *In the Beginning Was the Word* documents the Bible's expansive influence on American public life and culture, revealing that the story of the Bible in America is, at once, the story of America. With a focus on the Bible's contributions to public life, Noll engagingly chronicles the establishment of colonies and building of an empire, religious awakenings and a revolution that gave birth to a nation, and passionate debates about slavery and the

treatment of Native Peoples. This thoughtful, well-crafted study places the Bible in the midst of America's unfolding story, greatly enriching our understanding of that story.

American University Daniel L. Dreisbach

Finding God in Solitude: The Personal Piety of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) and Its Influence on His Pastoral Ministry. By Donald S. Whitney. (New York: Peter Lang. 2014. Pp. vii, 178. $81.95. ISBN 978-1-4331-2444-0.)

There seems to be an endless supply of books on Jonathan Edwards. Ever since the Harvard historian Perry Miller's 1949 biography of the American minister and theologian, there has been a revived interest in the academy on Edwards, leading to an increasing number of journal articles, dissertations, and published books that appear annually. Edwards has been examined from nearly every possible vantage point, from George Marsden's award-winning Yale University Press biography in 2003 to Gerald McDermott and Michael McClymond's 750-page tome on *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* published by Oxford University Press in 2012. In addition to the interest generated by historians and theologians, Edwards has been studied through the lens of psychology, literature, and pastoral experience. With so many books available on Edwards, one has to wonder if there is any aspect on the great American thinker that has not been explored. In *Finding God in Solitude*, Donald Whitney contends that Edwards's piety has received scant attention from scholars, arguing that the American minister's personal spirituality was the center of his ministry as a pastor and writer.

Whitney's monograph is organized into three main chapters along with a lengthy introduction and conclusion. Much of the first chapter is a rehashing of the biographical details of Edwards's life supplied by Marsden and other historians, including Edwards's conversion experience, his installation as a pastor of the Congregational church in Northampton, Massachusetts, his role as a revivalist during the Great Awakening, his move to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, as a missionary-pastor to Native Americans, and his untimely death in 1758 shortly after becoming the president of a college that would later be renamed Princeton University. There are a host of secondary-source quotations of mundane information throughout this initial section that should have been paraphrased, and there is not much in the way of new information or new insight on Edwards's life. Furthermore, although Whitney's book was published in 2014, he somehow missed the latest scholarship provided by Ava Chamberlain on Edwards's ancestors in her brilliant 2012 book on his paternal grandmother entitled *The Notorious Elizabeth Tuttle,* as well as important details on the most popular book that Edwards wrote that is developed in John Grigg's 2009 monograph, *The Lives of David Brainerd*. There are also some glaring deficiencies in Whitney's descriptions of Edwards's publications. For instance, he makes the mistake of calling the 1738 Boston publication of *A Faithful Narrative* the "second edition," when it fact it was the third edition of that book, following on the heels of two earlier editions published in London and Edinburgh.

Where Whitney's monograph shines is in the last two chapters, devoted to Edwards's personal piety and pastoral ministry. Whitney explains in fascinating detail how the Bible was the hinge on which Edwards's piety turned. All Edwards's spiritual practices, including meditation, prayer, fasting, solitude, and journaling, were formed out of his understanding of scripture. Edwards expected that his congregation should practice all the same disciplines of piety that he completed on a regular basis, relenting only on the amount of time that he expected each person to be able to devote toward these activities. The difficulty that Edwards had in transferring his expectations of piety to his congregation in Northampton is one of the major reasons why he was ultimately fired by his church in 1750 and forced to move to the remote frontier village of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, until being installed as the college president at Princeton in 1758.

For those interested in understanding Edwards's piety, Whitney's book will be essential reading. Putting aside the introduction and first chapter, the second and third chapters offer deep insight into the relatively untapped field of Edwards's spiritual practices.

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga JONATHAN M. YEAGER

Damned Nation: Hell in America from the Revolution to Reconstruction. By Kathryn Gin Lum. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. xviii, 310. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-984311-4.)

Studies of American demonology are nearly as commonplace as the idioms they aim to interpret. In a fraught time, there is nonetheless room for scholarship that not only addresses fresh archives or renders the known elegantly but also clarifies and illumines. Kathryn Gin Lum's superb monograph accomplishes each of these objectives and is among the more compelling historical analyses published in recent years. Looking to the early republic, Lum aims to show how "[t]he belief that one's own eternal safety was tied to the sins of others . . . invested Americans in the welfare of their peers at home and abroad" (p. 233). This attention to interdependency and intersubjectivity, as well as to the fluidity of hellfire discourses, is the chief distinguishing feature of this work.

Much scholarship focused in this area tends to concentrate on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, scrutinizing the perhaps improbable longevity of these tropes. Lum's earlier chronological focus not only provides historical balance to the literature but, more importantly, shows that fears of damnation were constitutive of American identities all along. During each phase of her narrative, Lum focuses not just on the geographic and demographic reach of the discourses but on their fluidity. In the book's first phase, Lum maps the discourse's production and dissemination by preachers and theologians whose profound disagreements over issues like free will, social engagement, and heresy exemplify the interpretive range that is Lum's concern. She convinces that political will-formation in the early republic—in which "fear of the sovereign could be replaced by fear of God" (p. 29)—

depended on these categories, eliding self-discipline with self-creation. In her reading of evangelical discourse—ripe with fears of atheism and declension—she scrupulously avoids social control reductionism without abandoning a focus on political order. Lum is attentive to the rise and fall of damnation rhetoric, tracing the social implications of its diminution as carefully as the needs that shape its coalescence in print culture, sermons, proselytization efforts, and associational networks that debated techniques and outcomes alike.

This very fluidity, Lum contends, is what made for such close interleavings of hellfire discourse with new religions, social reform, and national concerns alike. Some of Lum's most compelling work documents just these intersections, as with her tracing of the national and global imaginaries produced via missionary activity (the settling of frontiers always looked to "heathens" as justification) and to debates about gender and racial difference (there is a marvelous reading of guidebooks explaining gender and family roles). In one of the most fascinating sections, Lum shows that hellfire language was central to discourses of religion and mental health/insanity (p. 117). While Lum's reading of slavery and the Civil War does not possess quite the same creativity as the rest of her book, her broad investigation of new religions and religious fusions—from Handsome Lake to Mormons to Swedenborgianism—is fresh and innovative.

It is an extremely impressive book, one that challenges scholarly and cultural conceptions of the unidirectionality of hellfire discourse. Through rigorous archival work, well-chosen themes and exemplars, and vivid writing, Lum produces a broad new look at the nineteenth century that is attentive to the lived world of practitioners, not just to idea, and is alive with abiding tensions and blurred boundaries.

North Carolina State University JASON BIVINS

Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630–1690. By Antoinette Sutto. [Early American Histories.] (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2015. Pp. xii, 259. $39.50. ISBN 978-0-8139-3747-2.).

Dr. Antoinette Sutto offers an English Atlantic history of seventeenth-century Maryland. She surveys the complicated relations between Maryland politics and religion and the English state. Sutto uses religion as a means "to integrate the disjointed events" of the seventeenth century. This is the story of the long, awkward negotiations between the needs of the expanding English state, early modern confessional politics, and the peculiarities of the little Maryland colony. The Calverts, who imposed no religious tests to vote and did not establish a state church, made a "profoundly political and profoundly controversial move." This overturned an entire edifice of English assumptions about loyalty, law, royal power, and political order (pp. 2, 3, 6–7).

The Calvert charter created an anomaly within the emerging seventeenth-century English empire. The charter was less problematic than the Catholic religion of

the proprietors. Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore was too far out of step with developments transpiring in England since the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. His allegiance to Catholicism and his lack of political wisdom led to the loss of many of his charter rights. Catholic-dominated, Protestant-inhabited Maryland did not fit the prevailing norms of the empire. In the end, the English government restored the family's proprietary rights only after they abandoned their religion.

Loyalist Protestants & Dangerous Papists does not celebrate Maryland's religious toleration/freedom. Rather, it was a concept that entangled Maryland in a long argument about religion, loyalty, and the state. Sutto assumes that this toleration in the early 1600s was not a principled withdrawal from a long and bloody confessional struggle but an expedient move designed to further other motives (primarily family fortunes).

Protestants, "increasingly brittle," saw Catholics as papists and servants of the Pope; their first loyalty was not to the crown. Their ultimate goal was the destruction of Protestantism. The papists, greedy, wicked, and deluded, put the interests of their religion first. They threatened the English government and the established church (pp. 27-28). In England, Protestants feared James II's Catholicism and his strong ties to European powers; in Maryland, Protestants feared *possible* proprietary alliances with hostile Indian nations.

To what degree were papists "Dangerous" and to whom? How much credibility should the malicious and paranoid fears of "Loyal Protestants" be given? From the 1630s to the 1690s, but increasingly after 1670, Maryland Protestants took up their poisoned pens to attack the proprietors, their religion, and their charter. After noting that anti-Catholicism was a powerful destabilizing force, Sutto offers a compendium of the rumors and innuendos circulated by the Baltimores' confessional and political enemies. She does not verify the veracity of rumors that thrived on a lack of information and the need to see evil human agents at work. These rumors do not merely describe events; they also create them. The overthrow of the Catholic Calvert "regime" (the term most frequently used for Maryland government) was less the fault of what the leaders did, and more from what they did not do.

The third Lord Baltimore does not seem to fit the role of a dangerous papist. Selfish, inept, and insensitive to the needs of the increasing numbers of Protestants in Maryland, he played his cards badly. Charles seemed oblivious to the changes swirling around him. He stood on his charter privileges when that was dangerous position. This, more than other factors, opened the proprietorship to attack.

Charles Calvert lacked the political skills his father had demonstrated. Charles' interventions in Maryland politics fueled the already high tensions within his colony and frustrated imperial leaders. Most likely, the loss of his colony came as a surprise to the third and last Catholic Lord Baltimore.

Marquette University (Emeritus) JOHN KRUGLER

Not a Catholic Nation: The Ku Klux Klan Confronts New England in the 1920s. By Mark Paul Richard. (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press. 2015. Pp. x, 253. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-62534-189-1.)

Taking its title from the declaration of F. Eugene Farnsworth, King Kleagle of Maine, that "this is not a Catholic nation" (p. 23), Mark Paul Richard's new history of the Ku Klux Klan in New England is a useful addition to the literature. This is, as Richard writes, a regional story of national phenomena, and the book persuasively illustrates how the regional mechanics of the New England Klan impact our understanding of the organization as a whole.

For Richard, the story of the Klan in New England is the story of contemporary Catholic power. Catholic political and social muscle was evident both in the conspiratorial fears that drew bigots to join the self-proclaimed Invisible Empire and in the fight against the hooded band. Passionately defending the importance of Catholic resistance for the ultimate decline of the Klan of the 1920s, Richard risks overstating his case, particularly when he also provides vivid examples of the Klan's collapse as self-created. In Connecticut, for example, the Klan was destabilized not by external opposition but by leadership contests that led to secession and competition from new offshoots of the organization.

Richard proclaims the importance of a "stand that was firm and consistent yet not overly combative" (p.34) in defeating the Invisible Empire in Maine; yet that resistance was insufficient to prevent the election of the Klan-backed Republican Ralph Brewster as governor. The book is more convincing in its argument for Brewster's victory as a model of the Klan's political engagement and in lauding Brewster's opponent, William Pattangall, as an example of principled opposition. Richard finds a less principled but more effective example of political resistance in the Irish-Catholic mayor of Boston, James Curley, who had aides secretly light flaming crosses in an effort to draw public sympathy to his campaign and tie his Republican opponent to the Klan.

This astute analysis of the Klan's part in northeastern politics is one of the major contributions of the book. Richard makes the compelling argument that the Klan's success in local politics, both in New England and nationally, was largely the result of opportunism—waiting to offer an endorsement until almost certain success and then claiming responsibility for the victory. He is also convincing in the assertion that, in attempting to affiliate themselves with the likely victors, the Klan largely aligned itself with the Republican Party in New England. In doing so, Richard argues, Klansmen helped drive ethnic Catholics in the northeast *en masse* into the Democratic Party even before Al Smith's 1928 presidential campaign.

Beyond politics, Richard highlights Klan violence against Catholics, furthering the recent work of historians like Thomas Pegram to restore the contemporary controversy to the civic-activist model of Klan history. Richard goes a step further on this front, arguing that nativism and religious prejudice were more important to the group's growth in New England than its functions as social, fraternal, or civic

organization. This provocative argument is undercut somewhat, however, by the difficulty of clearly delineating these appeals. Richard's own absorbing discussion of the Klan's fight against parochial schooling in New England demonstrates how blurred the lines were between the Klan as civic organization and as expression of religious prejudice. Nonetheless, this is a well-researched and well-written effort to apply a new lens to the subject, and as such will be of interest to historians of the Klan and of American Catholicism more generally.

Emory University FELIX HARCOURT

Farm Workers and the Churches: The Movement in California and Texas. By Alan J. Watt. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 252. $24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-60344-193-3.)

Alan J. Watt addresses the important but neglected theme of Christian faith-based activism within the farm worker social justice movements in California and Texas from the early twentieth century to the 1970s in this well-informed and thought-provoking monograph. Watt is senior pastor at the Christ Lutheran Church of York, Pennsylvania, and his book grew out of a Vanderbilt University dissertation in church history, but it is not a dry-as-dust celebratory chronicle of Catholic and Protestant institutional history. Instead, he offers a sympathetic but not uncritical account of "the roles played by and the interactions among several Christian traditions in the farm worker movement," mindful that "human activity lies at the heart of any meaningful historical narrative" (p.168). His use of this quotation from the late Ferenc Morton Szasz suggests that Watt sees traditions as embodied and contextualized, and his methodology is accordingly an eclectic mix of genres. Alongside the now old New Western History, with its attention to the dynamic interaction of economic and political power with race, class, and gender, Watt deploys the equally venerable New Labor History, with its goal of rescuing ordinary working people from "the enormous condescension of posterity" in E.P. Thompson's classic formulation. The result is a salutary contribution that features numerous, and for the most part, unsung priests, ministers, bishops, laymen, laywomen, and their now-forgotten Protestant and Catholic organizations.

Watt begins his study with three chapters on faith-based work with farmworkers in California from 1920 to 1970, followed by two chapters on the Texas story from 1930 to 1969. Given the relatively more extensive and successful farmworker movement in the Golden State, California is allotted twice as much space as the Lone Star State; a succinct historical summary of the social and political history of the pre-twentieth-century period is provided for each state, and black and white illustrations follow each section, six pages of photos from California and five pages from Texas. Within each of his two state-focused sections, and within each chapter of each section, Watt demonstrates how institutional history and individual biography interacted in the evolution of social networks that shaped the farm worker movement. (Nature also played a role in Texas in the form of Hurricane Beulah on May 20, 1967.) Readers of this journal will be interested to know that

Watt goes well beyond familiar figures such as Cesar Chavez and Bishop Robert E. Lucey, and organizations like the Spanish Mission Band and the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish-Speaking. He provides a veritable "Who's Who?" of Catholic men and women "organic intellectuals"; he appreciates the importance of "Mexican Devotional Catholicism" in mobilizing support for *La Causa*; and he acknowledges the impact of each state's distinctive historical political culture on the Catholic Church's role in deciding whether and how to assist the farmworker movement in California and Texas.

Watt's scholarship is thorough. In addition to using the relevant archival collections, which included oral histories, he conducted his own interviews with movement activists, immersed himself in local and national newspapers and periodicals, and he mastered the extensive scholarly literature. His study adds research depth and an important comparative dimension to earlier books by Frederick John Dalton and Marco G. Prouty, and it complements but is not supplanted by more recently-published books by Frank Bardacke and Miriam Pawel.

San Francisco State University (Emeritus) WILLIAM ISSEL

The Suburban Church: Modernism and Community in Postwar America. By Gretchen Buggeln. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2015. Pp. xxix, 345. Library cloth, $140.00. ISBN 978-0-8166- 9495-2. Paperback, $40.00. ISBN 978-0-8166-9496-9.)

Gretchen Buggeln is an American Studies scholar who teaches in Christ College at Valparaiso University. She has broad interest in the relationship between the Christian faith and material world, with a special interest in religious space. *The Suburban Church* conveys research into church building projects of three significant Midwestern architects: Edward D. Dart, Edward A. Sövik, and Charles E. Stade. Buggeln is especially interested in discovering the socio-cultural influences that motivated building design choices for suburban faith communities in the postwar period. Seventy-five faith communities are examined in particular, the majority of whom are Protestant. The churches examined for Dart and Stade are located primarily in Illinois; most of the churches examined for Sövik are located in Minnesota. At least eighty interviews were conducted by the author between 2005 and 2013, including several with Sövik. One hundred and thirty-nine black and white photographs are spread through the various chapters.

Buggeln's analysis is primarily descriptive and is accomplished in eight chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of several important movements at work in the background during the post-war period. Mention is made of the dramatic building boom of the mid-twentieth century, fueled by the growth and development of suburbs around major urban centers, yielding numerous new church buildings. She notes the influence of proponents of modernist design in denominational agencies and among architects (especially through ecumenical activities), favored (in part) for the rapid construction that could be achieved on a minimal budget.

Chapter two provides an introduction to the three architects featured in Buggeln's research. A brief biographical sketch of each architect is provided conveying the faith background, architectural education, and establishment of each architect in relation to church design. Significant buildings and design awards for each architect, such as St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Illinois, by Dart, are also noted.

Chapter three outlines the process congregations pursued as they imagined, planned, and constructed new church buildings. The role of the building committee is described. Frequently a sense of mission (desire for evangelism in the emerging suburb) fostered an urgency to build. Education of the building committee is examined with visual and written artifacts. Chapter four provides a brief history of "A-frame" design, a particularly popular building style for Protestants from the 1950s to mid-1960s. The A-frame was especially appealing to smaller congregations with limited funds. Buggeln demonstrates how quickly some modernist styles rose and fell in popularity. Chapter five provides a deeper examination of the primary worship space. The gradual shift from axial to central plans for worship is traced in historical context. The metaphor of "family of faith" grew in prominence as an organizing principle for planning. A desire to build quickly, to remain flexible, and to relate to the contemporary culture influenced design choices. Catholic and Protestant examples of modernist design from Dart, Stade, and Sövik are featured, with attention to the inclusion of symbol and beauty.

Chapter six features the rationale and process used for designing buildings to accommodate education and fellowship. Suburban congregations prioritized education and fellowship for both members and the surrounding community. Models of design from contemporary schools and recreational facilities were used by churches in seeking relevancy, efficiency, and frugality. Chapter seven provides a case study of planning for religious life in the suburb of Park Forest, Illinois (as a new suburb of Chicago). Resident surveys, ecumenical co-operation, and optimism characterized the location and density of buildings for worship. Seven Christian and Jewish faith communities are examined. The author investigates connections/contrasts in building projects and social critiques of suburban spirituality. Chapter eight provides a concluding commentary on the legacy of postwar suburban design. Changes in social and religious behavior from the late 1960s forward are highlighted and related to the impetus behind the development of suburban churches. Racial diversity, generational mobility, religious commitment, and material integrity are some of the issues noted.

Buggeln provides an important window into the establishment, growth, and redevelopment of postwar American suburban churches. Her approach is sympathetic and appreciative, honoring the expressions she uncovers in primary and secondary sources. Most, if not all, of the congregations featured were composed largely of white members. The author is aware of the realities of her context and approach, but seeks to provide an accurate rendering of the faith life, motivations, and choices made by these congregations. In a field of study that often features extraordinary buildings designed by "starchitects," Buggeln provides insight into

the thought and workings of more modest architects and congregations. Her research is thorough, and her book is a welcome addition to a growing understanding of twentieth-century church building.

Judson University Mark A. Torgerson

Russell Kirk: American Conservative. By Bradley J. Birzer. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2015. Pp. vi, 574. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-8131-6618-6.)

Russell Kirk (1918-–1994) was one of the three or four most important figures in the revival of American conservatism after World War II. Although he worked for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and was a friend of President Reagan in the 1980s, his conservatism was more cultural and literary than political. Political activists on the right regarded him as an impractical dreamer. Whimsical, mannered, a baroque stylist, he gathered disciples and admirers at his out-of-the-way home in Mecosta, Michigan.

Bradley Birzer was one of them. He is now the Russell Amos Kirk Professor of History at Hillsdale College, and there can be no doubt that this admiring, sympathetic, and generous biography is an inside job. He makes the common biographer's mistake of overestimating his subject's importance and implies, at times, that the survival of Western civilization through the grimmest years of the Cold War depended on Kirk's wisdom. The upside is that he has enjoyed access to all of Kirk's papers and the sympathetic help of Kirk's family and friends, giving us the fullest account of his subject's life hitherto.

Kirk, born in 1918 in Michigan, came of age in the Depression, took an early dislike to academia during an M.A. program at Duke University, and was drafted into the army in 1942. Bizarrely, he spent the whole of his four-year enlistment at a chemical weapons testing station in the Utah desert, hated it, but had plenty of time for the encyclopedic reading on which his erudition was based. To his own astonishment the book version of his postwar Ph.D. thesis (from St. Andrews in Scotland) became a best seller. It was *The Conservative Mind* (1953), which identified Edmund Burke's protest against the French Revolution as the fount of modern conservatism.

Birzer is at his best in tracing the intellectual influences on Kirk, which led him first to Stoicism and then to a mid-life Catholic conversion. His greatest debts among the moderns were to Irving Babbitt, Albert Jay Nock, and T. S. Eliot. What made Kirk troublesome to many of his conservative contemporaries was that he detested philosophical materialism, and regarded capitalism as hardly better than communism. This belief intensified. As Birzer shows, early editions of *The Conservative Mind* paid tribute to libertarianism and praised one of its advocates, Isabel Paterson. Later editions (there were seven in all) suppressed these passages completely.

Kirk's name is often linked with that of William F. Buckley, Jr., as postwar conservative pioneers. They became friends but could hardly have been more different: Buckley was urban, gregarious, combative as a writer and debater, and loved

to be in the thick of political affairs, whereas Kirk was rural, shy, a loner. Buckley's journal *National Review*, founded in 1955, was irreverent and lively; it brought together diverse conservative writers from many points of the ideological spectrum. In its early years Kirk contributed frequent articles, mostly to deplore progressive education, but he declined to let his name appear on its masthead.

Kirk's own journal, *Modern Age*, by contrast, was stuffy and dull, not really academic but not popular either, a point Birzer cannot bring himself to admit. Kirk feuded with his co-editor and soon abandoned it, reverting to his preferred option of working alone. He had abandoned a tenure-track position at Michigan State University, his alma mater, in 1953 and set out to prove that a sufficiently hard-working individual could make his own way as a writer and lecturer.

He wrote gothic fiction and ghost stories, loved mysteries, tried to make his home the Mid-Western equivalent of John R. R. Tolkien's elfish fantasy-land, Rivendell, and felt a powerful attraction to the non-rational aspects of Catholicism. Vatican Council II appalled him, particularly its aesthetics. On rebuilding his home after a fire in 1975, he incorporated many of the discarded furnishings, stained glass, and statues from a modernized local Catholic Church. Cultivating the image of himself as a man unsuited to the late twentieth century, he continued to hammer out his books and correspondence on a typewriter, even when cheap and reliable personal computers were ubiquitous.

Political conservatism in late twentieth-century America disappointed Kirk: the failure of Goldwater in 1964 and the rise of neoconservative advisors in the Reagan-Bush administrations. In his view, America should have returned to its traditional policy of isolationism after the Cold War, not to schemes for world-wide democratic capitalism. In the 1992 presidential election, by now identified as a "paleo-conservative," he campaigned for Pat Buchanan.

Birzer's indulgent editors at the University Press of Kentucky allowed him to retain passages that should have been excluded, including a twenty-page digression on the life and work of T. S. Eliot. Everyone interested in Kirk should read this book but most will feel tempted to skim and to ask themselves: Was Kirk really always right and his critics always wrong?

Emory University PATRICK ALLITT

Refuge in the Lord: Catholics, Presidents, & the Politics of Immigration, 1981–2013. By Lawrence J. McAndrews. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2015. Pp. xiv, 287. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8132-2779-5.)

In this well-researched and interesting book, Lawrence McAndrews closely investigates the relationship between Catholic leaders' immigration positions and presidential policies in contemporary times. The time period McAndrews has

chosen is one of the most important for understanding significant changes in immigration policies, from debates preceding the 1986 Immigration and Reform through post-September 11, 2001, policies on immigration and refugees. Like Cheryl Shanks' politico-historical analysis of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act and the 1986 IRCA, McAndrews examines key debates, leaders, divisions, and negotiations leading up to major policies but with an exclusive focus on Catholic leaders and the opinions of Catholic laypeople. Because the Catholic Church is a key institution in refugee resettlement and in providing aid and pastoral care to immigrants of all types of legal status, this investigation fills in a crucial gap in the immigration literature. For scholars of refugee matters, McAndrews' examination of the beginning of the U.S. refugee program is particularly important as he provides a historically informed analysis of the beginnings of this program and debates surrounding its expansion from the 1980s onward. In particular, he explores the plight of Haitians, Cubans, and Central Americans—groups often designated as "economic" refugees and therefore ineligible for refugee status. However, key leaders in the Catholic Church contested this designation, attempting to change bureaucratic rules and legislation on the one hand and calling for churches to offer sanctuary on the other. The section on sanctuary in this book is in-depth and helps the reader to understand how refugee policies were forged in this era. This political history is also relevant today as churches continue to offer sanctuary while higher ranking Catholic leaders are uncomfortable with what they perceive is a subversion of the law. McAndrews' investigation is arguably conservative in that he focuses on religious and political elites and uses language that some find problematic if not biased ("illegal," "irregular," "alien"), even as he problematizes these terms in the conclusion. He also engages in a cost-benefit analysis of immigration that many authors have decided is irresolvable. Nevertheless, even if these elements of the book are conservative, the book is rich with historical material; explanation of the debates is detailed and often nuanced, and the moral arguments are still clear—this is not a conservatism that whitewashes the past or ignores failures, hypocrisy, or messy situations. The focus on debates and key figures makes the policy story rich and interesting. In the conclusion, McAndrews states that "throughout over three decades of change and continuity, the Catholic power structure and many of its followers, by admirably endeavoring to put principle ahead of politics, at times exaggerated the former at the expense of the latter. The motives of these immigration advocates were noble…but the results were too often the opposite of what they intended…" (p. 227). While one could argue that this conclusion was a foregone conclusion, given his subject material, I would urge the reader to pick up this book—it is a valuable, rich, and significant book that examines a crucial element of political history and contemporary policy.

DePaul University Kathleen R. Arnold

LATIN AMERICAN

Honor and Personhood in Early Modern Mexico. By Osvaldo F. Pardo. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2015. Pp. x, 237. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-472-11962-2.)

This book is about the meaningful role the mendicant orders, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, and the Jesuits played in transmitting ecclesiastical and secular laws to the Nahuas of New Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Educating the Indigenous people of colonial Mexico in matters of morals, law, and social norms and attitudes toward ecclesiastical and civil authorities proved to be a challenging task due to the contradictory demands of the two realms, the religious and secular, upon the indigenous peoples and the missionaries' conviction that the Indians needed to be protected from the abuses of the secular authorities. Mistrusting the influence of the Spanish corpus of laws upon the Nahuas, "The friars envisioned a community of Christian Indians governed by a notion of justice that was informed by moral ideas at odds with the moral and social notions underlying the Spanish legal system" (p. 162). Pardo examines the discussion among various secular authorities and clergy about how to educate the Indigenous communities in issues pertaining to the Spanish system of values. His study deals with topics of possessions, honor, oaths, and punishments, concepts that were at the core of the Spanish legislation and society. Pardo fleshes out the different, and often contradictory, interpretations of Spanish law in relation to these values, by high appointees, judges, *encomenderos, letrados*, and the religious communities. Basing his book on a vast array of archival documents, bilingual catechisms, ecclesiastical and secular treatises, legislative treatises, bilingual grammar treatises, historical accounts, letters, and a rich secondary literature, Pardo has produced a complex and intriguing cultural study of colonial Mexico. When dealing with issues of honor, the author provides good examples of the cacophony of voices among different authorities. While viceroys usually defended the rights of Indians to expose their grievances before the tribunals, *encomenderos* accused friars of misguiding Indians in matters of the Spanish law, empowering them in legal issues, and eroding their own credibility and reputation. Friars, on the one hand, found it difficult to reconcile Spanish legislation on honor with the indigenous concepts and practice of honor. As demonstrated by the missionaries' extensive cultural ethnographic work in colonial Mexico, those societies had developed their own notions of worth and fame, and they considered it a mistake to apply to them norms that had been forged in different contexts and times. On the other hand, legal scholars such as Juan Solórzano de Pereira, exhibiting his trust in the Spanish law system, wrote that in the resolution of disputes between Spaniards and Indians, the latter's condition of honor should be taken into consideration to decide the penalties to be applied. The same dissonance is visible in regard to the policies on oaths. Missionaries did not welcome the teaching of Spanish legislation on oaths in the colonies, because they served to judge and punish Indigenous people with alien parameters not clearly understood by them. But after they came to be embedded in everyday life in the colonies, the friars accepted them as valid judicial instruments.

Pardo's book provides original interpretations of important cultural aspects of colonial Mexico. I highly recommend the book to scholars and graduate students in the fields of history, literature, anthropology, and cultural studies.

University of Memphis Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas

Heaven, Hell, and Everything in Between. Murals of the Colonial Andes. By Ananda Cohen Suarez. [Recovering Languages and Literacies in the Americas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2016. Pp. xiv, 274. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-4773-0955-1.)

Approximately twenty years ago the latest books regarding the Hispanic colonial mural painting in the Andean context were published: two in Peru in 1993 and a third one in Bolivia in 1998. These books treated the subject matter in general terms, and their contributions were the first writings and considerations on Andean colonial mural painting. In the last two ensuing decades, scholars have written some interesting articles to understand better this important artistic heritage, thus bringing new perspectives as well as unveiling unknown groups of mural paintings. However, no one had undertaken the task of synthesizing the scholarship's progress on the topic and make it available to a wider audience. Ananda Cohen Suarez's book has come to fill this lacuna. In addition, it is the first book in English on the subject, which will allow a wider readership and ampler knowledge about this peculiar world of forms and colors produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in the Andes.

Cohen Saurez's book is not only the first English book on mural paintings from the colonial period in the Andean area; it is also the only one on the subject published in any language in the last twenty years. Besides, the book presents new ways of approaching the study of this unique artistic production. Her analysis focuses on murals conserved in the southern regions of Cuzco, where some of the most striking examples are found, as the author emphasizes. The images painted on the walls of the churches of Andahuaylilas, Huaro, Urcos, Pitumarca, Ocongate, or Canincunca are analyzed in all their complexity, allowing the reader to understand the diversity of factors that came together in their realization. Themes including the strategies of evangelization and catechesis, heterodox theological discourses, the weight of cultural practices of pre-Hispanic origin, the social tensions of the colonial Spanish period, as well as the symbolic value of the material substrate of the paintings are woven in the pages of this book to enrich understanding of the images in the murals. Through the study of specific cases, the chapters of the book introduce the reader to each of the factors that had to intervene in the conception and execution of the paintings, providing suggestive conclusions and posing new questions.

The work of Ananda Cohen Suarez will allow an effective dissemination of information on a wall painting tradition of exceptional interest, featuring the sustainable development initiatives that have been implemented in some of the villages mentioned in the book. Moreover, research on Hispanic colonial art will be enriched thanks to the repertoire of images and ideas contained in the publication.

The reader will have in his hands a well-documented book, perfectly updated and with new ideas about these old images. Its content and form should effectively meet the demands of the specialists, as well as those of a wider audience. Finally, the book is capable of easily captivating even a reader who has English as a second language, as is my case.

Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez FERNANDO GUZMÁN
Santiago, Chile

The Catholic Church and Argentina's Dirty War. By Gustavo Morello, SJ. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2015. Pp. xviii, 221. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-023427-0.)

Dr. Gustavo Morello is an Argentine, a Jesuit, and a sociologist at Boston College. Morello's background and training have prepared him to analyze the life of Catholics during Argentina's *la guerra sucia* or "dirty war" (1976–83). The Argentine military seized power ostensibly to save the nation from the threat of leftist insurgents. During the self-proclaimed Process of National Reorganization, the military regime and associated paramilitary groups murdered or "disappeared" 30,000 Argentines. Military officials actually boasted of plans to kill 50,000 citizens. The regime's barbarism was such that victims were apprehended, tortured, and then dropped, while still alive, from aircraft into the frigid South Atlantic. Five-hundred young women gave birth in military jails. The regime slaughtered the new mothers and distributed the infants to military officers and supporters of the regime. The military ruler's perverted reasoning was that brutality was required to save Western civilization and Christianity. The military junta's first leader, General Jorge Rafael Videla (1976–81), once declared that "all necessary persons must die to achieve the security of the country" (Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone* [2016], p. 148). The regime especially identified union organizers and Argentine Jews as threats to national security.

The vast majority of the military regime's victims were, of course, Argentine Catholics. More than 100 religious workers were killed, including Enrique Angelelli, the bishop of La Rioja. Nonetheless, the Argentine Church emerged from *la guerra sucia* with a tarnished reputation. No church leader publicly denounced the regime's radical evil, and priests collaborated with torturers. By comparison, heroic prelates, like Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns of Brazil and Archbishop Óscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador, organized resistance to murderous anti-Communist tyrants. Morello explores these differences by examining the reactions of Argentine Catholics to the abduction in 1976 of five seminarians of the La Salette order in Córdoba. Also abducted was the director of the seminarians, Father James Weeks, a U.S. citizen. Pressured by the U.S. embassy in Buenos Aires, the military subsequently released Weeks. The seminarians, who were suspected of subversion, endured torture but emerged alive, because Weeks and a nun who witnessed the abduction, Joan McCarthy, who was also a U.S. citizen, organized a campaign on their behalf. Without this intercession, the seminarians would have been murdered by the military.

The seminarians were not subversives but devoted youth who imbibed in the idealism of Vatican Council II (1962–65) and the bishops' conference at Medellín (1968). These committed Catholics were violently opposed by "anti-secular" Catholics who rejected the concepts of the laity engaging in church work and religious workers pursuing a "preferential option for the poor." Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI had allegedly betrayed the faith. In the view of these anti-secular Catholics, like General Luciano Benjamín Menéndez, the military commander of Córdoba, the Church's duty was to uphold traditional hierarchical values. Religious people who worked for the poor were by definition subversive. General Menéndez has been subsequently sentenced to several life terms by Argentine courts for his crimes against humanity. Standing between these groups were the "institutional" Catholics, like Bishop Raúl Primatesta of Córdoba, who probably accepted the new directions in faith but wanted to preserve the Church's privileged role in Argentine life. The Church should neither identify with nor be in opposition to the state. Bishop Primatesta spoke privately to General Menéndez, but he declined to denounce the general's savagery.

Morello's impressive study, which is based on in-depth interviewing and extensive archival work, may not explain fully the Argentine Church's failure to defend human rights. Catholics were presumably divided in other Latin American countries. Yet, in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and elsewhere, Catholic leaders led the resistance to Cold War tyranny.

University of Texas at Dallas Stephen G. Rabe

Film

Silence (2016). A film directed by Martin Scorsese; based on a novel by Shûsaku Endô; written by Jay Cocks and Martin Scorsese; cinematographer Rodrigo Prieto; editor Thelma Schoonmaker; production companies: Sikelia Productions, Cappa/De Fina Productions, and Cecchi Gori Pictures. 161 minutes.

What is the value of the Scorsese film, *Silence*, to historians? It faithfully follows Shusaku Endo's original novel (1966). Historians who seek factual accuracy in the novel may marvel at Endo's knowledge of the historical sources if they can overlook some obvious discrepancies. If they cannot, they should simply turn to scholarly works such as George Elison's *Deus Destroyed* (1991) on Japanese persecution, apostasy, and anti-Christian propaganda literature. The value of *Silence* resides in the theological/missiological questions, which Endo asked during the Vatican II era. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of these, but it is sufficient to state here that the image of a triumphant Christ from the Baroque West did not speak to the persecuted minority church of seventeenth-century Japan, but the "ugly," "worn," and "trampled down" face of Christ did, and perhaps still does to those persecuted churches in the East today.

I will supply only some information about the European Jesuits that may help historians appreciate Endo's and Scorsese's creativity. Among the four Jesuits in the story, three are fictional. First, Alexandro Valignano (1539–1606) was not the Vis-

itor at the Macau Seminary, who knew the difficult situation in Japan in 1638. It would have been André Palmeiro (1569–1635). Liam Matthew Brockey's *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (2014) provides analysis on Palmeiro's and his successor Manuel Diaz's (1560–1639) dealings with Ferreira's apostasy.

The main character Sebastian Rodrigues and his companion Francisco Garupe are Endo's creation. Unlike the storyline, in 1640, no Jesuits landed in Japan. After the Amakusa-Shimabara uprising, the government's extreme measures prevented foreigners from entering the country. The authorities massacred the Portuguese emissaries from Macau upon arrival and cut Iberian trade and diplomatic ties completely. Despite this, in August 1642, Visitor Antonio Rubino (1578–1643) led five Jesuits and their assistants to enter Japan. They were immediately arrested, tortured, and executed in March 1643. A second group of four Jesuits with their assistants led by Pedro Marquez (1575–1657) was captured in June 1643, and under torture, all apostatized. Among this group was Giuseppe Chiara (1602–85), whom Endo used as the model for Sebastian. Unlike the character of Sebastian, Chiara would not have had time before his arrest to visit hidden Kirishitan (Christian) communities to give the Eucharist. Like Sebastian, the shogunate gave Chiara a Japanese name, Okada San'emon, kept him in the "Christian Residence" in Tokyo with his Japanese wife, and employed him as the assistant to the Christian Inquisitor Inoue Masashige (1585–1661). Chiara wrote some books (no longer extant) explaining Christianity for the inquisition. Endo's story ended with a hopeful note, that the apostate Padre Sebastian gives absolution after hearing the confession of Kichijirō, a weak Kirishitan with a history of multiple apostasies, and remarks, "Even now I am the last priest in this land." Endo added an appendix, "Diary of an Officer at the Christian Residence," for which he modified excerpts from *Sayō yoroku*, the actual diary of one of the guards at the Christian Residence. In these entries, one reads that the government remained suspicious about Kirishitan activities in the Okada household and made some arrests as late as 1676. Although neither Endo nor *Sayō yoroku* indicated that Chiara (Okada) kept his Christian faith until death, Scorsese's film is suggestive of such, as his wife secretly slips a Christian icon into Okada's hands in his cremation barrel.

The dark looming figure of Cristóvão Ferreira (c.1580–1650), an excellent missionary turned apostate and the Inquisitor's best instrument Sawano Chūan, was a true historical person. His activities were also attested in the diaries of the Captains of the Dutch East India Company, which again Endo modified.

So why go see the movie? The cinematographic beauty of Southern Kyushu is striking against the gruesome reenactments of torture scenes, stirring historians' imaginations. The casting of Anglo-featured actors for Southern European missionaries maybe questionable but the film is entertainment, inspiring this historian to investigate the voices of the more than 20,000 Japanese martyrs, symbolized in "ugly" "worn-out" Mokichi, Ichizō, Omatsu and Monica, and many Garupes, who chose to be with them.

Columbia Theological Seminary HARUKO NAWATA WARD

Report of the Editor

Volume 102 of the journal consisted of 903 pages of articles, essays, book reviews, brief notices, and the quarterly sections "Notes and Comments," "Periodical Literature," and "Other Books Received," with an additional forty-nine pages of preliminary material and Index, for a total of 952 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 and a past president of the American Catholic Historical Association) once again generously made such a contribution.

Of the fifteen regular articles published, one treated a medieval topic, four early modern European, four late modern European, four American, and two mission history. Two-thirds of their authors came from American institutions, the other third from Australian, English, Irish, and Italian universities. One Forum Essay, dealing with a late modern European topic, had contributions by scholars from Canada, Italy, and the United States. The authors of the Review Article and Review Essay came from the United States.

In 2016 the journal published 218 book reviews and two brief notices. The book reviews can be subdivided into the following categories: general and miscellaneous (22), ancient (10), medieval (52), early modern (53), late modern (23), American (35), Latin American (14), Asian/Australian (5), and African (4). Their authors came mostly from institutions in the United States (134 or 61%), but those in other countries were also represented: in England/Ulster (37 or 17%); Canada and Germany (7 each or 3%); The Netherlands and Scotland (4 each or 2%); Italy and Switzerland (3 each or 1%), Australia, Belgium, Ireland, Israel, and Spain (2 each or 1%), and one each for Argentina, China (Hong Kong), The Czech Republic, France, Mexico, New Zealand, Tanzania, Ukraine, and Wales. The two brief notices were by authors at institutions in the United States. Please see Table 1.

The journal received thirty-eight new submissions of articles in 2016. They came primarily from the United States, but also from Belgium, England (2), France, Korea, Malta, South Africa, South Sudan, and Spain. Table 2 shows the current disposition of these submissions. During the year 2016, fourteen articles accepted mostly earlier were published.

Ms. Katya Mouris continued as the devoted assistant to Msgr. Trisco, who resumed his primary role as the skillful book editor, while continuing to compile the sections Periodical Literature and Other Books Received. After nine years of expert assistance as staff editor Ms. Elizabeth Foxwell has left the journal for a full-

time position elsewhere. She will be much missed and leaves with our deep gratitude for her dedicated service.

NELSON H. MINNICH
Editor

TABLE 1
Book Reviews and Brief Notices Published in 2016.

Area	Winter	Spring	Summer	Autumn	TOTAL
General	10	4	5	3	22
Ancient	5	2	0	3	10
Medieval	18	16	13	5	52
Early Modern	11	15	18	9	53
Late Modern	7	3	5	8	23
American	14	7	9	5	35
Latin American	5	4	2	3	14
Far Eastern/ Australian	0	0	4	1	5
African	0	0	2	2	4
TOTAL	70	51	58	39	218
Brief Notices	1	0	1	0	2

TABLE 2
Manuscripts Submitted in 2016

Area	Accepted	Conditionally Accepted	Rejected (R) or Withdrawn (W)	Pending	Published in 2016	TOTAL
Ancient			1			1
Medieval	1		1	2		4
Early Modern	3		1	4		8
Late Modern			W–1; R–6	5	1	13
American	1		1	3		5
Latin American				2		2
Far Eastern			2	1		3
Middle Eastern			1			1
African				1		1
TOTAL	5		14	18	1	38

Notes and Comments

Association News

The American Catholic Historical Association will hold its Spring meeting on April 6–9, 2017 in Berkeley, California. It will be held jointly with the American Society of Church History. For more informaion about the program, please contact Randi Walker (rwalker@psr.edu). The ACHA 2018 annual meeting will be held in Washington, DC, in January 4–7, 2018. Individual and panel proposals on any aspect of Catholic history should be sent by April 17, 2017. For further information, please consult the Association's website www.achahistory.org. At the Presidential Luncheon in Denver on January 7, 2017, the following awards were announced and citations read:

2016 John Gilmary Shea Prize awarded to Katrina B. Olds, University of San Francisco, for *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Yale University Press, 2015)

In her scintillating *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain*, Katrina B. Olds considers the complex story of a set of "false chronicles" of the early Christian history of Iberia forged by a Spanish Jesuit in the late sixteenth century. While accepted as genuine by many, they also aroused suspicions of their authenticity almost from the time of their "discovery," and by the eighteenth century their spurious origin had been demonstrated. Still, the impact of the "false chronicles" endured, and their elements remained embedded in Spanish popular devotion and religious practice. At first glance, this might appear to be no more than a quirky historical footnote, but in her skilled telling, Olds connects it to broader themes. More than simply an episode in Iberian Catholic and Jesuit history, it becomes a fascinating lesson in historiography. In dealing with her subject, the author deftly examines her Jesuit forger's skill at mixing fact with fiction to achieve verisimilitude, as well as his possible motives in composing his texts, and offers intriguing insights on the broader subject of forgery in the European Christian tradition. *Forging the Past* serves as a model of a subtle, imaginatively conceived, and thoroughly engaging examination of a subject, small in itself, but that allows the author and reader to explore matters of universal interest and importance.

2016 Harry C. Koenig Prize for Catholic Biography awarded to Franz Posset, Independent Scholar, for *Johann Reuchlin, 1455–1522. A Theological Biography* (De Gruyter, 2015)

Dr. Franz Posset (Marquette University Ph.D.) demonstrates a sophisticated degree of Catholic Studies research and objectivity in *Johann Reuchlin, 1455–1522.*

A Theological Biography. In this first biography in English of Reuchlin, Dr. Posset meticulously and even-handedly approaches a difficult but seminal subject: Catholic-Jewish relations in the Early Modern European era. He allows the reader to be immersed into Reuchlin's Catholic world as the winds of reform and change begin to gain strength in Western Christendom. A renowned Humanist scholar and polyglot, Johann Reuchlin was a devoted student of the Hebrew language, rabbinic literature, and the Hebrew Scriptures. Beginning in 1510, he wrote in passionate defense of preserving Jewish books and learning. Dr. Franz Posset is the first in the English-speaking world to utilize extensively the new critical edition of Reuchlin's correspondence (*Johannes Reuchlin Briefwechsel,* Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1999–2013), which demonstrates the breadth and depth in which Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were valued in theological and humanist circles, whether Catholic or Protestant. In this context, Posset sheds new light on Reuchlin's achievements as lay theologian to create a uniquely Catholic Cabala. This theological biography is richly nuanced, deep in scope and vision of a still relevant topic in Catholic Studies.

2016 Howard R. Marraro Book Prize presented to Andrew Berns for *The Bible and Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge University Press, 2015)

In a fascinating recreation of the intellectual world of sixteenth-century Italy, Andrew W. Berns focuses on the relationship between the Bible and natural history, and how Christian and Jewish doctors at the time were actively engaged in studying the Bible as both a religious text and a source of scientific and medicinal knowledge. The book also highlights how Jewish and Christian doctors worked together and exchanged ideas on matters pertaining to both medicine and religion.

The Peter Guilday Prize for 2016

The Peter Guilday Prize for 2016 is given to Dr. Christopher Riedel of Boston College for his article "Praising God Together: Monastic Reformers and Laypeople in Tenth-Century Winchester" which appeared in Volume 102, no. 2 (Spring 2016), 284–317. Using Lantfred's *Translation and Miracles of St. Swithun* (c. 972), Dr. Riedel argued that the cloistered Benedictine monks who replaced the secular canons as the chapter of Winchester cathedral under St. Aethelwold interacted with the laity who came on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Swithun to receive miraculous cures. When these occurred, the monks (no matter what the hour of day or night) would encourage the laity to join with them in public prayers of thanksgiving, thus modeling for them the proper response for such favors and providing for them one form of pastoral care. Dr. Riedel places Lantfred's text in the historical context of contemporary hagiographical accounts of miracles, the cult of saints, monastic reform, the liturgical services at the three (Old, New, and Nunna-) minsters of Winchester, and the pastoral care of laity. By demonstrating that the monks were not isolated from the laity, but provided a form of pastoral care, Dr. Riedel has made an original contribution to the historiography of monastic reform in Anglo-Saxon England and is thus awarded the Peter Guilday Prize for 2016.

The 2016 John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award presented to Jennifer Binczewski Washington State University "Solitary Sparrows: Widowhood and the Catholic Community in Post-Reformation England"

This is an impressive and unique research project and approach to explain the preservation of the Catholic faith following sixteenth-century Elizabethan reforms. The innovative methodology, attention to gender and space, as well as the role widows played in preserving English Catholicism, provide new insights into the survival tactics employed by Catholics after the Church was formally banned in 1559.

The ACHA 2017 Distinguished Scholar Award presented to Professor William Issel of San Francisco State University

For over thirty-five, William Issel taught at San Francisco State University (SFSU) in the departments of history, humanities, and urban studies. His scholarship has focused on the complex relationships that comprise urban life in the United States, especially the West Coast.

Beginning with *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power and Urban Development* (UC Berkeley Press, 1987), Issel, along with his SFSU colleague Robert Cherny, explored the interaction and interconnectedness of competing political entities in the Bay Area. In a review of this work, one reviewer noted, "By concentrating on political power, the authors reach conclusions that are exciting and controversial. Even if their conclusions must be regarded as tentative, Issel and Cherny have set the historiographical agenda for studying San Francisco politics. That is a major achievement."

In *For Both Cross and Flag* (Temple University Press, 2010), Issel focused on city dynamics, including the impact and influence of religion on the urban landscape and political polity. As one reviewer noted, Issel's work "provides a dramatic illustration of what can happen when parties to urban political rivalries, rooted in religious and ideological differences, seize the opportunity provided by a wartime national security emergency to demonize their enemy as 'a potentially dangerous person.'" His is a cautionary tale for the twentieth-first century.

In *Church and State in the City* (Temple University Press, 2012), Bill Issel again returns to the city, exploring the role religion plays in marketplace of ideas. *Church and State in the City*, while examining the Bay City's twentieth-century political culture, accentuates the influence Catholic social teaching had on those who advocated for public policies that were based on a faith-based vision of the public interest.

In his research and writing, Bill Issel has demonstrated the importance of examining the role that religion has had on American political discourse. Ours is not a secular society, devoid of religious influence. We have not yet reached that post-modern period. And while we profess a separation of Church and State in the United States, the role of the Church, or any faith-based institution for that matter, cannot be divorced from our everyday lives, be that in the countryside or in the city.

It is for his scholarly and intellectual contribution to the faith-based discourse in academia that the American Catholic Historical Association is proud to present its 2017 Distinguished Scholar Award to Professor William Issel of San Francisco State University.

The ACHA 2017 Distinguished Teaching Award presented to Dr. Jeffrey M. Burns of the Franciscan School of Theology and the University of San Diego

Receiving his doctorate from the University of Notre Dame, where he was a Cushwa Fellow and a student of Jay P. Dolan, Jeffrey Burns returned to his native California, where he began his teaching career. He has taught at St. Patrick's Major Seminary in Menlo Park, the Franciscan School of Theology-Berkeley, and at a branch of the University of California State system. Presently he teaches for the Franciscan School of Theology, Mission San Luis Rey, Oceanside, California, and for the University of San Diego.

While he did all this, he was also the archivist of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. Later, he was asked to head the American Academy of Franciscan History.

Burns is a creative and popular teacher. His easy-going ways and his willingness to go the extra mile to help students has earned him much praise.

At FST–Oceanside, he currently teaches the "History of the Immigrant Church in the US," "Modern Social Justice," and the "History of Evangelization and Mission since 1492." Because he is well grounded in US Catholic history and the author of a number works of local and national import, he brings a depth and a precision to his teaching. He has had a powerful impact on the lives of many of the students who passed through his classes.

Jeff dedicates himself to an honest, but loving concern for "real history," which he understands "is an important tool for the Church." As he explains: "We cannot live in a make-believe past or approach the future with an inadequate historical understanding. We must honestly confront the past. It is my hope that my courses and scholarship provide this necessary tool."

It is for his many years of service to the Church and its people as an instructor, mentor and teacher of Catholic history that the American Catholic Historical Association presents its 2017 Distinguished Teaching Award to Jeffrey M. Burns.

The ACHA 2017 Distinguished Service Award presented to U.S. National Park Service

For the past one hundred years, the United States National Park Service has maintained and preserved America's heritage. Be it natural landscapes, historic monuments, significant dwelling places, or notable lands, the NPS has been responsible for ensuring that future generations come to know its past. For students of colonial North American as well as Roman Catholic history, the NPS has participated in promoting, either directly or indirectly, the study of race, religion, and people by maintaining *El Camino Real de los Tejas*, a series of Spanish missions and

posts that connected the people of Los Adaes in present-day northwestern Louisiana to the capital city of New Spain: Mexico City; as well as *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* National Historic Trail, which ran from Mexico City to Santa Fe. In the state of Texas, the *San San Antonio Missions* are maintained by the NPS, bringing to life colonial Catholic history in an area of the world that witnessed some of the most significant events in Mexican and American history. For Creole Catholics of Louisiana, the "Cane River Creole" site provides insight into a world of racial diversity as its inhabitants are descendants of European, African, and Native peoples. And American Catholic history is connected to the National Park Service through two civil rights sites: the Lincoln Memorial, where Catholics for the first time participated in public demonstrations in support of jobs and freedom; and the Selma to Montgomery Highway, which commemorates the 1965 civil rights March where Catholic participation was notable.

For its contribution to preserving the diversity of our history and culture, the American Catholic Historical Association honors the National Park Service in its centennial year of service to the American people. Representing the NPS are Joy Beasley, Deputy Associate Director for Cultural Resources, Preservation and Science; and Sue Masica, Regional Director Intermountain Region.

ResearchTools

The English Historical Documents series published by Routledge of the Taylor & Francis Group, gives access to over 5,500 primary documents (chronicles, letters, charters, etc.) online that includes 660 from Tudor Britain and others from the Stuart, English Civil War, and Restoration periods. They are divided into such subtopics as Monarch and Government, Local and Social Life, The Church, and Economics and Trade. For more information, please contacxt ehd@email.routledge.com.

Conferences

On March 29–31, 2017 the Pontifial Committee of Historical Sciences will hold the first of two International Study Conferences commemorating the 500th anniversary of Luther's posting of the ninety-five theses. The first, entitled "Luther after 500 Years: A Re-Reading of the Lutheran Reform in Its Historical and Ecclesial Context" will be held at the Vatican. Its inaugural session will feature talks by Josep Ignasi Saranyana Closa on "Verso Lutero, il contesto teologico ed ecclesiale" and Matthias Pohlig on "Lutero, l'uomo e il teologo." The second session "Il contesto religioso" will hear the following talks: Alain Tallon, "Il concetto di 'Rifoma cattolica,'" Bernard Ardura, "Figure di vescovi riformatori e riforma degli ordini religiosi," Rob Faesen, "La dottrina della 'Devotio moderna,'" Mirko Breitenstein,"L'influsso di san Bernardo di Chiaravalle sul tema della coscienza presso Lutero," and Enrico Dal Covolo, "Per una storia dell'indulgenza." The third session is entitled "Il contesto socio-politico" and contains: Jean-Louis Gazzaniga,"Le relazioni tra la Francia e la Santa Sede: il Concordato di Bologna del 1515," Emmanuel Tawil,"La dottrina delle relazioni Chiesa-Stato secondo Lutero,"

Alexander Koller, "I grandi poteri dell'Impero di fronte a Lutero," and Christopher Ocker, "Gli interessi finanziari e la secolarizzazione dei beni ecclesiastici." In the fourth session "Lutero in discussione" the following papers will be given: Fermín Labarga, "La ricezione di Lutero in Spagna," David Abadías-Aurín, "La politica della Corona spagnola per arginare la diffusione della Riforma protestante, durante il XVI secolo," Alicia Mayer González, "La ricezione di Lutero in Nuova Spagna," Bernard Dompnier, "La ricezione di Lutero in Francia," Matteo Al Kalak, "La ricezione di Lutero in Italia," and Berndt Hamm, "L'evoluzione del pensiero teologico di Lutero." The fifth and final session will be an ecumenical round-table discussion that includes Cardinal Walter Kasper, Landesbischof Prof. Dr. Heinrich Bedford-Strohn, Serge-Thomas Bonino, O.P., Karl Gervin, and some reporters. For further information, please contact Segretario@historia.va.

On May 30 to June 1, 2017 the second international conference on Luther sponsored by the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences (this one inconjunction with the Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, The Catholic University of America, The Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, and with support form the German Embassy in Washington, DC, and the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation) will be held in Washington, DC at the Catholic University of America with the title "Luther and the Shaping of the Catholic Tradition." At the inaugural session Wolfgang Thönissen will speak on the Catholic historiography of Martin Luther with a response from Kenneth Appold; and Cardinal Kurt Koch will provide an overview on Lutheran-Catholic dialogues (International and National) with a response from retired Lutheran bishop Eero Huovinen. The second session is dedicated to the theme of justification, with Theo Dieter speaking on the later medieval teaching on justification and Timothy Wengert on Luther's evolving understandings of justification. Michael Root will then trace Luther's impact on Catholic understanding of justification The third session will study how Eastern Christianity affected the Reformation debates with Yuri Avvakumov speaking on late medieval Latin understating of Eastern theology and practice; Nicolas Kazarian on the extent to which Luther understood Eastern theology and practice and invoked them to justify his positions; and William Cohen on the extent to which the Catholic Church cushioned its responses to Luther based on its desire to respect the Eastern Churches. The fourth session is devoted to the Eucharist/Mass. Among its speakers are Bruce Marshall on late medieval Eucharistic theology and practice, Lee Palmer Wandel on Luther's changes to the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist/Mass, and Robert Trent Pomplun on the Catholic response to Lutheran ideas on Eucharist. The fifth and final session will deal with Ecclesiology. Nelson H. Minnich will speak on late medieval ecclesiologies; Dorothea Wendebourg on Luther's evolving ecclesiology; and Johanna Rahner on Catholic ecclesiology—evolving and in response. For further information, please contact Ms.Crystal Campos-Rosales at camposrosales@cua.edu or at cua-strs-events@cua.edu.

On October 26–29, 2017 the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference will commemorate Luther's Ninety-Five Theses with a conference in Milwaukee, Wis-

consin. Proposals for papers (250-word abstracts) should be sent to the program chair, KathleenCoimerford, at www.sixteenthcentury.org/conference by April 15, 2017. She can be contacted at conference@sixteenthcentury.org.

PUBLICATIONS

Several articles pertaining to the theme "*Desiderium unitatis*: Figure ed eventi" have been assembled by Giuseppe Ruggieri in the second issue of *Cristianesimo nella storia* for 2016 (Volume 37). Notable among them are "Cyprien et l'unité de l'Église," by Michel Fédou (pp. 257-72); "*Historia salutis, desiderium unitatis* e chiesa in Isacco di Ninive," by Paolo Bettiolo (pp. 273-322); "*De pace fidei.* Per una rilettura del testo di Cusano," by Giuseppe Ruggieri (pp. 323-42); "Karl Barth on the Quest for the Church's Unity," by Christophe Chalamet (pp. 343-59); "Unification des Églises, une possibilité réelle. Les huit thèses d'Heinrich Fries et de Karl Rahner, relues trente-deux ans après," by Christoph Theobald, S.J. (pp. 361-81); and "Unità nella dottrina sacramentale. Note sulla storia della genesi del Bem [Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry text of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, 1982]," by Luca Ferracci (pp. 383-99).

The eighth centenary of the Fourth Lateran Council is commemorated in Number 2–3 for 2016 (Volume LXXXII) of *Lateranum*, which contains the papers presented at a symposium held at the Pontifical Lateran University on November 30 and December 1, 2015. Following a *prolusione* of the editor, Nicola Ciola, "Le ragioni del Lateranense IV e le sue possibili riletture 'teologiche'" (pp. 267–78), are the eighteen contributions: Giulia Barone, "Innocenzo III teologo e riformatore" (pp. 281–96); Sergio P. Bonanni, "Teologia ed ermeneutica dell'alterità. Il dibattito medievale fino al Concilio Lateranense IV" (pp. 297–312); Riccardo Ferri, "I sermoni tenuti da Innocenzo durante il Lateranse IV" (pp. 313–23); Antonio Pitta, "Quali riferimenti e quale ermeneutica biblica al Concilio Lateranense IV?" (pp. 325–33); Pierluigi Sguazzardo, " "I principali contenuti dogmatici del Lateranense IV" (pp. 335–553); Danilo Mazzoleni, "L'iconografia del Concilio Lateranense IV nei saloni sistini in Vaticano" (pp. 355-74 with 30 illustrations); Giuseppe Lorizo, "La professione di fede (*Firmiter credimus*) 'quarto simbolo della Chiesa'? Riflessione speculative" (pp. 375–408); Santiago del Cura Elena, "'Nemo nisi sacerdos': Sacerdote y Eucaristia en la profesión de fe del IV concilio Letrán (1215)" (pp. 409–53); Giovanni Tangorra, "Romano pontefice ed episcopato nel Lateranense IV" (pp. 455–72); Antonio Sabetta, "I temi 'recoepti' del Lateranense IV in prospettiva storico-teologica" (pp. 473–89); Natale Loda, "La legislazione del 1215 del Concilio Lateranense IV. I greci e i cristiani orientali fra tradizione ed innovazione del diritto canonico" (pp. 491–527); Renzo Gerardi, "'Regimen animarum', predicazione e disciplina dei sacramenti al concilio Lateranense IV" (pp. 529–63); Roberto Nardin, "` Mores et acta clericorum' al Concilio Lateranense IV" (pp 565–74); Claudio Canonici, "*Hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur.* La ricezione del canone XXI De confessione nella normativa sinodale pre-tridentina (secoli XIII–XV)" (pp. 575–99); Alvaro Cacciotti, "Gli Ordini mendicanti. Riforme e innovazioni nella vita religiosa al tempo di Innocenzo III" (pp. 601–27);

Luigi Michele de Palma, "Eresia e repressione: la Crociata contro gli Albigesi" (pp. pp. 629–43); Philippe Chenaux, "Chiesa ed ebrei secondo le decretali del Lateranense IV" (pp. 645–53); and Lubomir Žak, "Il Lateranense IV. Bilanci e prospettive" (pp. 655–70).

Annales du Midi for April–June, 2016 (Volume CXXIX, Number 294), contains several "Regards Japonnais sur le Midi médiéval." Among them are "À propos des aménagements liturgiques de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge en Provence," by Yumi Narasawa (pp. 167–78); "Mise en scène juridique et liturgique autour de l'autel et des reliques de l'abbaye de Moissac: la politique de l'abbé Ansquitil (1085–1115) au travers des actes," by Taiichirô Sugizaki (pp. 179–89); "Formation des 'comptes de l'anniversaire' au sein du chapitre collégial Saint-Paul de-Mausole (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence) au XIVe siècle," by Tadao Inde (pp. 179–89); and "Université et éducation dans l'ordre dominicain à la fin du Moyen Âge. Le collège de Notre-Dame de la Pitié d'Avignon," by Yoichi Kajiwara (pp. 247–67).

Under the heading "Regards médiévaux sur l'Islam" the *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* in its issue for October, 2016 (Volume 90), contains several original articles: "El Op. 38 *Cent noms de Déu* de Ramon Llull como poesia anticoránica," by Ó. De la Cruz Palma (pp. 491–516); "Il quarto regno. L'Islam per Gioacchino da Fiore e nella testualità profetica et apocalittica della Chiesa romana (sec. XIII)," by Gian Luca Potestá (pp. 517–37); "Redécouvrir l'Orient après la conquête mamelouke. Chrétiens, juifs et musulmans dans deux récits des années 1300, la *Descriptio Terrae sanctae* de fra Giovanni di Fedanzola da Perugia et le *Liber peregrinationis* de Jacques de Vérone," by Camille Rouxpetel (pp. 539–60); "Regards contrastés sur les musulmans du sultanat mamlûk par des marchands chrétiens à la fin du Moyen-Âge," by Damien Coulon (pp. 561–81); and "Mehmet II le conquérant de Constantinople et la foi chrétienne," by Astérios Argyriou (pp. 583–602).

Several articles on "Unintended Reformations" are presented in the number for September, 2016 (Volume 46), of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies.* Starting with a thematic article on "Unintended Reformations" by the editors of this special issue, David Aers and Russ Leo (pp. 455–83), the full contents are: "Geeraardt Brandt, Dutch Tolerance, and the Reformation of the Reformation," by Russ Leo (pp. 485–511); "Implicit Faith and Reformations of Habit," by Joanna Picciotto (pp. 513–43); "Brad Gregory's Unintended Revelations," by James Simpson (pp. 545–54); "Not Solely *Sola Scripture,* or, a Rejoinder to Brad S. Gregory's *The Unintended Reformation,*" by Paul C. H. Lim (pp. 555–82); and "'Botched Execution' or Historical Inevitability: Conceptual Dilemmas in Brad S. Gregory's *The Unintended Reformation*," by Thomas Pfau (pp. 603–28).

"Preaching the Civilizing Mission and Modern Cultural Encounters" is the theme of the issue for September, 2016 (Volume 27) of the *Journal of World History.* Following a foreword written by the editors, Diego Olstein and Stefan Hübner, and an introduction by Harry Liebersohn, are "Sartorial Settlement: The Mission Field and Transformation in Colonial Natal, 1850–1897," by T. J. Tallie (pp. 389–410); "Civilization and Russification in Tsarist Central Asia, 1860–1917," by Ulrich

Hofmeister (pp. 411–42); "Singing the Civilizing Mission in the Land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms: The Fisk Jubilee Singers in Nineteenth-Century Germany," by Kira Thurman (pp. 437–71); "From Transformation to Negotiation: A Female Mission in a 'City of Schools,'" by Julia Hauser (pp. 473–96); and two others.

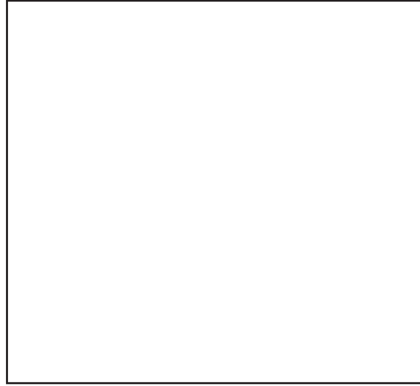
The latest issue of *Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* Number 2 of 2015 (Volume 28), has a group of articles on "Resistance revisited and requestioned: Church and society in Scandinavia and Europe": "Confession—Emotion—Situation: On Resistance in Churches and Religious Associations in Europe in the 20th Century," by Gerhard Besier (pp. 207–19); "On Resistance in Churches in 20th Century Europe," by Katarzyna Stokłosa (pp. 220–25); "Resistance or complicity? Balancing assessments of German churches under Nazism," by Robert P. Ericksen (pp. 246–61); "The Danish State Church during the German Occupation 1940–45: State Collaboration and Resistance," by Palle Roslyng-Jensen (pp. 262–77); "Church Resistance againt Nazism in Norway, 1940–1945," by Torleiv Austad (pp. 278–93); "The Foundation of the Church: A Confession and a Declaration," by Torleiv Austad (pp. 294–99); and "Swedish anti-Nazism and resistance against Nazi Germany during the Second World War," by Klas Åmark (pp. 300–12).

The Journal of African American History has devoted its issue for summer, 2016 (Volume 101) to Black Catholics in the United States. Katrina M. Sanders and Cecilia A. Moore have written the "Introduction—Faith in Action: Historical Perspectives on the Social and Educational Activism of African American Catholics" (pp. 217–30). The other authors and their contributions are: Shannen Dee Williams, "Forgotten Habits, Lost Vocations: Black Nuns, Contested Memories, and the 19th Century Struggle to Desegregate U.S. Catholic Religious Life" (pp. 231–60); Diane Batts Morrow, "'Undoubtedly a bad state of affairs': The Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Josephite Fathers, 1877–1903" (pp. 261–87); Nancy Van Note Chism and Andrea Walton, "Walking among all people: the Struggles of Boniface Hardin as Priest, Social Activist, and Founder of Martin University" (pp. 288–311); and Sharlene Sinegal DeCuir, "'Nothing is to be feared': Norman C. Francis, Civil Rights Activism, and the Black Catholic Movement" (pp. 312–34).

The historiography of the Church in Latin America is treated in three articles published in Volume 25 (2015) of the *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*: "Esbozo de una historiografía de la historia de la Iglesia en Venezuela (1965–2015)," by Oswaldo Ramón Montilla Perdomo (pp. 15–57); "Entre el avance y la insatisfacción: los últimos 50 años de historia de la Iglesia en Colombia (1965–2015)," by Luis Carlos Mantilla Ruiz (pp. 59–89); and "La Iglesia católica en México desde sus historiadores (1960–2010)," by Marta Eugenia García Ugarte and Sergio Francisco Rosas Salas (pp. 91–161).

OBITUARIES

Ellin M. Kelly
(1924–2016)



(courtesy of DePaul University Archives, Chicago, Illinois)

Ellin Margaret Kelly, a Daughter of Charity (1950–1961), Seton scholar, author, and professor emerita in the English Department of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences of DePaul University, Chicago, (1969–1992), most generously endowed a British Literature Award for DePaul students. Dr. Kelly went to her eternal reward, on February 20, 2016.

Originally from Grand Forks, North Dakota, Kelly earned her B.A. from St. Mary-of-the-Woods College (1945); an M. A. in Speech and Drama from The Catholic University of America (1948); an M.A. in English from University of Wisconsin at Madison (1964), and a Ph.D. in English from the University of Wisconsin (1970). Her dissertation examined the fifteenth-century *Ludus Conventriae* plays. Dr. Kelly and Professor Stanley Bamberger co-authored "The Great Calvaries of Brittany and the Medieval Breton "Burzud Braz Jezuz," *Comparative Drama* 25, no. 1 (1991), 52–65.

In recognition of Kelly's long-term collaboration in the education of students from families lacking financial resources, and for her commitment to Vincentian spirituality and ministries, the Daughters of Charity inscribed Kelly as an Affiliate of the Company of the Daughters of Charity (1979).

Kelly had a life-long passion for learning, teaching, and writing. Her life illustrated her remarkable strength of spirit, generosity towards others, and deep religious faith permeated with Vincentian heritage, particularly through devotion to and promotion of Elizabeth Bayley Seton and her legacy. In appreciation for her scholarship on Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton, Kelly received the Seton Founder's Award (1989), and the Seton Legacy Award (2009).

In retirement, Kelly volunteered for ten years in the DePaul University Archives and Special Collections department, bringing the precision of a scholar to processing, accessioning, and transcribing materials for the DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives of the Western Province of the Congregation of the Mission. Kelly also contributed her expertise as manuscript editor to the Seton Writings Project, Regina Bechtle, S.C., and Judith Metz, S.C., eds., Ellin M. Kelly, mss. ed., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton Collected Writings*, 3 vols. (New City Press: New York, 2000-2006).

Kelly's publications include the following: *Elizabeth Seton's Two Bibles*, (1977); *Numerous Choirs: A Chronicle of Elizabeth Bayley Seton and Her Spiritual Daughters*, 2 vols.: volume 1, *The Seton Years 1774–1821*, (1981); volume 2, *Expansion, Division, and War 1821–1865*, (1996).

Vincentian Heritage Journal published several articles by Kelly, which may be found on line at *http://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj*: "Elizabeth Seton: Key Relationships in Her Life, 1774–1809," *Ibid*., Vol. 14, 2, Article 6; "The Vincentian Mission from Paris to the Mississippi: The American Sisters of Charity," *Ibid*., Vol. 14, 1, Article 11; "The Sisters of Charity in Vincennes, Indiana," *Ibid*., Vol. 27, 1, Article 6; and "Elizabeth Bayley Seton's Commonplace Book of Poetry Archives, St. Joseph Provincial House, Rare Book 31," *Ibid.,*Vol. 29, 1, Article 4.

Kelly and co-author Annabelle M. Melville (1910–1991), produced *Elizabeth Seton Spiritual Writings* (1987). Kelly's last writing project was her "Foreword" to the updated edition of the definitive Seton biography: Melville, Annabelle, and Betty Ann McNeil, ed., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton 1774–1821,* (2009).

"Every good work, good word we do is a grain of seed for eternal life." (Elizabeth Seton) Students and scholars of American Catholic history owe Ellin Margaret Kelly a debt of gratitude for her many good works and words. May she rest in peace!

Vincentian Scholar-in-Residence
DePaul University, Chicago

BETTY ANN MCNEIL, D.C.

Anthony J. Kuzniewski, S.J.
(1945–2016)

The Reverend Anthony J. Kuzniewski, S.J., professor emeritus of history at the College of the Holy Cross, died on December 19 at the Campion Health Center in Weston, Massachusetts. Kuzniewski was the older of two children of Anthony J. and Alice E. (Tomaszewski). Born on January 28, 1945 in Carthage, a town in southwestern Missouri near the Army Signal Core Base where his father was stationed during World War II, Kuzniewski grew up in a predominantly Catholic Polish American community in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where his parents owned Quality Electric Service.

(courtesy of the College of the Holy Cross)

After attending parish schools with the Salvatorian Sisters and Marquette University High, Kuzniewski enrolled in Marquette University in 1962. He majored in history, graduated *magna cum laude* in 1966, and was inspired by his professor, Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., to pursue graduate work at Harvard.

Kuzniewski returned to his roots at Harvard by focusing on Polish immigration to America in his dissertation. In the summer of 1969, Kuzniewski studied Polish at the University of Warsaw on a Harvard grant. Kuzniewski completed his dissertation on the ethnic politics of Catholic Milwaukee in the late nineteenth century under the direction of Oscar Handlin in June 1973. At Harvard, Kuzniewski distinguished himself as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and a Harvard Graduate Prize Fellow.

The previous September (1972), Kuzniewski entered the Society of Jesus in the New England Province. He finished his dissertation during his first year of Jesuit novitiate. Kuzniewski spent his second year of novitiate at the Center of Concern in Washington, D.C. and took his first vows in the fall of 1974 at the College of the Holy Cross, where he was assigned to regency. Although the Department of History was prepared to make Kuzniewski a tenure-track offer after noting the successful course in immigration history that he created, Kuzniewski moved on to the Jesuit School of Theology. On June 9, 1979, Kuzniewski was ordained at St. Joseph Memorial Chapel at the College of the Holy Cross by The Most Reverend Bernard J. Flanagan, D.D., J.C.D., Bishop of Worcester.

After a pastoral year in campus ministry at Loyola University Chicago, Kuzniewski expected to be assigned to the Holy Cross faculty. The old position no longer available, Kuzniewski returned to Loyola where he taught history. A year later, the position in immigration history was unexpectedly open again at Holy Cross. Kuzniewski applied, received the job, and became a fixture in the Department of History for four decades.

"Father K," as he was affectionally called by generations of Holy Cross students, taught several popular courses on American history, including "The Age of Jackson," "Lincoln and his Legacy," "From Kennedy to Watergate," and seminars on the Civil War and the history of Holy Cross. Kuzniewski was well known for the lecture format of his classes, at which he excelled using careful organization and humor. In accepting the Distinguished Teaching Award at Holy Cross in 2002, he said: "It's axiomatic to remark that we make better choices when we base them on an accurate and realistic sense of who we are and where we are coming from. Personal history teaches all of us that the significant people are those [who] have presented us with good choices by naming our gifts and challenging us to have the courage of our convictions. We are called to provide that service for our students—to model good habits of mind and heart for them, to take stands for their potential, to live up to the privilege of being engaged with young people who are still 'impressionable like wax.'"

When Edward O'Donnell, associate professor of history at Holy Cross and a former Kuzniewski student, raised a toast at Kuzniewski's retirement party in August 2016, he praised his professor now colleague for "living his own vocation to the fullest and having helped countless Holy Cross students discover their vocations."

Kuzniewski also encouraged students outside the classroom, particularly as chaplain to Holy Cross athletic teams for over twenty years and in his preaching at weekend and daily Masses. "As a priest, I don't want our student-athletes to have compartmentalized lives—'This is what I do as an athlete. This is what I do as a person of faith. This is what I do as a student,'" he told the *Worcester Telegram & Gazette* in April when the college renamed Holy Cross Field in his honor. "Somehow they're all interrelated and I like the chance to blend them a bit."

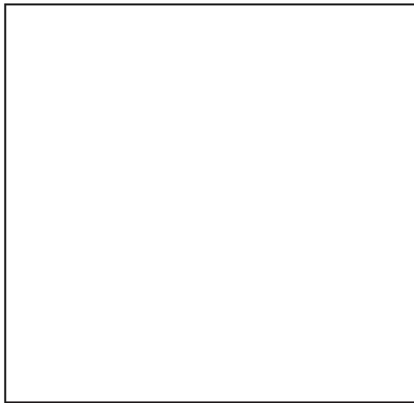
Kuzniewski made several significant scholarly interventions into the historiography of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban America, particularly regarding Polish America. "Father Kuzniewski's classic *Faith and Fatherland,*" explained Steven Avella, professor of history at Marquette University, "will always be on the `must read' list of any serious scholar of U.S. Catholicism and the history of the city of Milwaukee." The manuscript for his 1981 book, *Faith and Fatherland: The Polish Church War in Wisconsin, 1896–1918*, was named best manuscript in American Catholic Studies by Notre Dame's Center for Studies in American Catholicism in 1978. Kuzniewski was a past president of the Polish American Historical Association and was honored with a lifetime achievement award by the Association. Kuzniewski, having served as archivist for the New England Province of the Society of Jesus for eleven years, also published *Thy Honored Name: A History of the College of the Holy Cross, 1843–1994.*

Kuzniewski served as Rector of the Jesuit Community at Holy Cross from 1998–2004 and on the boards of the Loyola University of Chicago, Cheverus High School in Portland, Maine, and The Nativity School in Worcester, Massachusetts. He was known to donate the honoraria he received for weddings and baptisms (of which he did many) to the Nativity School of Worcester.

He is preceded in death by his sister Susan Kuzniewski Reifsnyder and survived by his devoted niece Anne Reifsnyder of Milwaukee and nephews, Michael Reifsnyder of Omaha, Nebraska and Tom Reifsnyder of Osaka, Japan. Wake and funeral Mass for Kuzniewski were held in St. Joseph Memorial Chapel at the College of the Holy Cross on December 26. Kuzniewski was buried in the Jesuit cemetery on his beloved Holy Cross campus.

Mt. St. Mary's University CHARLES STRAUSS

Paolo Prodi*
(1932–2016)



(Foto Rensi)

"Modernity stems from *dialogue and osmosis* between the two poles [of religion and politics]—call it dualism, dialectic, or what you will—and in various ways this has hinged on confessionalization (italics in the original)." These words are taken from the opening pages of Prodi's last conference paper from October 2016, which appears in this issue of the journal (vol. 103/1, 1–19). Appropriately enough, it was delivered, *in absentia* owing to the author's declining health, in the South Tyrolean city of Trent, home of the famous Council (1545–63), which still shaped not only the Catholic Church Prodi was born into but also his own abiding concerns as both an historian and as a left-leaning Christian democrat (in the philological rather than party sense of the word) and citizen of Europe. It can be no accident that his last monograph was entitled: *Il Paradigma Tridentino: un epoca della storia della Chiesa* (2010) since for Prodi this paradigm had only come to an end with Vatican II

*I am most grateful to Paolo Pombeni, Adriano Prosperi and Massimo Rosprocher for saving me from several errors and the latter for securing the photograph of Paolo Prodi used here. However, they should not be held responsible for my reading of Prodi's career which at points resists easy interpretation.

(1962–65). However, it was characteristic of this most positive and generous of spirits that he believed, like his dear friend, the Austrian-born priest and social critic Ivan Illich (1926–2002), whom he went to visit in Mexico where the latter ran the famous Intercultural Documentation Centre (CIDOC) at Cuernevaca, that Vatican II was not the culmination of a historical process, but the dawn of a new one.

In this he was of a different opinion from his brother-in-law, Giuseppe Alberigo (1926–2007), though they shared not only the German doyen of historians of the Council of Trent, Hubert Jedin (1900–1980) and the former Fascist turned Communist and historian of the diaspora of Italian heretics of the sixteenth century, Delio Cantimori (1904–66) as teachers, but also the charismatic DC politician turned priest, Giuseppe Dossetti (1913–96) as mentor. In 1953 Dossetti had founded the Istituto per le scienze religiose in Bologna to promote an agenda that later became identified closely with that of Vatican II. Significantly, Prodi refused to remain at the Istituto since, as he explained in the last essay collection he published before his death (*Giuseppe Dossetti e le officine Bolognesi*, 2016; reviewed above on pp. 150–51), he always felt strongly that he was an historian, or 'artisan of history' as he described himself in his last conference paper, rather than someone who taught specifically the history of the Church, which is a distinction that is as foreign to the Anglophone world as it is of enduring relevance in Italy. By contrast, Alberigo directed the Istituto for almost fifty years and although reconciled with Prodi at his death, the brother-in-laws fell out more than once. This was because, to Prodi, the Istituto had become not only responsible for the official history of Vatican II, (with Alberigo as the single author of the *Storia del Concilio Vaticano II*, 5 vols, 1995–2001; English trans. edited by Joseph A. Komonchak, 5 vols., 1996–2006) but also, he believed, for turning the Council into a monument which was beyond criticism and thus the solutions it proposed beyond further debate and development.

For dialectical development was a leitmotif which united Prodi's magisterial tetralogy: *Il Sovrano Pontefice* (1982, Eng. trans. *The Papal Prince*, 1987); *Il Sacramento del Potere* (1992); *Una storia della Giustizia* (2002) and *Settimo non rubare* (2009). The importance of the first of these, and the one for which he is principally known, (and not only because it is the only one available in English translation), was set out pithily by the English historian of political theory Janet Coleman in her review of the English translation:

> This is an important, polemical study whose purpose is to argue and demonstrate that the history of the church of Rome and that of the papacy from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century has been almost entirely disregarded in accounts of the origins of the political and social systems in Europe which gave rise to absolutist states.[1]

Here at a stroke, Prodi made it clear that he sought to exorcise the ghost of Max Weber, a narrow reading of whose massively influential *Protestant Ethic and Spirit*

1. *Historical Journal*, 33, 1 (1990), 239–42 (at 239).

of Capitalism (1905) had left Catholicism out in the cold as a contributor to the origins of modernity. As Prodi himself put it in his final article "Europe in the Age of Reformations" (p. 10): "modern politics was not born out of the secularization of theology but rather from a dialectical meeting between the two poles of religion and politics." However, the papacy's precocious capacity to develop fiscal and administrative innovations and turn the Papal States into a prototype absolutist monarchy was only achieved because the pope united in one person both temporal and spiritual authority (described in terms of "one body and two souls" in the subtitle to the book). Furthermore, the longer term outcome of this fusing of political sovereignty and religious authority was political sclerosis and economic stagnation.

As a counterpart to this cautionary tale, *Il Sacramento del potere* traced the history of the oath from Ancient Greece to Fascist Italy in order to frame the significance of the oath to the Gregorian papal 'revolution' of the eleventh century and the subsequent development of canon law in which this ritual became central to negotiations not only between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, but also to the many medieval modes of association, from vassallage and the Peace of God to guilds and universities. With the coming of confessionalisation in the post-Reformation age and the accompanying emergence of the Papacy as a Renaissance state, the dualism central to the Christian oath between Christian and Citizen, which was vital to the preservation of individual liberties, disappeared. As a result, power became sacralized with consequences which the twentieth century witnessed in the form of the totalitarian political religions that were Fascism, Nazism, and Stalinism.

With *Una storia della Giustizia*, Prodi's argument is set out in its subtitle: "from pluralistic legal forums to the modern dualism between conscience and law." As with the previous two studies, he saw the early modern period as a watershed, since it witnessed increased competition in the form, on the one hand, of the state's move to secularize the moral order and, on the other, the attempt by all Christian churches to develop, in different ways, spiritual jurisdiction over the individual's conscience. With the end of the Ancien Regime and the eventual triumph of a secular moral order, the legal system became grounded in nothing but itself and had no external code of behaviour to refer to. The final part of Prodi's tetralogy, *Settimo non rubare*—or to give it its full title in English: "The Seventh Commandment: 'Thou shalt not steal': Theft and the Market in the History of the West"—made the parallel point that it was only under pressure of economic development that theologians found that they had to take over from the canonists and go beyond the Justinian Code of Roman law to identify and define the notion of "contractual freedom." This was all part, ultimately, of the politicization of the Church and the process whereby the State took on functions that had previously been seen as the responsibility of the Church to look after the citizen-subject from cradle to grave. For Prodi, therefore, what was distintictive to Western Europe and has shaped its destiny for over 1,000 years has been the dynamic, dialectical relationship between state and church, in which neither has been able to dominate completely the other, whose absence in either Orthodox Christianity or Islam has consequences which are only too visible today.

Paolo Prodi was born on October 3, 1932, in the small town of Scandiano, half way between Reggio Emilia and Modena where the Po Valley meets the Appenines. His father Mario (born 1895) was the first generation of his family to be able to leave the land and make a professional career for himself, as an engineer. His wife, Enrica Franzoni, had been a country school teacher before she got married. Paolo was fifth of nine children—seven boys and two girls—several of whom went on to highly successful careers in the fields of psychiatry (Maria Pia); physics (Franco), mathematics (Giovanni), medicine (Giorgio), Quintilio (architect), and politics (Romano); the last one serving as President of the European commission and then, briefly, as prime minister of Italy. Right from his adolescence, Paolo had occasion to witness the sometimes lethal power of ideology: first, his own parish priest, for whom he had served as an altar boy, was summarily executed by partisans in the first days after the end of the war for alleged collaboration. Then, in October of 1946, aged 14, Prodi rashly shouted to his classmates that they should not take part in a local strike that had been called to protest the arrest of two former-partisans accused of the murder of a young seminarian in April the previous year: "because it was necessary to distinguish between genuine partisans and common criminals," before being struck violently to the ground for his efforts.[2] After attending liceo classico in Reggio, he won a scholarship to study at the prestigious Catholic University of Milan in 1950–54, with the support of Giuseppe Dossetti, whom he had met in 1947. He defied his mentor, however, by choosing political science over jurisprudence. After graduation, he spent a difficult period working out his relationship with Dossetti's Istituto per le scienze religiose, but decided to leave it early in 1955 owing to the fact his mentor seemed determined to turn it into a religious community rather than one just of scholars when "I didn't feel any sense of religious vocation whatsoever."[3] Yet it was Dossetti who confirmed Prodi in his choice of research topic: a comparative study of the attempts by two prelates Carlo Borromeo and Gabriele Paleotti to reform, respectively, Milan and Bologna in the wake of the Council of Trent, of which only the latter came to fruition with the publication of a major biography of Paleotti, that was published eventually in two volumes (1959–67). To co-supervise his research, he secured the agreement of not only the Catholic priest and historian of Trent, Hubert Jedin—an obvious enough choice—but also of the Marxist historian of heterodoxy, Delio Cantimori, who was then based in Pisa. It is perhaps not too far fetched to speculate that Prodi's lifelong interest in dialectical dialogue and osmosis found its confirmation during these years of apprenticeship under two such very different scholars. He also spent a year with Hubert Jedin in Bonn (1957–58) where he joined his brother-in-law, Alberigo who was already there. In Bologna in the 1960s and early 1970s Prodi busied himself with numerous projects: from co-editing, with Alberigo and other colleagues what remains the standard edition of the decrees of the ecumenical councils, (*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 1971; Eng. trans. by Norman Tanner, 1990) to acting as dean of the large faculty of education (1969–72), where he

2. P. Prodi, *Giuseppe Dossetti e le officine bolognesi*, (Bologna, 2016), 15.
3. Ibid., p. 50.

employed as a younger colleague, Adriano Prosperi. He also found time (in 1965) to help found the publishers Il Mulino as well as undertake work on the reform of school districts for the Ministry of Education (1972–74), when his former colleague from the Catholic University, Riccardo Misasi, was minister.

The next important phase in his academic career began with the founding, together with Jedin, of the Istituto storico Italo-germanico (ISIG) in Trent, in 1973, where Prodi remained director until 1997. The influence of this institute of historical research under Prodi's leadership, shared with Jedin until the latter's death in 1980, was out of all proportion to its relatively small size and location, far from the traditional centers of intellectual influence in the Italian peninsula. For example, the ceaseless outpouring of monographs and conference proceedings by his students and associates combined with the publication since 1975 of articles in both German and Italian in the *Annali/Jahrbuch* of the Institute has had a major and sustained impact. From the outset it has published not only on topics of local relevance to the South Tyrol from the Middle Ages to the present, but also on those which touch upon themes of much wider interest to the Italo-German world (and beyond), such as the essay collections edited by Prodi: *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna* (1994) and, with Wolfgang Reinhard: *Il Concilio di Trento e il moderno* (1997). As well as director of ISIG, Prodi taught history at the University of Trent, where he was rector (1972–77) and later dean of the faculty of letters (1985-88).

During the course of his career, Prodi has received many honours both at home and abroad. These include: Grand'Ufficiale dell'Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana (1975) as well as similar honors from the German and Austrian governments in, respectively, 1992 and 1994. In 1992–93 he was briefly a member of the lower house of the Italian parliament, the Chamber of Deputies, as a representative for the anti-Mafia party led by the charismatic Sicilian politican, Leoluca Orlando. In 2000 he was made a corresponding fellow of the Accademia nazionale dei Lincei and in 2007 he received the prestigious Alexander von Humboldt Prize. For many years he served as Presidente della Giunta storica nazionale. Over the course of his long life Prodi's kindness and generosity of spirit touched the lives of numerous scholars, irrespective of creed or nationality. He died on December 16, 2016, and is survived by his wife and four sons.

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