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Books of Martyrs: Example and Imitation in Europe and Japan, 1597–1650

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The early modern period witnessed a revival of the cult of martyrs in Western Christendom due to the bloody struggles over religion within and beyond Europe. One of the most important sources for this renewal within Catholicism was the period of persecution of clergy and laity in Japan which began in 1597. Despite the horrors found in the accounts that circulated in Europe and its colonial empires, the profusion of texts and images inspired still other priests and friars to seek missionary assignments in Japan for the express purpose of obtaining martyrdom.

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Catholics in the United States have recently been reminded of the ancient cult of martyrs by news stories from two unlikely places, Oklahoma and Hollywood: Oklahoma because Father Stanley Rother's status as a martyr was recently announced by the Vatican.[1] In early December 2016, Pope Francis officially recognized that this priest from the archdiocese of Oklahoma City was murdered in Guatemala in 1981 "*in odium fidei*" [in hatred of the faith]. Rother thus entered the long list

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1. The notice of official recognition can be found on the website of the Archdiocese of Oklahoma City (http://www.archokc.org/rothercause), while a discussion of the news appears here: Dan Bilefsky, "U.S. Priest Killed in 1981 Is Declared a Martyr," *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 2016, p. A8.

of martyred men and women that the Church has kept for nearly two thousand years; his distinction is to be the first American citizen added to that roll. But if this news from OKC has not yet reached a wide audience, the narrative from Hollywood certainly has. Renowned director Martin Scorsese has released a film titled *Silence* about the mid-seventeenth century anti-Christian persecutions in Japan. In it, *odium fidei* fills the silver screen for more than two hours as scores of Japanese Christians are shown being martyred by drowning, crucifixion, immolation, and decapitation. In recreating the trials of that mission church, Scorsese has reminded us of the brutal suffering of individuals put to the test for their beliefs. Some met death at the hands of their tormentors; others, through apostasy, chose life. At the center of *Silence* is Cristóvão Ferreira (c. 1580–1650), a Portuguese priest who renounced Christianity during the gruesome torture of the pit, and two of his Jesuit brethren who, refusing to believe that such an act of betrayal was possible, risked all to confront him.[2]

These stories from Oklahoma and Hollywood attest to the continuing presence of martyrs within the Christian consciousness and to the vitality of this ancient form of church history. By officially recognizing those who died for the faith, by invoking their memory on the calendar, and by soliciting prayers for their intercession, the Church has preserved and promoted the cult of martyrs since Roman times. So important was the designation of martyr that the cult endured even through the Middle Ages, as it became difficult to court death for "hatred of the faith." Only if one traveled to the *Dar al-Islam* or ventured into the wilds of northeastern Europe with the intention of provocation, or used coercion to extinguish heterodoxy within the bounds of Christendom, was it possible to be killed for professing orthodox beliefs. It is therefore no surprise that during the age of religious renewal which saw the emergence of mendicant orders, the new bands of friars quickly sought to associate themselves with the pious heroes of the past: the Franciscans, for example, promoted the cult of their Five Martyrs of Morocco, and the Dominicans that of their confrere the Inquisitor Peter of Verona (later known as Peter Martyr).[3] The venerable badge of bravery that had marked true confessors of the faith was therefore

2. Scorsese's 2016 film is based on the novel of the same name by Shusaku Endō; see *Silence,* trans. William Johnston (New York, 1969).

3. On the swift Franciscan response to the deaths of the five friars in Morocco, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrel (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 113–19, esp. 115; a recent account of the life and cult of Peter of Verona is found in Karen Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* (Chicago, 2011), pp. 99–123.

affixed to the friars' cowls within Francis's own lifetime and within a few decades of Dominic's death.[4]

New martyrs were nevertheless rare until the early modern period. It was only with the recovery of classical scholarship, the rending of the Church, and the discovery of new worlds that martyrdom and its cult returned to the forefront of the Christian consciousness. Seeking ancient pedigrees for Church traditions, as well as classical models of eloquence, Renaissance scholars pored over the writings of Eusebius, Lactantius, and Tertullian. The wars and persecutions that accompanied both Protestant and Catholic Reformations greatly increased the risk that men and women would suffer death for their religious convictions.[5] And the exploration and settlement of unknown lands beyond Europe, with the concomitant desire to transmit the gospel to new populations, led to a surge in missionary activity among peoples who at times reacted violently. The religious turmoil of the Reformations combined with the effects of European Expansion to produce seemingly inexhaustible wellsprings of martyrs, while the Renaissance engendered celebrations of the heroic deeds of moderns at home and abroad which ceded nothing to their ancient counterparts. In the words of John Foxe, their most famous English publicist, martyrs old and new "declare to the worlde what true fortitude is, and a waye to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in the hope of the resurrection, to come, and is now I trust at hand." Further, Foxe wrote in his 1563 *Actes and Monuments* (better known as his "Book of Martyrs"),

> me thinkes I haue good cause to wish, that lyke as other men, euen so the heroical wittes of kinges and princes, which for the most part are delited with heroicall stories, woulde carye about with them such monumentes of Martyrs as this is, and lay them alwaies in sight, not alonely to reade, but to follow, and would paint them vpon their walles, cuppes, ringes, and gates. For vndoubtedly these martyrs are much more worthy of this honor, then. 600. Alexāders, Hectors, Scipioes, and warring Iulies.[6]

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4. A useful overview of the cult of martyrs in the Middle Ages can be found in Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 174–85.

5. The best overview and analysis of early modern martyrdom in Europe is Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1999); for the specific case of France and French-language martyrologies, including accounts from Japan, see Christian Biet and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, *Tragédies et Récits de Martyres en France (fin XVI^e^–début XVII^e^ siècle)* (Paris, 2009), pp. 9–116 and 1261–1328.

6. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perilous dayes, touching matters of the Church* . . . (London, 1563), in the preface (titled "The vtility of this history"), p. 15; the full

It is precisely the martyrs' feedback loop proposed by Foxe—deeds to representations to more deeds—that this essay will consider. Foxe suggests that the contemplation of martyrs' exemplary faith would inspire others to emulate their heroic virtues and selfless acts. In other words, he explains the dynamism of the cult of martyrs within early modern, and indeed modern, Christianity. But did this dynamic function as he claimed? An excellent test case can be found in the Catholic martyrs in seventeenth-century Japan, whose travails have recently benefitted from a Hollywood publicity campaign that is nearly on par with the one launched by John Foxe himself.

Between the outbreak of violent persecutions in 1597 and the ultimate destruction of the Japanese church in the 1640s, many thousands of new martyrs entered the Church's rolls.[7] There had been no persecution of Christians on this scale since Roman times, and its intensity stands as testament to the missionary élan that produced one of the largest new churches outside Europe. But the fact that the persecution took place on the other side of the world meant that the news of the martyrdoms would pass through many transforming filters on its way out of Japan, reaching the rest of the Catholic world in an altered state.

This transformation can be seen if we consider the protagonists of the earliest reports of martyrdoms in Japan that reached Europe. In them one sees a clear paradox: While it is incontrovertible that the vast majority of those who died for the faith in Japan were laymen and women, the reports dwell primarily on the deaths of priests and friars.[8] The reason for this lies in the fact that laymen were not responsible for promoting the cult of martyrs; members of religious orders were, and these authors first memorialized their own. So the memory of the martyrs among early modern Catholics outside Japan was cloaked in clerical robes. News of the martyrdoms left the island empire primarily through the orders' conduits, travel-

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text of the 1563 edition is available online at https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php. For an insightful analysis of the early editions of Foxe's works, see John King's *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2006).

7. The best overall analysis of the anti-Christian persecution in early modern Japan remains George Elison's *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 3rd ed., (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 109–254; a useful complement to Elison remains C. R. Boxer's *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 308–61.

8. For example, one recent attempt to calculate the total number of martyrs in Nagasaki alone reveals that only 48 of a possible 373 individuals executed in the city between 1597 and 1639 were clergy. The overwhelming majority, therefore, were laymen and women. See Reinier H. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560–1640* (Jefferson, NC, 2016), pp. 219–21.

ing from community to community: Priests and friars commemorated their brethren locally in Macau and Manila, and then sent word to other communities in India and Mexico. In due course, stories of Franciscan, Jesuit, Augustinian, and Dominican martyrs arrived in Europe, where the well-established network of intra-order communication and commemoration circulated the news to even the remotest houses. The widespread practices of celebrating memorial masses and praying rosaries for deceased members of one's order soon put the names of these martyrs on the lips of clergy around the globe. And the fact that religious communities celebrated their own martyrs, in both text and image, led to the cult's distinctly clerical character, even in the minds of its lay devotees.

The first widely-known Catholic martyrs in Japan belonged to a group of twenty-six men who were crucified and lanced at Nagasaki on February 5, 1597.[9] Of these, six were Franciscans and three were Jesuits; it therefore fell to these orders to spread the news of their deaths. Using the manuscripts of eyewitness accounts as a starting point, clerical promoters in Europe swiftly prepared narratives for publication in Europe.[10] The first of these appeared in 1598 in two Spanish editions; an Italian translation was issued in the same year, while German and French editions were published in 1599.[11] The title of the original text gives a clear indication of how the cult would develop over subsequent decades: *Relacion . . . de seys Frayles Españoles de la Orden de San Francisco, que crucificaron los del Iapon, este año*

9. According to one martyrology with rather generous criteria for inclusion, Catholics had died in Japan out of hatred for the faith prior to 1597. Those deaths, however, did not produce repercussions, whether in Japan or Europe, on par with the crucifixion of the twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki. See Juan G. Ruiz-de-Medina, SJ, *El Martirologio del Japón, 1558–1873* (Rome, 1999), pp. 275–87. The events of February 1597 have been recently described in detail in Hesselink, *Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, pp. 108–13.

10. The best comprehensive study of the books about the martyrs of Japan is in Ana C.M. Fernandes Pinto, "'Tragédia mais Gloriosa que Dolorosa': O Discurso Missionário sobre a Perseguição aos Cristãos no Regime Tokugawa na Imprensa Europeia (1598–1650)" (Ph.D. Diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014), esp. pp. 168–211. Many of the works themselves are available in digital format at the Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database: http://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/.

11. Francisco Tello de Guzmán, *Relacion que Don Francisco Tello, governador y capitan general de las Philippinas embio de seys Frayles Españoles de la Orden de San Francisco, que crucificaron los del Iapon, este año proximo passado de 1597. Con otras veynte personas Iapones que murieron juntamente con ellos animados por los sanctos Frayles y convertidos a su Predicacion* (Seville, 1598) and (Granada, 1598); the Italian edition appeared at Rome in 1598, while the French edition appeared at Paris in 1599, the same year that the German edition was printed in Mainz. A bibliographical study of these works is found in Agustín Millares Carlo and Julián Calvo, *Los Protomártires del Japón (Nagasaki, 1597): Ensayo Biobibliográfico* (Mexico City, 1954).

proximo passado de 1597, con otras veynte personas Iapones que murieron juntamente con ellos animados por los sanctos Frayles y convertidos a su Predicacion [*Report . . . of six Spanish Friars of the Order of Saint Francis whom those of Japan crucified this past year of 1597. With twenty other Japanese people who died alongside them animated by the holy Friars and converted by their Preaching*]. Clearly missing from the brief synthesis of the events given in this title is the fact that three of those twenty Japanese were Jesuit brothers: Diogo Kisai, Paulo Miki, and João de Goto. A later account of the same events rectified their uncharitable effacement: *Relacion del Martirio que seys Padres Descalços Franciscos, tres hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, y decisiete Iapones Christianos padecieron en Iapon* [*Report of the Martyrdom that six Discalced Franciscans, three brothers of the Society of Jesus, and seventeen Japanese Christians suffered in Japan*].[12]

These titles reveal that more was at issue than merely the recognition of martyrs; the orders' honor was also at stake. The Jesuits had not only pioneered the mission to Japan but had also sent the largest contingent of priests and brothers there. And by being the first to shed their blood on Japanese soil, the Franciscans gained a major publicity victory in Europe. It is worth remembering, however, that contemporary Europeans' idea of Japan—as a flourishing mission field somewhere in the East—was a Jesuit creation. For nearly half a century, Jesuits had been sending reports from Japan and on one occasion had even organized an "embassy" of young Japanese "princes" to Portugal, Spain, and Italy.[13] It was therefore with surprise that European readers learned of Franciscan heroism in Japan, especially since in 1585, Gregory VIII had granted the Jesuits a monopoly on missions there (something that later popes retracted). The question was quite quickly raised over whether the Franciscans had any right to be in Japan at all, even implying that they had deliberately provoked the ire of the Japanese lords, putting the whole mission church at risk. And so the years after 1600 saw mutual recriminations between Jesuits and Franciscans issue forth from European presses, disputes that lingered since there

12. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, *Relacion del martirio que seys Padres Descalços Franciscos, tres hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, y decisiete Iapones Christianos padecieron en Iapon* (Madrid, 1601). A previous edition of this work, whose title makes no mention of the three Jesuit brothers, was published in Madrid in 1599.

13. This embassy has recently been discussed in J.S.A. Elisonas, "Journey to the West," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 34, no. 1 (2007), 27–66. A contemporary account of the embassy by Luis Fróis, "Tratado dos Embaixadores Iapões que forão de Iapão à Roma no anno de 1582," is included in *La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592*, ed. J. A. Abranches Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto, and Henri Bernard, S.J. (Tokyo, 1942).

were few new martyrs (most of whom were Japanese laymen anyway) to talk about during that span.[14]

This situation changed dramatically in 1614 with the expulsion of Catholic missionaries by Tokugawa Hidetada and the proscription of Christianity in Japan. Not only did the rigor of the persecutions increase, but the image of Japan came into clearer focus for Catholics in Maritime Asia and Europe through the figure of Francis Xavier. His beatification in 1619 and canonization in 1622 led to a spate of publications that reminded readers of his crucial role in founding the Jesuit mission to Japan. Now the Society of Jesus could promote his cult with vigor, using both texts and images to re-establish the link between the Jesuits and Japan in the minds of their European congregations. Jesuit churches could thenceforth display images that depicted the highlights of Xavier's Japanese travels, such as his barefoot pilgrimage from Yamaguchi to the court at Miyako (Figure 1) or his preaching to indigenous lords under the wings of the dove of the Holy Spirit. Up to that point, such images had been previously restricted to internal Jesuit consumption since Rome had not given its approval for their public distribution.[15] After Xavier's beatification, however, Jesuit churches across Europe and around the world erected altars and commissioned depictions of the "Apostle of the Orient."[16]

While there is no doubt that the rigors of the persecution in Japan would have sufficed to merit an enduring legacy for the Japanese martyrs, the emergence of Xavier's cult in the late 1610s and 1620s was crucial for

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14. For a discussion of the dispute of the monopoly over the missions in Japan, see Liam Matthew Brockey, "Conquests of Memory: Franciscan Chronicles of the East Asian Church in the Early Modern Period," *Culture and History Digital Journal* (ISIC Madrid), 5, no. 2 (2016), 6–13; the full text is available online at http://cultureandhistory.revistas.csic.es/index.php/cultureandhistory/article/view/102/348; on the disputes in Nagasaki itself, along with those conducted in print, see Carla Tronu, "The rivalry between the Society of Jesus and the Mendicant Orders in Early Modern Nagaski," *Agora: Journal of the International Center for Regional Studies* (Japan), 12 (2015), 25–39.

15. The story of Xavier's trials during his journey to Miyako (today's Kyoto) is a central feature of his hagiography, as is the miraculous effect of his preaching in Yamaguchi. See, for example, João de Lucena, *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier e do que fizerão na India os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* (Lisbon, 1600), pp. 562–63 and 673–81.

16. The cult of Xavier, as well as its devotional images and texts, has recently been the object of considerable interest from historians and art historians alike. See, for example, Maria Cristina Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1522–1640," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 71, fasc. 142 (2002), 259–77; Maria Cristina Osswald, "La imagen del Santo en Goa y en el Oriente" in *Congreso Internacional Los Mundos de Javier* (Pamplona, 2008), pp. 239–62; and Liam Matthew Brockey, "Sympathy from the Devil: Francis Xavier the Saint, 1600–1650," *Oriente: Revista Quadrimestral da Fundação Oriente*, 13 (Dec 2005), pp. 40–57.

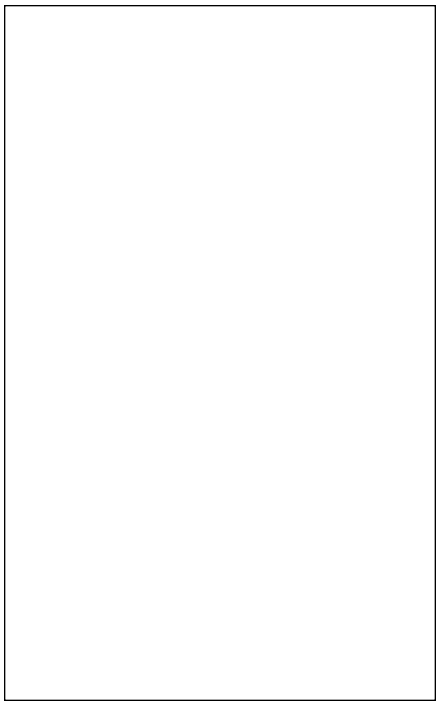

FIGURE 1. André Reinoso, *Francis Xavier en route to Miyako* (*c.* 1619), Sacristy of São Roque Church, Lisbon (*Photo credit:* Júlio Marques, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/Museu de São Roque). This painting depicts a famous episode in St. Francis Xavier's hagiography and belongs to a cycle produced for the Jesuit Professed House in Lisbon on the occasion of Xavier's beatification. In the winter of 1550–1551 the saint walked from Yamaguchi to the imperial court of Japan in Miyako (modern-day Kyoto). His escort drove ahead on horseback with little regard for the barefoot priest following behind, who, despite the hardships of his journey, nevertheless exclaims, "*Mais! Mais!* [More! More!]"

cementing their place in the early modern Catholic imagination. Reports of ongoing martyrdoms continued to make their way from Asia to Europe, where they resonated with the faithful. Year after year, printed narratives of "*grandes y nuevas persecuciones*" [great and new persecutions] and accounts of the "*estat de la Chrétienté au Japon*" [the state of the Christian community in Japan] heralded new heroic deeds.[17] Still other quarto- and

17. Anon., *Relacion de las grandes y nuevas persecuciones que al presente se han levantado en el Japon contra los Christianos, y religiosos que andan predicando en aquel reyno* [*Report of the Great*

octavo-sized volumes told in their titles of those who perished "*per la santa fede nel Giappone*" [for the Holy Faith in Japan] and "*ihr Blut vergossen und die Marter Cron erlangt*" [poured out their blood and gained the martyr's crown].[18] So great was the number of pious exaggerations and outright falsehoods contained in these publications that, according to one veteran of the Japan mission charged with writing a definitive history of its activities, "if an Angel came and wiped the falsehoods from the books, we would have clean paper in abundance for some years."[19]

The quantity of ink spilled about the martyrs of Japan surely surpassed the amount of blood that came from their bodies. But instead of serving as the seed of the church, in Tertullian's phrase, it watered the seeds of discord. The competition that had begun between Jesuits and Franciscans expanded to include Dominicans and Augustinians, each vying for the prestige that came from having martyrs in their ranks.[20] For example, works printed in 1626 and 1624, respectively, told of the "*prestante & eccelente*

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and New Persecutions that until present have been raised in Japan against the Christians and Religious who go about preaching in that Kingdom] (Seville, 1619); and Anon., *Histoire de l'Estat de la Chrestienté au Japon, et du glorieux martyre de plusieurs Chrestiens. En la grande persecution de l'an 1612, 1613, et 1614* [*History of the State of the Christian Community in Japan, and of the Glorious Martyrdom of several Christians in the Great Persecution of the Years 1612, 1613, and 1614*] (Douai, 1618).

18. Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola della Compagnia di Giesù morto per la santa fede nel Giappone* [*Life of Fr. Carlo Spinola of the Society of Jesus, killed for the Holy Faith in Japan*] (Rome, 1628); and Anon., *Kurtze Relation, was inn den Königreichen Iapon unnd China In den Jahren 1618, 1619, und 1620 mit außbreittung deß Christlichen Glaubens sich begeben: Auch was massen vil Christen / so wohl Geistliche als Weltliche / darüber ihr Blut vergossen un die Marter Cron erlangt* [*Short Relation of what transpired with the dilation of the Christian Faith in the kingdoms of Japan and China in the years 1618, 1619, and 1620, as also of how many Christians, both religious and lay folk, spilt their blood and gained the martyr's crown on that account*] (Augsburg, 1621).

19. ". . . Se viera hum Anjo e a limpara o falso dos livros, papel limpo teriamos pera alguns annos em abundancia" (João Rodrigues to Muzio Vitelleschi, Nov. 30, 1627, Macau, Codex 18–I, fol. 89^{r}, *Japonica-Sinica* Collection, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome).

20. In one instance, all four orders were represented in the same publication. See Domingo González, OP, *Relatione del martirio del B.P. Alonso Navarrete dell'ordine de Predicatore & del suo compagno il B.P. Fra Ernando di S. Gioseppe dell'ordine di Santo Agostino, del B.P. Fra Pietro dell'Assuntione dell'ordine di S. Francesco, et del B.P. Gio. Battista Tavora della Compagnia de Giesù* [*Report of the martyrdom of Blessed Fr. Alonso Navarrete of the Order of Preachers & of his companion Blessed Fr. Friar Hernando de San José of the Order of St. Augustine, of Blessed Fr. Friar Pedro de la Asunción, and of Blessed Fr. João Batista Távora of the Society of Jesus*] trans. Fr. Raimundo Palascandolo, O.P. (Naples, 1620). The celebration of Alonso Navarrete's martyrdom by the Dominicans included the commissioning of a dramatization of his final days by the famed Spanish playwright Lope de Vega. See Lope de Vega, *Los Mártires de Japón*, ed. Christina H. Lee (Newark, DE, 2006).

martirio di dieci religiosi dell'Ordine de Predicatori" [the beautiful and excellent martrydom of ten religious of the Order of Preachers] and the "*grandes y rigurosos martirios que el año passado dieron en el Japon a ciento y diez y ocho martyres de valor insigne*" [the great and rigorous martyrdoms that in the past year were given in Japan to one hundred and eighteen illustrious martyrs].[21] While such titles suggest that there was a surfeit of glory to go around, obtaining official recognition from the papacy was not easy; and in that competition the Jesuits were relative newcomers. The mendicant orders had existed for centuries by the mid-1600s and were well placed to advance the causes of their friars. But the papacy was savvy about the competition between orders and keen to remind them of their subordinate place within the church hierarchy. Rome therefore deliberately turned its bureaucratic wheels very slowly; thus it was not until 1627, thirty years after their deaths, that the Franciscans and Jesuits who had been crucified at Nagasaki were beatified.[22] It would take another few centuries for Roman authorities to work through the lists of martyrs that Jesuits and friars drew up during the years of the persecutions: the Japanese Jesuit Pedro Kibe Kasui and 187 companions martyred in 1639 were beatified only in 2008.[23]

With the first beatifications came consolidation of the cult of the martyrs of Japan, in large part due to the widespread deployment of images in print and in paint. The 1627 papal pronouncements were duly published

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21. Fr. Melchior de Manzano, OP, *Relatione vera del prestante, & eccellente martirio de dieci religiosi dell'Ordine de Predicatore, sostenuto nel popolato Impero del Giappone per l'amore di Christo Nostro Signore l'anno 1622 & d'un'altro religioso dello stesso Ordine nel detto regno l'anno 1618* [*True Report of the beautiful and excellent martrydom of Ten Religious of the Order of Preachers, undergone in the populous Empire of Japan for the love of Christ Our Lord in the Year 1622, and of another Religious of the same Order in said Kingdom in the Year 1618*] (Venice, 1626); and Anon., *Relación breve de los grandes y rigurosos martirios que el año passado de 1622. dieron en el Japón, a ciento y diez y ocho illustrissimos martyres, sacada principalmente de las cartas de los padres de la Compañia de Jesús que allí residen* [*Brief Report of the Great and Rigorous Martyrdoms that in the past year of 1622 were given in Japan to One Hundred and Eighteen Illustrious Martyrs, drawn primarily from the Letters of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who reside there*] (Lisbon, 1624).

22. Simon Ditchfield discusses the process of making saints in Post-Tridentine Rome (with specific reference to the early Jesuit saints) in two recent essays: "'Coping with the beati moderni': Canonisation Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite infiammae omnia: Selected historical papers from conferences held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog, SJ (Rome, 2010), pp. 413–39; and "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of the Saints" in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 201–24, esp. 205–16.

23. The notice of the beatifications (in Spanish) by Juan Esquerda Bifet, from *L'Osservatore Romano*, Nov. 28, 2008, p. 10, is available on the Vatican website at http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/2008/ns_lit_doc_20081124_giappone_sp.html

and sent around the world, while paintings, frescoes, and statues of these martyrs were installed for public veneration in churches in Asia, America, and Europe. Images of crucified friars and Jesuits holding their heavenly palms were commissioned to increase the fervor that the printed word continued to inspire with each new publication (Figure 2). This new cult quickly achieved parity with better-established ones. For example, Jesuits at the Professed House of São Roque in Lisbon added life-sized images of the three martyred brothers to the main altarpiece at the Society's recently completed church within a year of their beatification, alongside Loyola, Xavier, Borja, and Gonzaga (Figure 3).

Is it possible to gauge the effect of the promotion of the cult of martyrs? John Foxe asserted that constant exposure to these models of sanctity would exert an influence on men's hearts. To be sure, inducements to piety were not lacking in Catholic Europe during the early modern period, and the addition of another cult did not necessarily raise the general tenor of fervor there. But some testimony does exist for the effects of the martyrs' memorialization. An annual letter from the Jesuit Province of Goa in 1641 describes how a series of painted portraits brought about a change of heart in one viewer. The report describes how on Holy Thursday of that year, a man threw himself at the feet of a priest "with such commotion of tears and sighs," begging to recount his sins after many years' absence from the confessional. Asked what had finally moved him, the penitent said that while touring the city's churches, "more out of curiosity than devotion, without any thought of my salvation and much less of the sacrament of penance," he had visited the cloister of the Jesuits' Professed House, where he glimpsed the image of "the martyrs of Japan, and among them the holy martyr Sebastião Vieira, whom . . . [he] knew, and dealt with." Upon recognizing the face of the man who in 1634 had been burned alive while suspended over a pit at Edo, the penitent's "heart jumped with a vehement desire for salvation."[24]

24. "Quinta feira mayor se lançou aos pês de hum confessor nosso certo home*m* co*m* tal alvoroço de lagrimas, e suspiros, q*ue* logo o confessor reparou no estillo, avendo q*ue* o impulso era neces*si*de spiritual, e effeito mais q*ue* ordinario da Divina graça. E assy perguntando ao penitente que o movera a confessarse, respondeo P*adr*e, eu hâ annos que me não confesso, e oje mais p*or* curiozid*ad*e q*ue* por devação corry as Igreias sem pençam*en*to algum de minha salvação, e m*ui*to alheo do sacram*en*to da penitencia. Acazo passey p*e*la crasta da caza professa, e nella vy os martyres de Jappão, e entre elles o S*an*to Martyr Seb*astiam* Vieira, a que*m* conhecy, e tratey, e tanto q*ue* o vy, logo me saltou o coração hu*m* dezeio vehemente da minha salvação. . ." (anonymous Jesuit, annual letter from the Province of Goa for 1641 [Jan. 1642?], Codex 34, fol. 121v, *Goana* Collection, ARSI). The story of Vieira's martyrdom is recounted in Liam Matthew Brockey, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), pp. 385–408.

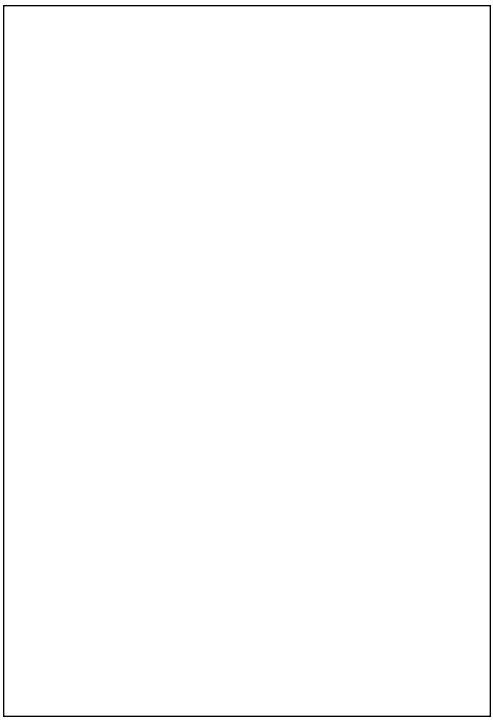

FIGURE 2. Jacques Callot, *Les Martyres du Japon* (*c.* 1627), reproduced courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (*Photo credit:* Erik Gould). This devotional image, printed to commemorate the first martyrs of Nagasaki on their beatification and produced by one of the most-renowned engravers of the day, reveals confusion about the events that it depicts. Its caption reads: "The Portrait of the First 23 Martyrs put upon Crosses for the preaching of the Holy Faith in Japan under the Emperor Taicosam in the City of Mongasachi, from the order of the Observant Friars Minor of Saint Francis." Not only were 17 Japanese laymen promoted to membership as Franciscans, but mention of the three Jesuit brothers who were also martyred is omitted.

Other documents reveal the impact of the martyrs' stories and images even more clearly. Eager students from across Europe submitted petition after petition to the Superior General in Rome begging for an assignment to Japan. Gruesome tales of martyrdom in volumes with such titles as *Elogios e Ramalhete de Flores borrifado com o Sangue dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu, a quem os tyrannos do Imperio de Iappão tirarão as vidas por odio da Fé Catholica* [Praises, and Bouquet of Flowers sprayed with the Blood of the Religious of the Society of Jesus whose lives were taken by the tyrants of

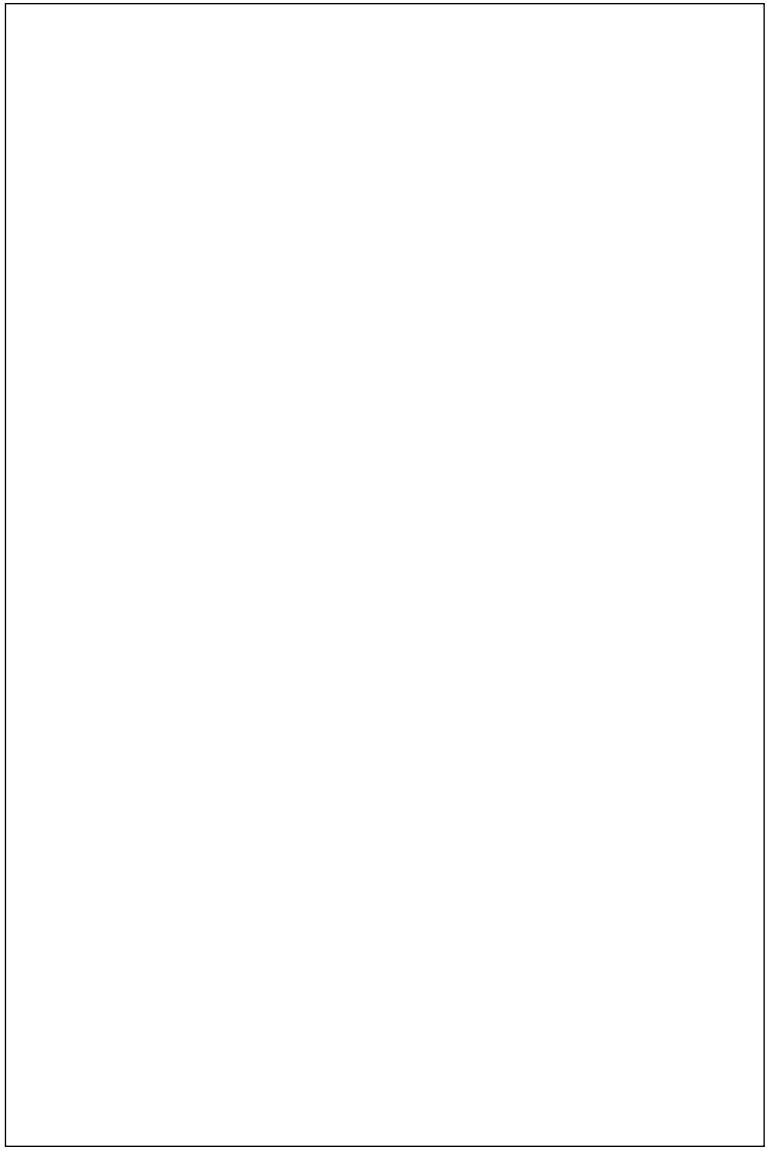

FIGURE 3. View of the High Altar, Church of São Roque, Lisbon (*Photo credit:* Júlio Marques, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/Museu de São Roque). The life-size statues of Gonzaga (above) and Xavier (below) standing in niches on the right side of the altar are flanked by portraits of João de Goto (above) and Diogo Kisai (below). The figures are part of a gilt retable and art ensemble that was constructed between 1625 and 1628.

the Empire of Japan out of hatred for the Catholic Faith] provoked desires to "spill blood and give up life" for the faith.[25] Still others who made it to the mission fields of Asia wrote to friends and relatives in Europe of how eagerly they awaited their chance to suffer. As one Italian priest wrote to a former patron from his station in southern India: "I have no opportunity for martyrdom since the infidels are at peace with the Christians; I am sighing so lamentably for *il mio Giappone*, where I hope I will leave life and cares behind with Holy Martyrdom."[26]

It is one thing to exhort others to piety or even to send them on journeys around the globe, and another to encourage them to sacrifice their lives. But the cult of the martyrs of Japan served precisely this end during the 1630s. All priests, brothers, or friars who made their way to Japan understood that their journey was one-way: Bartolomé Gutierrez, an Augustinian from Mexico, knew it when he sailed back to Japan after spending some years in exile. So did Jacobo Tomonaga, a Japanese Dominican, who returned to his native land in 1632 only to die over the pit in the following year.[27] But perhaps the most impressive story was that of Marcello Mastrilli, a young Neapolitan Jesuit who claimed to have been visited by Xavier's ghost while he convalesced from a near-fatal accident in early 1634.[28] In exchange for restoring his health, Xavier had Mastrilli swear to travel to Asia to win the martyr's crown that the Apostle of the Orient had not obtained. Less than a year later Mastrilli embarked on his globe-spanning journey towards death in Japan. Guided by Xavier's spirit, Mastrilli braved storms, pirates, and superiors who tried to dissuade him. When he at last reached Kyushu, the young Jesuit was immediately seized by the Tokugawa authorities and suspended over the pit, where he died in agony.[29] Moved by his example, men like those depicted in Scorsese's film

25. Francisco de Betancor to Claudio Aquavivia, Apr. 10, 1587, Coimbra, Codex 70, fol. 322r, *Lusitania* Collection, ARSI. The treatise mentioned here is António Francisco Cardim, *Elogios, e Ramalhete de flores borrifado com o sangue dos religiosos da Companhia de Iesu, a quem os tyrannos do Imperio de Iappão tirarão as vidas por odio de Fé Catholica* (Lisbon, 1650).

26. "Non tengo occasione de martirii, per stare l'infideli con li *Xp*iani in pace, sto suspirando per il mio Giappone tanto pianto, dove spero che lasciera la vita e piaccia con il S. martirio" (Giacinto de Magistris to Antonio Goretti, Mar. 25, 1639, Cochin, Codex 18, fol. 158r, *Goana* Collection, ARSI).

27. Ruiz-de-Medina, *Martirologio del Japón*, p. 703.

28. Mastrilli's martyrdom has recently been reconsidered in an article by Ines G. Županov, "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 16, no. 2 (2012), 121–59.

29. Contemporary European accounts of Mastrilli's heroism contrast starkly with Japanese reports of the events of his torture and death. See, for example, Geronimo Perez,

embarked on the same journey, thereby making the martyr cult a perpetual-motion machine, at least for a few years in the middle of the seventeenth century, just as John Foxe had predicted.

There is something deeply disturbing about the later martyrs of Japan: Their stories incited emulation even when going to Nagasaki would be not only futile but suicidal. The cult of martyrs in early modern Catholicism evoked zeal potent enough to drive men around the world to certain death. There was at least one man, however, who resisted its deadly call. This man knew the agonies of persecution firsthand; indeed, he had penned a moving eyewitness account of Christian fortitude, in which he described seeing others tortured by scalding at the boiling springs of Unzen in 1632.[30] He had suffered imprisonment in the infamous Ōmura jail and had been taunted by the Japanese regime's inquisitors and their minions. Moreover, he had been assured of a place among the blessed. Speaking with a Portuguese merchant at Nagasaki, he had asked for news of the devotions at the College of Macau, from whence he had come to Japan more than a quarter-century earlier. The merchant had told him that the Jesuits there displayed portraits of their brethren who had died for the faith (Figure 4). In that line of heroes, the final one depicted was Sebastião Vieira, "next to which was an empty spot, which everyone understood was to be yours."[31] There in Macau, far from the pits on Nishizaka Hill, young Jesuit brothers gathered to hear stories of the martyrdoms, each one's face alight with courage, "so that all together like burning embers they made a great bonfire of zeal and charity."[32] But these inducements to join the ranks of the beatified did not produce their desired effect on the man. In

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S.J., *Relacion de lo que asta agora se a sabido de la vida, y Martyrio del milagroso Padre Marcelo Francisco Mastrilli de la Compañia de Iesus, martyrizado en la ciudad de Nāgasaqui del Imperio de Japō a 17 de Octubre de 1637* [*Report of what has been learned until now of the life and Martyrdom of the miraculous Father Marcello Francesco Mastrilli of the Society of Jesus, martyred in the city of Nagasaki of the Empire of Japan on the 17th of October of 1637*] (Manila, 1639), pp. 69–70; and Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, p. 199.

30. Cristóvão Ferreira to André Palmeiro, Mar. 22, 1632 [Nagasaki?], Codex 18–I, fol. 113r–v, *Japonica-Sinica* Collection, ARSI.

31. Testimony of Manuel Mendes de Moura transcribed in a letter from Manuel Dias to Muzio Vitelleschi, Jan. 26, 1636, Macau, Codex 18–I, fols. 238v–239r, *Japonica-Sinica* Collection, ARSI.

32. ". . . Acodião todos huma pratica dos martirios, q*ue* la ouve tam afervorada e abrasada em desejos de os buscar, q*ue* se lhe inflamavão os rostos e cada hum dezia seu pensamento, e consderação naquella materia, q*ue* todos juntas como brazas vivas fazião huma grande fogueira de zelo e charidade" (Manuel Dias to Cristóvão Ferreira, June 22, 1635, Macau, Codex 18–I, fol. 232^{v}, *Japonica-Sinica* Collection, ARSI).

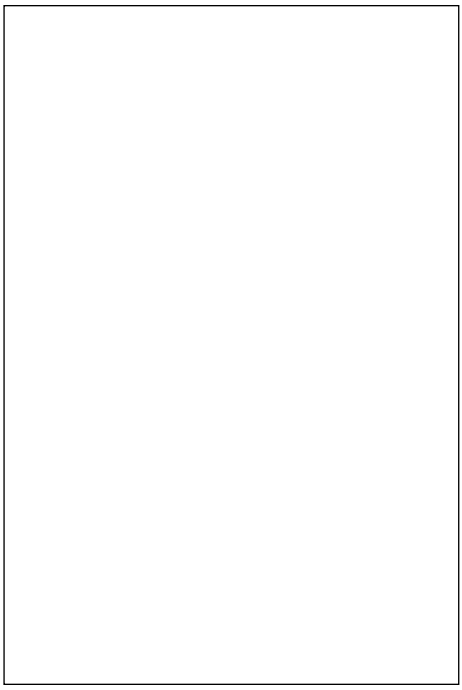

FIGURE 4. Portrait of the martyr Diogo Kisai (*c.* 1627/1628), Church of São Roque, Lisbon (*Photo credit:* Júlio Marques, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/Museu de São Roque). This church formerly belonged to the Jesuit Professed House in Lisbon, which was then a residence for the senior members of the order's Province of Portugal.

Nagasaki, his world had turned upside down as he was suspended from a scaffold over the dreaded pit (Figure 5). Once there, the pain and the fear of death were unbearable; they obscured the vision of glorious crowns or palms. This man's name was Cristóvão Ferreira.

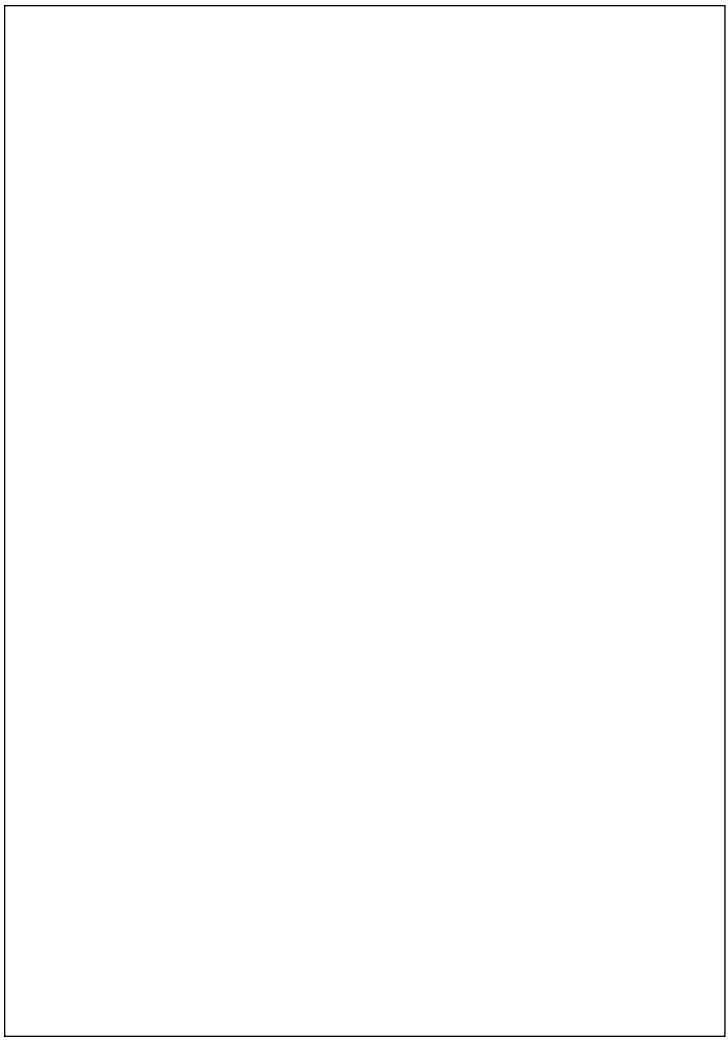

FIGURE 5. Engraving of António de Sousa, reproduced from António Francisco Cardim, *Elogios, e Ramalhete de flores borrifado com o sangue dos religiosos da Companhia de Iesu, a quem os tyrannos do Imperio de Iappão tirarão as vidas por odio de Fé Catholica* (Lisbon, 1650), p. 209^{v} (courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon). One of the last Jesuits to be martyred in Japan, de Sousa first arrived there in 1616 but was expelled the following year. Returning in 1621, he ministered to communities in central Honshu, often hiding aboard a boat. De Sousa was captured near Osaka and marched in shackles to Nagasaki, where he was subjected to the torture of the pit on October 19, the same day as Cristóvão Ferreira, and endured this torment until he died on October 26, 1633.

Bernardino da Feltre's Vision of Social and Economic Justice

MICHAEL F. CUSATO, O.F.M.*

This article examines the vision of a properly-functioning Christian society propagated by the late-medieval Franciscan preacher Bernardino da Feltre. Heir to a rich legacy of economic thought within the Franciscan tradition, da Feltre focused on injustices suffered by the poor of his day at the hands of rich and powerful Christian bankers and especially Jewish lenders throughout Italy. To counter these abuses, Bernardino (and others) were instrumental in founding low-interest lending institutions—known collectively as the Monte di Pietà—that provided service to the struggling poor. The discussion contextualizes da Feltre's alleged Anti-Semitism within a profound ethic of socioeconomic justice that expresses core Franciscan principles.

Keywords: Franciscan, economics, Bernardino da Feltre, Jews, social justice

Introduction

Vel etiam dicitur inequitatis, idest non equitatis, qui non est eque divisa . . .[1]

Recent historiography on the medieval roots of modern economic thought and the forms of capital-driven economies has focused on the unique and formative role played by thinkers and preachers of the Franciscan order in the development of nascent economic theory. Pioneering work by Odd Langholm, for example, over the past four and a half decades—especially his magisterial tome *Economics in the Medieval Schools,* which devotes no fewer than seven chapters to Franciscan writers—has helped to situate the contributions of medieval Franciscans to this evolving discus-

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1. "For that which is said to be iniquitous is that which is not equitable because it is not equally divided" (Bernardino da Feltre, *Sermo 18*, vv. 14–15; see note 53 below for a full citation).

sion within the context of Parisian scholasticism in the High Middle Ages.[2] In a rather different vein, the Italian historian Giacomo Todeschini grounds his analysis in the dynamics of the early Franciscan movement and then projects its ramifications and import forward to the fifteenth-century reflections of the great Franciscan Observant preachers, particularly Bernardino da Siena,[3] placing special emphasis on the pivotal role played by Peter of John Olivi in articulating the theoretical foundations and practical utility of Franciscan economic theory.[4]

Franciscans were not merely economic theorists, however. Already in the wide-ranging corpus of Peter of John Olivi, most notably in his multipart treatise *Traité des contrats*,[5] we see indications of how a specifically Christian economic theory (or, better, how Christian ethical reflections on economic matters) contains within it concrete pastoral implications for the realities of daily life in the marketplace. This salient Franciscan orientation combined theory and praxis, ethical norms and pastoral applications, that came to fruition during the latter half of the fifteenth century, when the Friars Minor championed the creation of lending institutions known col-

2. Cf. *Economics in the Medieval Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury according to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200–1350* (Leiden, 1992), chapters 5 (Alexander of Hales and John of La Rochelle); 6 (Bonaventure); 13 (Matthew of Acquasparta, Richard of Middleton and others); 14 (Peter of John Olivi); 16 (John Duns Scotus, John of Bassolis and Francis of Meyronnes); 17 (Alexander of Alessandria); and 18 (Gerald Odonis and William of Rubio). This tome had been preceded by others from the same author: *Price and Value in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Oslo, 1979), followed by *The Legacy of Scholasticism in Economic Thought: Antecedents of Choice and Power* (Cambridge, 1998) and *The Merchant in the Confessional: Trade and Price in the Pre-Reformation Penitential Handbooks* (Leiden, 2003). The contributions of these Franciscan writers constitute a significant part of the larger story.

3. See, for example and most recently, Nicola Riccardi, "Bernardino e il pensiero economico dell'Osservanza: bene comune e interesse private," *Antonianum* 88 (2012), 91–110.

4. Beginning with his landmark article on the "*Oeconomica franciscana*" (in *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 12 [1976], 15–77 and 13 [1977], 461–94) and culminating in his synthetic monograph, *Franciscan Wealth: From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society* (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2009) [orig. publ. in Italian (Bologna, 2004)], Giacomo Todeschini emphasizes the critical role played by Franciscan writings on these subjects in the elaboration of pre-modern economic theory. The author has gone on to write a number of subsequent articles on the use of these ideas in the fifteenth-century sermons and treatises of a range of Franciscan authors, most notably by Bernardino da Siena.

5. Cf. Pierre de Jean Olivi, *Traité des contrats. Texte et traduction*, ed. and trans. Sylvain Piron (Paris, 2012), with an important and lengthy introduction to the text by the translator. Piron contends that the three major sections were probably written somewhat separately and that a significant expansion (that which he calls "précisions" [pp. 192–245]) was inserted into a thoroughly reworked and synthesized text in the early to mid-1290s. An English translation of the full text is not available from Franciscan Institute Publications (2016).

lectively as the Monte di Pietà, particularly in northern and central Italy. Here, a handful of Franciscans—relatively unknown to contemporary scholars but notable in their own day—toiled to establish banks where bourgeois merchants but also members of the poorer classes, struggling to climb out of debt or to set up fledgling businesses, could receive interest-free loans, thus improving their own fortunes and contributing to the economic dynamism and prosperity of society itself. No modern scholar has been as devoted to an understanding of this important institution as Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli has been.[6] And of all the Franciscans, renowned or obscure, who participated in the development of these *monti* throughout Italy, none was more prominent or worked as tirelessly as did Bernardino da Feltre. This article offers an overview of the central role he played in this late-medieval movement for economic justice.

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Standing approximately 4 feet 7½ inches tall, the diminutive Franciscan friar Bernardino da Feltre was a leading member of the Order of Friars Minor in late-fifteenth-century Italy (Figure 1).[7] Known among the people

6. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, "Un 'deposito apostolica' per i poveri meno poveri, ovvero l'invenzione del Monte di Pietà," in *Povertà e innovazioni istituzionali in Italia*, ed. Vera Zamagni (Bologna, 2000), pp. 77–94; eadem, "Città, credito, solidareità. La concezione del credito del Monte di Pietà," in *Ideologia del credito fra Tre e Quattrocento, dall'Astesano ad Angelo da Chivasso,* ed. Barbara Molina and Giulia Scarcia (Asti, 2001), pp. 145–64; eadem, *Il denaro e la salvezza: l'invenzione del Monte di Pietà* (Bologna, 2001); eadem, "Le sedi dei Monti di Pietà: caratteristiche e significati delle loro localizzazioni urbane tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna," in *L'eredità culturale di Gina Fasoli*, ed. Francesca Bocchi and Gian Maria Varanini (2005; rpt. Rome, 2008), pp. 283–96; eadem, "I Monti di Pietà, ovvero scommettere sui poveri meno poveri," in *Dal Monti di Pietà al microcredito oggi*, ed. Alessandro Chili (Bologna, 2006), pp. 17–27; eadem, "I Monti di Pietà: le cure prestate e quelle richieste," *Italia francescana*r 85 (2010), 101–11; eadem, "Considerazioni preliminari: un cumulo, anzi un monte di pegni," in *In pegno: oggetti in transito tra valore d'uso e valore di scambio (secoli XIII–XX)*, ed. Mauro Carboni and M. G. Muzzarelli (Bologna: 2012), pp. 9–19; eadem, "Monti di Pietà e banchi ebraici nella predicazione osservante: il caso di Bernardino da Feltre," *Studi francescani* 110 (2013), 327–43; eadem, "I Monti di Pietà fra etica economica ed economia politica," in *Orientamenti e tematiche della storiografia di Ovidio Capitani*, ed. Maria Consiglia De Matteis and Pio Berardo (Spoleto, 2013), pp. 135–47; eadem, "Un'idea a lungo nuova: il credito ai poveri meno poveri e la creazione dei Monti di Pietà," in *I Frati osservanti e la società in Italia nel secolo XV* (Spoleto, 2013), pp. 339–57; and, most recently, eadem, "Pawn-broking between Theory and Practice in Observant Socio-Economic Thought," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest [Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 59] (Leiden, 2015), pp. 204–28.

7. For the biographical details of the life of Bernardino, see, in order of composition: Bernardino Guslino, "Vita del b. Bernardino da Feltre. Prima edizione integrale con note illustrative," ed. A. Ghinato, in *Le Venezie francecane* 25 (1958), 1–43; 26 (1959), 1–47; 27

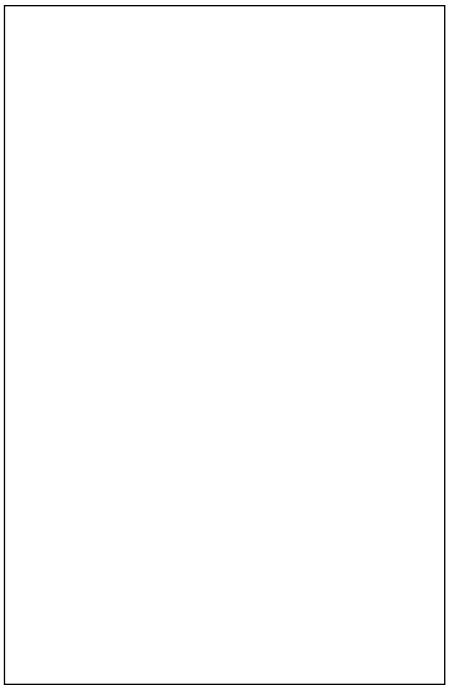

FIGURE 1. Detail of a portrait of Bernardino da Feltre, attributed to Piermatteo d'Amelia (or collaborators) and now housed in the Museo Eroli, Narni, Italy. In his hand da Feltre holds a *monte di pietà*, that is, a three-tiered green hill topped by a standard bearing the inscription *Curam illius habe* (Luke 10:35) from the parable of the Good Samaritan in the Latin Vulgate.

(1960), 1–24; and 28 (1961), 1–24 and 81–105; E. Flornoy, *Le Bienheureux Bernardin de Feltre* (Paris, 1898); Ludovic de Besse, *Le Bienheureux Bernardin de Feltre et son oeuvre*, 2 vols. (Tours–Paris, 1902); V. Meneghin, *Documenti vari intorno al B. Bernardino da Feltre* (Rome, 1966); idem, *Bernardino da Feltre e i Monti di Pietà* (Vicenza, 1974); Giampaolo Paludet, *Bernardino da Feltre: piccolo e poverello nel quinto centenario del beato transito, 1494–1994* (Venice, 1993); Saverio Amadori, *Nelle bisacce di Bernardino da Feltre. Gli scritti giuridici in difesa dei Monti di Pietà* (Bologna, 2007); and, most recently, Matteo Melchiorre, *A un cenno del suo dito: Bernardino da Feltre (1439–1494) et gli ebrei* [Early Modern, 24] (Milan, 2012). It is the first volume of the work of the Capuchin friar, Ludovic de Besse, which has the most exhaustive treatment of the life and work of the friar since he synthesizes so much of the historical testimonies on and about this friar. Finally, it should also be noted that Ghinato's redaction of Guslino's *Vita* of Bernardino da Feltre has now been superseded by a new critical edition: *La vita del beato Bernardino da Feltre*, ed. Ippolita Checcoli (Bologna, 2008). See also Checcoli's more wide-ranging recent article "The *Vitae* of Leading Italian Preachers of the Franciscan Observance: Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Hagiographical Constructions," *Franciscan Studies* 71 (2013), 281–96.

as "Piccolino" (a nickname we might today render as "Shorty"), this popular homilist delivered, at least by one estimate, no fewer than 3,600 sermons between 1468, the date of his ordination, and 1494, the year of his death.[8]

Da Feltre was born in 1439 as Martino Tomitano, the eldest son of a powerful family in the town of Feltre, which was then federated to the Republic of Venice. Bookish by temperament, this young man was sent to study secular subjects at the university in nearby Padua, where one day in 1460 he heard the venerable Observant Franciscan James of the Marches preach a sermon. As a result of this experience, the young Martino decided to enter the Order of Friars Minor, becoming a novice within the Observant wing of the First Order of St. Francis. Given the religious name of "Bernardino" by James of the Marches, in honor of the great preacher from Siena who had been declared a saint in 1450, da Feltre spent the next few years in Venice, studying theology.[9] The Feltrenese friar was ordained in 1463 and, after his ordination, was tasked with teaching some of the younger friars the basics of a liberal-arts education while delivering the occasional funeral oration.[10] So it was not until 1468 that he began his career of preaching in earnest. Having developed his own rhetorical style, punctuated with citations that showed his prodigious learning, he was designated a preacher of the Order and began crisscrossing northern and central Italy in this capacity. An official member of the Observant province of St. Anthony of Padua, da Feltre nevertheless spent much of his ministerial life banned from preaching in Venice by its Senate, even while serving as the republic's provincial minister for 17 months between 1483 and 1484. During that period his strict compliance with the interdict placed on the city by Pope Sixtus IV prompted the exodus of more than 200 friars to surrounding towns and exacerbated both his denunciations of Jewish moneylenders and his pointed attacks on various sectors of civil society for immoral and unjust practices.[11] But our prolific preacher is perhaps best known to historians and anecdotalists alike—then as now—as a successful founder and reformer of the charitable lending banks known as the Monti di Pietà. This essay aims to situate his

8. Drawing on Ludovic de Besse's introductory chapter on his sources (I, pp. 17–31), we can single out three important testimonies used by this author: the unedited journal of Bernardino's longtime and steadfast friar-companion, Francesco da Feltre; the important treatise by his contemporary confrère, Bernardino da Busti: the *Defensorium montis pietatis contra figmenta omnia aemulae falsitatis,* written in 1497 (three years after the death of Bernardino da Feltre); and the seventeenth-century biography written to the glory of his native city of Feltre by the layman Bernardino Guslino.

9. De Besse, *Le Bienheureux Bernadin de Feltre*, I, pp. 56–69.

10. Ibid., I, pp. 73–74.

11. Ibid., I, pp. 164–68.

achievement within the context of da Feltre's wider vision of Christian society, for he represents one of the most eloquent voices for the cause of social justice in medieval Franciscan history.[12]

Sources

Before delving into the heart of the matter, a word is in order regarding the sources in which this Franciscan vision of Christian society can be found. For, despite his prodigious sermonizing over the course of some 25 years, preaching especially during the Advent and Lenten cycles, we do not have at our disposal in either edited or manuscript form, records/transcriptions of the bulk of his sermons. What we do have, thanks to a 1964 edition in three volumes, is a collection of sermons da Feltre gave during Advent of 1492 in Brescia, a Lenten cycle preached the next year in Pavia, and a third volume of various other sermons.[13] Varying in length (for he was sometimes known to go on for two-to-three hours at a stretch), these texts make for difficult reading due to their curious mixture of Latin and

12. Over the past thirty years, several American historians of the Franciscan movement—including David Flood, Paul Lachance, and myself—have attempted to retrieve the social vision of the early Minorite fraternity, rooted in a close reading of the socioeconomic content of the Early Rule (the first layers of the document which will eventually be known in history as the *Regula non bullata* or Rule of 1221). Such an exegesis of the Early Rule brings to the fore an important aspect of early Franciscanism which, however, will come to be eclipsed already by the early 1220s, with the entrance into the community of a new generation of clerics formed beyond the confines of the Umbrian Valley and unfamiliar with the social vision of the earliest friars. And yet this vision will live on, particularly among those who maintained their distance from the cities up in the remote hermitages of the region. Such men constituted what will eventually be called "the tradition of the Companions" whose social vision became formative of several generations of the Spiritual Franciscans, especially in central Italy. This socio-ethical reading of the Minorite charism (and its stance toward the nefarious dynamics operative within medieval society) were passed on and revived by some of the members of the Observant reform movement in Italy during the fifteenth century, most notably by Bernardino da Siena and, as we will see, Bernardino da Feltre. On this historiographical perspective on the early Franciscan movement, see, for example: David Flood, *Francis of Assisi and the Franciscan Movement* (Quezon City, 1989); Michael F. Cusato, "The Renunciation of Power as a Foundational Theme in Early Franciscan History," in *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West*, ed. M. Grosman, A. Vanderjagt, and J. Veenstra [Mediaevalia Groningana 23] (Groningen, 1997), pp. 265–86 (rpt. in idem, *The Early Franciscan Movement (1205–1239): History, Sources and Hermeneutics* [Medioevo francescano. Saggi 14] (Spoleto, 2009), pp. 29–47; and, as a brief overview, in idem, "The Early Franciscan Movement (1181–1226)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 17–33.

13. Cf. *Sermoni del beato Bernardino Tomitano da Feltre, nella redazione di Fra Bernardino Bulgarino da Brescia, minore osservante*, 3 vols., ed. Carlo Varischi da Milano (Milan, 1964).

early vernacular Italian and their exhortatory rather than catechetical nature. Indeed, as the early-twentieth-century historian Ludovic de Besse has rightly remarked, one would be hard-pressed to derive a coherent sense of da Feltre's vision of Christian life from these occasional set pieces, which have little direct connection with each other.[14] A synthetic view of his thinking on these matters is more easily gleaned from two other sources: first, the daily journal compiled between 1483 and 1491 by his faithful friend and *socius* Francesco da Feltre (or Canali), a record of helter-skelter observations about Bernardino's preaching tours which remains unedited;[15] and, second, the extremely important volume written by another trusted friar-friend, Bernardino da Busti, concerning our preacher's indefatigable efforts to create or, in some cases, reinvigorate several *monti*, a work bearing the title *Defensorium montis pietatis contra figmenta omnia aemulae falsitatis* [*A Defense of the Monte di Pietà against all the False Inventions [caused] by Jealousy*].[16] Although I had originally hoped to trace the theme of economic justice through da Feltre's sermons, the immensity and complexities of the Feltrenese corpus can hardly be compassed in a single article. I have therefore relied on secondary testimony from Bernardino Busti (which provides its own unique insights into the values dear to his confrère) while using excerpts from the *reportationes* to illustrate the matters at hand.

The General Social Vision of Bernardino da Feltre

Bernardino was no one-note preacher, harping on the same issue time and again. He did have his favorite subjects, as we will see; but his was a holistic vision of the human person and of Christian civil society. In it, we see a quintessential expression, as it were, of Franciscan applied anthropology. In other words, the sermons of Bernardino da Feltre allow us to examine how the Franciscan understanding of the human person (and, by extension, of human society)—rooted in the writings of the Poverello himself and then integrated into scholastic thought by Francis-

14. However, in our own day, Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli has shown more clearly how these sermons, even in the fragmented form in which they have come down to us, can be used quite effectively. On the problems posed by the *reportationes* of the sermons of Bernardino (if they can indeed even be characterized as sermons in the classic sense), see: Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, "Appunti per un'analisi della struttura dei *'sermones'* di Bernardino da Feltre," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 32 (1978), 153–80.

15. Francesco's diary, moreover, served as a prime source for Bernardino Guslino's seventeenth-century *Vita*, as well as for the one written by Bartolomeo Simoni, *Vita del beato Bernardino da Feltre detto il Piccolino*, ed. Francesco Ferrari (Venice, 2000).

16. Bernardino da Busti, *Defensorium montis pietatis* (Milan, 1497).

can philosophers and theologians—came to be applied on a pastoral level to the men and women of his day.

Da Feltre's sermons during the 1493 Lenten cycle in Pavia addressed a wide range of topics, including avarice, luxury, restitution, justice, peace and reconciliation, charity, usury, and the specific details of setting up a Monte di Pietà.[17] However, each of these themes fits into a broad vision of the society that God intends, one united by the bonds of charity. Hence, civic life—the communal life of human beings living, working, and worshipping in relatively close proximity to one another, along with those in the villages and hamlets dotting the countryside—represented for da Feltre the promise of a vision of Christian community; yet all too often that promise remained unfulfilled or was tarnished through wrongful choices and sin.

As noted above, Bernardino was invited throughout his thirty-year career to preach in the towns of northern and central Italy during the Advent or Lenten cycles (and sometimes even both).[18] The edited sermon literature and contemporary accounts of his preaching indicate that da Feltre considered the incessant warfare between rival groups within cities or between rival cities within the same region to be the chief evil of the day.[19] He himself has not left us any analysis of the causes of these chronic conflicts, except for the commonplace observation that such warfare was either a struggle for control over resources or the result of naked greed, a craving to acquire more and more wealth and material goods for one's own enjoyment. Power allowed one access to luxury.

In addition to all of the usual disruptive effects, these armed conflicts had devastating long-term ramifications for the economic status and livelihoods of the regions' inhabitants, setting in motion a cycle that frequently resulted in widespread famine—with crops, livestock, and dwellings destroyed either in the course of combat or vindictively in a scorched-earth

17. By way of example, see the following sermons, edited by Varischi da Milano: 29 (I, 381–91), on the lies of merchants; 37 (I, pp. 467–74), on restitution; 52 (II, pp. 147–63), on the common good; 67 (II, pp. 317–26), on the causes of social discord; 88 (III, pp. 13–16); on the love of neighbor; 96 (III, pp. 81–91), on the causes of social discord; 102 (III, pp. 145–53), on extravagances. And, specifically on the Monti di Pietà, see: 55 (II, pp. 185–94); 57 (II, pp. 205–12; and 73 (III, pp. 393–98).

18. On this, see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarella, *Pescatori di uomini: predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo* (Bologna, 2005).

19. For this general dynamic, see: Yoko Kimura, "Preaching Peace in Fifteenth-Century Italian Cities: Bernardino da Feltre," in *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. M. G. Muzzarelli (Turnhout, 2014), [*Sermo 12*], pp. 171–83.

policy of retribution. Famine, in turn, often led to the outbreak of plague and illness as nutritional and sanitary conditions deteriorated.

For Bernardino, warfare and its predictable consequences were not just secular matters or unhappy byproducts of clashing political, social, economic, and military forces. Rather, our Franciscan perceptively linked two other dynamics operative within the medieval communes. First, in their pursuit of gain and advantage over their rivals, members of the ruling classes tended to ignore or even flout the civil laws of their society. Viewed as important protections for them when *out* of power, such laws were easily cast aside by the elites as irrelevant once they had achieved an advantage over their rivals. But, as da Feltre notes, their cavalier treatment of *civil* laws mirrors their attitude toward the *moral* laws established by religion which define the boundaries of ethical and Christian behavior within the civic community.[20] Some of da Feltre's sermons within a given cycle dealt with the social problems of justice, peace, equity, restitution, and generosity; others addressed luxury, greed, lack of charity, mendacity, arrogance, libertine excesses, and so forth.[21] Whereas modern observers tend to compartmentalize these concerns as either sacred *or* secular, religious *or* social, the late-medieval preacher viewed them as two sides of the same coin.

Finally, it must be noted that, although rival factions of the ruling elites were the instigators of these regional conflicts, their most deleterious effects were suffered by the most vulnerable sectors of society: those whom we might call, somewhat generically, "the poor," people who had never belonged to the ruling elites or the great families that wielded power. It was these "poor" whose fate most concerned Bernardino in his preaching.

The Poor

Just who were these "poor"? The question is crucial because the words of the late-medieval Franciscan preachers, among others, had as their pri-

20. See the remarks on the dynamics at play in the city of Parma by Ludovic de Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, I, pp. 188–89.

21. Indeed, these were themes quite commonly addressed by preachers who followed in the line of the great exemplars of popular preaching like Bernardino da Siena. For an overview of these themes, see: Francesco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1999); Cynthia L. Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience* (Washington, DC, 2000); Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444)* (Turnhout, 2001); and eadem, *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400–1550* (Turnhout, 2007).

mary target people referred to in their sermons as "the poor." Indeed, both Bernardino da Siena and Bernardino da Feltre divided society into three classes of people: (1) the wealthy and powerful members of the ruling class, which often comprised the great families in particular cities and regions; (2) the middle class, composed of artisans, merchants, small entrepreneurs, and farmers, who each enjoyed some means of subsistence but who, due either to the ravages of war, personal misfortune, or failed investments, often found themselves in need of credit and thus at the mercy of exploitative lenders; and (3) the truly indigent, for whom food, shelter, and other basic necessities were a daily struggle.[22] Bernardino da Siena used a similar schema for societal groups, as did his contemporary, the Dominican preacher Antonino da Firenze.[23] Indeed, this socioeconomic classification was already in evidence by the early 1230s in the sermons of Anthony of Padua and the mendicant preachers during the Great Devotion.

The indigent survived only through the alms and generosity of others. The middle class embraced a subgroup that Bernardino da Siena called the *necessitosi* ("the needy"), a category sometimes referred to in Latin as the *pauperes pinguiores* (literally, "the fatter poor" or "the better-off poor" or "the not-quite-so-desperate poor").[24] This often-overlooked contingent—the struggling commercial and artisanal classes—became the primary focus of the economic writings and sermons by the great preachers of the epoch,

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22. On 8 May 1492, the Dominican friar, Annius of Viterbo (sometimes called Nanni of Viterbo), was sent by Pietro Barozzi, the bishop of Padua, to note down, in a more systematic manner, the wide-ranging thoughts of Bernardino da Feltre on civil society, economic dynamics and his rationale for founding and propagating the various Monti di Pietà across Italy. He published the results of his discussions and observations in an orderly treatise—the *Quaestiones duae disputate super mutuo iudaico et civili et divino*—which was edited and expanded several times before being incorporated into a larger work called *Pro monte pietatis.* It lays out the thought of our Franciscan in a manner which he, indefatigable preacher that he was, never had had time to do. As could be expected, Ludovic de Besse offers us a fulsome summary of the substance of Bernardino's perspective (seen through the lens of Annius) on the socioeconomic context of his day, with selected quotations from the work of the Dominican in French translation. On the tripartite division of Italian society, based on economic means at the end of the fifteenth century, see: de Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, II, pp. 25–26. On this conception of social classes or divisions, see Nicola Di Mauro, *I Monti di Pietà nel XV secolo: origini e aspetti generali della loro fondazione* (Cantalupo [Turin], 2013), pp. 17–19.

23. Cf. in general, Raymond De Roover, *San Bernardino da Siena and Sant'Antonino of Florence: The Two Great Economic Thinkers of the Middle Ages* [The Kress Library of Business and Economics 19] (Boston, 1967). More expansively and pointedly, see the chapter titled "Quale povero?" in Pietro Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone: metamorforsi di una parabola fra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Bologna, 2014), pp. 187–232.

24. In Italian, the wording is somewhat more telling: *"I poveri meno poveri"* (the less-poor poor). See the discussion in de Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, II, pp. 23–35.

including our Franciscan, Bernardino da Feltre.[25] These people, along with the class of wealthy powerful citizens, constituted the *civitas*: the citizenry of the communes. Members of the third group, unable to contribute anything to the circulation of goods (and thus to the commercial life of the city), were not, strictly speaking, citizens of the *res publica*.[26] Bernardino da Feltre seems to have felt that only by saving the struggling middle class of "less-needy" poor from disaster could urban communities preserve their integrity as Christian societies and have the wherewithal to care for the truly indigent poor of their cities and towns.

The Problem of Usury

The devastation wrought by incessant warfare generated predictable problems for all the peoples of the northern and central Italian communes, but war affected each of the three social classes differently. Disruption of commercial relations between sectors of the cities and with the outlying *contado* inevitably forced merchants, artisans, and farmers to seek loans in order to get back on their feet in the aftermath of war, once normal trade and commerce resumed. For the rich and powerful—those with access to inherited wealth to pay high interest rates or with sufficient stockpiles of luxury items to use as collateral in such exchanges—obtaining a loan involved minimal risk and was usually a simple matter. For the indigent poor, securing a loan of any kind was out of the question, as they possessed

25. Cf., for example, the pertinent articles (cited above in n. 5) by M. G. Muzzarelli, namely: "Un 'deposito apostolico' per i poveri meno poveri, ovvero l'invenzione del Monte di Pietà" (2000); "I Monti di Pietà, ovvero scommettere sui poveri meno poveri" (2006); and, most recently, "Un'idea a lungo nuova: il credito ai poveri meno poveri e la creazione dei Monti di Pietà" (2013). But see also: Franca Sinatti-D'Amico, "I Monti di Pietà e la povertà operose," in *San Giacomo della Marca nell'Europa del '400,* ed. Silvano Bracci [Centro Studi Antoniani 28] (Padua, 1997), pp. 91–112.

26. These socioeconomic distinctions need to be read in the broader context of Giacomo Todeschini's examination of the important dynamic of social exclusion and inclusion, for example: G. Todeschini, "Il denaro come fattore di inclusione o di esclusione da Graziano a Cusano," in *I beni di questo mondo: teorie etico-economiche nel laboratorio dell'Europa medievale,* ed. Roberto Lambertini and Leonardo Sileo [Textes et Études du Moyen Age 55] (Porto, 2010), pp. 17–36; idem, "La ricchezza come forma di inclusione sociale e religiosa in Italia alla fine del Medioevo," in *Ricos y pobres: opulencia y desarraigo en el occidente medieval*, Actas de la XXXVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella (Pamplona, 2010), pp. 105–25; and idem, "Morale economica ed esclusione sociale nelle città di mercato europee alla fine del Medioevo (XIII–XIV secolo)," in *El mercat: un món de contactes i intercanvis,* ed. Flocel Sabaté and Maite Pedrol [Aurembiaix d'Urgell 16] (Lleida, 2014), pp. 43–56. And, specifically with reference to the Friars Minor, see: idem, "Guardiani della soglia. I Frati Minori come garanti del perimetro sociale (XIII secolo)," in *I Francescani e la politica : atti del Convegno internazionale di studio : Palermo, 3-7 dicembre 2002*, 2 vols., ed. Alessandro Musco (Palermo, 2007), pp. II, 1051–68.

neither capital nor collateral to cover the value of the loan. But the middle class of "not-so-needy poor"—entrepreneurs and artisans struggling to maintain their small businesses in the midst of cities wracked by internecine conflict—were at tremendous risk when taking out a loan to reestablish their commercial standing. For, even if these merchants and artisans could manage to put up collateral to secure the loan, they might be unable to repay the interest when the loan came due and thus lose both the capital or collateral *and* their livelihoods.

This economic cycle led to a problem that challenged Christian communities throughout the High Middle Ages: usury. As is well known, the Church wrestled with the vexing question of charging interest on loans in its attempts to reconcile scriptural prohibitions and patristic commentaries.[27] But with the expansion and complexification of the medieval economy that occurred after the year 1000 in the wake of the Commercial Revolution, the issue was hotly debated among clerics and in the schools. Interestingly, it was the Franciscan school (culminating, to some degree, in the works of Peter of John Olivi) that progressively argued for a redefinition of usury and refused to condemn the charging of low interest rates, deeming them just compensation to creditors for their assumption of risk.[28] But seemingly liberal attitudes were often vitiated—at least according to preachers like Bernardino da Feltre—by the rapacious abuses of unscrupulous and predatory lenders. The fifteenth century thus saw a concerted effort by preachers of the mendicant orders to abolish the excessive interest rates charged by both Jewish and Christian creditors. The Franciscan Order itself, led by Bernardino da Siena, made the practice of usury a prime focus of its preaching apostolate.[29] Indeed, so effective were their

27. See, for example, the classic works of T. P. McLaughlin, "The Teaching of the Canonists on Usury (XII, XIII and XIV Centuries," *Medieval Studies* 1 (1939), 81–147, and 2 (1940), 1–22; and John T. Noonan, *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury* (Cambridge, MA, 1957).

28. See notes 1 and 3, above. Sylvain Piron has studied several of the critical concepts used innovatively by Olivi in elaborating his nascent economic theory. For example: "Temps, mesure et monnaie," in *La rationalisation du temps au XIII^e siècle. Musique et mentalités*, ed. Catherine Homo-Lechner (Grâne, 1990), pp. 47–63; "Marchands et confesseurs: le 'Traité des contrats' d'Olivi dans son contexte (Narbonne, fin XIII^e—début XIV^e siècle," in *L'argent au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1998), pp. 289–308; "L'apparition du *risicum* en Méditerranée occidentale, XII^e–XIII^e siècles," in *Pour une histoire culturelle du risque: genèse, évolution, actualité du concept dans les sociétés occidentales,* ed. E. Collas-Heddeland et al. (Strassburg, 2004), pp. 59–76; and "Le traitement de l'incertitude commerciale dans la scolastique médiévale," *Journal électronique d'histoire des probabilités et statistique* 3, n. 1 (2007), 31 pp.

29. To date, there is no single monograph that has brought together this consistent but highly diverse emphasis within the Franciscan order—most notably among the Observant wing of that community—on the development of a comprehensive Christian ethic of eco-

sermons that during the first half of that century many Christian usurers allegedly fled northern Italy to ply their trade in France.[30]

Usury and Jewish Lenders

Unlike Christian bankers, Jewish moneylenders were unconstrained by biblical tradition when dealing with the *goyim*. Enterprising Jews who engaged in this profitable exercise, unless curtailed by laws explicitly designed to curb the practice, had a more or less free hand. Evidence shows, however, that civil authorities themselves were often in need of funds to carry out their own agendas and sometimes paid exorbitant rates (as high as 40 percent on occasion) to Jewish lenders in their towns. But interest rates were a matter of little concern to most members of the ruling class, since they usually had the wherewithal to absorb the risk entailed by their ambitious financial ventures, military campaigns, and costly construction projects—hence the symbiotic relationship between civil power and Jewish financial resources,[31] which Bernardino da Feltre considered the pre-eminent social ill of his day.[32]

Da Feltre is often excoriated for what modern critics and scholars perceive as a virulent anti-Semitism peppered throughout his sermons. It is

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nomic behavior. One must rely on the numerous studies by scholars such as Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli or Giacomo Todeschini; or one can delve into any number of selected sermons of various Franciscan preachers of the period. As to the contemporary literature, one can consult, for example: M. G. Muzzarelli, *Il denaro e la salvezza: l'invenzione del Monte di Pietà* (Bologna, 2001); or G. Todeschini, *I mercati e il tempio: la società cristiana e il circolo virtuoso della ricchezza del Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Bologna, 2002).

30. De Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, II, p. 19.

31. The bibliography on the complex relationship of the Jews to medieval Christian society is vast. For an overview of the subject, see, for instance, the general essays in: *The Mediterranean and the Jews: Banking, Finance and International Trade (XVI–XVIII Centuries)*, ed. Ariel Toaff and Simon Schwarzfuchs (Ramat Gan, 1989). More specific observations with respect to the situation in Italy can be found, for example, in *The Jews in Piedmont*, vol. 1: *(1297–1582)*, ed. Renata Segre [The Documentary History of the Jews in Italy, 5] (Jerusalem, 1986); Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria*, vols. 1 and 2 (Leiden, 1992–94); Matteo Melchiorre, *A un cenno del suo dito: Fra Bernardino da Feltre (1439–1494) e gli ebrei* (Milan, 2012); and, most recently, Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, "The Effects of Bernardino da Feltre's Preaching on the Jews," in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska (New York, 2015), pp. 170–94.

32. Indeed, if Bernardino da Feltre is treated at all by historians, it is usually with reference to his denunciations of and actions against local Jewish merchants and bankers in the towns of Italy. Cf. M. G. Muzzarelli, "I banchi ebraici, il monte pio e i mercati del denaro a Bologna tra XIII e XVI secolo," in *Bologna nel Medioevo*, ed. Ovidio Capitani (Bologna, 2007), pp. 977–1016; and eadem, "Monti di Pietà e banchi ebraici nella predicazione osservante: il caso di Bernardino da Feltre," *Studi francescani* 110 (2013), 327–43.

vital, however, to contextualize his remarks not just within his own historical milieu but, more importantly, within his overarching vision of social justice, informed by the Franciscan ethos.

What may have motivated Piccolino's fulminations on the Jews of his day? On several occasions da Feltre opposed the practice of usury in the communes, most of which was carried on by Jewish lenders. Nine such instances in chronological order demonstrate this claim.

1. In 1484, while preaching a Lenten cycle in Mantua in the presence of Duke Frederick and his entourage, da Feltre denounced the duke's courtesans for welcoming the presence of Jewish lenders in their city and for drawing into their elite company a man by the name of Eusebius the Jew.[33]
2. In 1485, around the feast of St. Francis, he excoriated Assisi's civil leaders for permitting Jews to establish a bank and encouraging their presence there. The foundations for an explicitly Christian society, he noted, rest upon justice—a justice undermined by the practices of Jewish lenders.[34]
3. In 1489, when preaching in L'Aquila against the usury of Jewish lenders, da Feltre found himself denounced by the podestà of Naples, who commanded the friar to appear before King Alphonso, former duke of Calabria, to receive correction for disrupting civic life in the region. Da Feltre refused to obey unless instructed to do so by his superiors, and he expressed astonishment that so-called Christian leaders would pander to "oppressors of the poor."[35]
4. Da Feltre next chastised Siena's leaders for their friendly social and professional relationships with a number of Jewish residents. During one of his great discourses, he cited a decree issued by Innocent III[36] that prohibited Christians from having Jews as doctors, since it was feared that these physicians might not, when death was at hand, advise their patient to call for a priest and receive the last rites.[37] As in Mantua, the Sienese authorities had welcomed a Jewish doctor into their inner circle.[38]

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33. De Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, I, pp. 170–73.
34. Ibid., p. 187.
35. Ibid., pp. 233–34.
36. Innocent III, *De usuris* (Letter CXXI), in a section titled *Post miserabilem*, PL 215, p. 694, cited in de Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, I, p. 173.
37. De Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, I, pp. 235–37.
38. Ibid., p. 236.

5. Between 1491 and 1492, Christian bankers in Piacenza began to demand the same exorbitant interest rates from their clientele that their Jewish counterparts were charging.[39] Da Feltre specifically excoriated in his sermons this increasingly troubling practice.
6. Ravenna, which in 1441 had become federated to the Republic of Venice, had been granted, as part of the negotiations, permission to establish a Jewish lending bank, ostensibly for the purpose of helping "the poor." Instead, the institution generated lucrative profits for the bankers. While da Feltre was in the region between 1492 and 1493, the city fathers, at the behest of their Jewish citizens, petitioned the Venetian Senate to prohibit Bernardino from preaching in Ravenna. The Senate agreed to do so, but the prohibition was later rescinded, and ultimately the Venetian Senate ordered that the synagogue there be razed.[40]
7. During this same period, a Jewish banker and physician by the name of Lazarus in Faenza was allowed to practice both professions, again under the pretext of "helping the poor." Over the years, he amassed a fortune by making high-interest loans. To prevent extortion in the guise of philanthropy and to limit interactions between Jewish and Christian residents, da Feltre advocated restricting Jews to one neighborhood of the city, a proposal that in 1516 would be realized in Venice with the establishment of the first Jewish ghetto.[41]
8. Venetian Jews had frequently succeeded in blocking da Feltre from preaching against their practice of usury by parlaying their leverage with the city authorities to silence him. In 1492 they would have done so again but for the intervention of Leonardo Loredano, a leading senator (and eventually Doge) of the Republic.[42]
9. Finally, in 1494, Jews in Venice again prevented da Feltre from preaching, this time in the city of Cremona. Eventually, he delivered a great sermon there on these events. He declared, first, that for a Christian to be saved, he or she must be just to the Jews, who are human beings created by God and therefore our brothers and sisters. Though canon law forbade any particular affection for or sustained contact with Jews, Christians were still obliged to do them justice, for justice is the very foundation of society.[43] Second, canon law also forbade Christians to enjoy the company of Jews, to use them as physi-

39. Ibid., p. 254.
40. Ibid., pp. 265–66.
41. Ibid., pp. 266–67.
42. Ibid., pp. 291–92.
43. Ibid., p. 292.

> cians, and to attend their banquets, weddings, and other ceremonies. Da Feltre cited the example of the lavish nuptials recently celebrated by a prominent Venetian citizen known as Leo the Jew. But the chief problem, da Feltre claimed, was that Jewish lenders charged uxorious rates of interest that drained the lifeblood of the poor. Such people merited Christian charity but not friendship. Thus, he said, was he raising his voice, like a watchdog warning of imminent danger, sounding the alarm on behalf of the Master of Christian society.[44]

The extortion perpetrated by local creditors—whether Jewish or Christian—was the sin against which Piccolino preached most ardently, particularly after the year 1484. For if justice was indeed the foundation of Christian society, then the exploitation of the vulnerable—suffering in the aftermath of war and victimized by greed—had to be opposed. It was this vision of justice, rather than an ingrained anti-Semitism, that first and foremost motivated this Franciscan to preach against usury in towns throughout Italy. Caught between sliding into beggary or agreeing to the exorbitant interest rates charged by local moneylenders, the "less-needy" poor frequently found themselves and their families ruined. When unable to repay such loans—which required not only high interest but also collateral in excess of the loan amount—these *pauperes pinguiores* ended up in prison or in exile, with the female members of the family reduced on occasion to prostitution for survival.

The Monte di Pietà

Da Feltre realized that, despite his efforts to prevent the Jewish as well as Christian creditors from plying their trade in Italy, another, more positive action had to be taken—namely, the creation or reinvigoration of the Monte di Pietà. A brief summary of this novel and singularly effective institution will add to this discussion of da Feltre's Franciscan ministry.[45] The Monte di Pietà network was designed to provide a place where strug-

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44. Ibid., pp. 292–93.

45. The standard works are: Heribert Holzapfel, *Die Anfänge der Montes Pietatis (1462–1515)* (Münich, 1903) [also available in Italian translation]; Paolo Prodi, "La nascita dei Monti di Pietà tra solidarismo cristiano e logica del profitto," in *La presenza francescana tra Medioevo e Modernità,* ed. Mario Chiesa [Emilia Romagna: Arte e Storia, 40] (Florence, 1996), pp. 17–28; Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Il denaro e la salvezza. L'invenzione del Monte di Pietà* (Bologna, 2001); Riccardo Fubini, "San Bernardino e l'origine dei Monti di Pietà," in Praeterita facta: *scritti in onore di Amleto Spicciani*, ed. Alessandro Merlo and Emanuele Pellegrini (Pisa, 2006), pp. 145–50; Nelson H. Minnich, "The Decree *Inter multiplices* of Lateran V on *Montes pietatis*," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 38 (2006), 415–40; Saverio Amadori, *Nelle bisacce di Bernardino da Feltre: gli scritti giuridici in difesa dei Monti di*

gling Christian entrepreneurs, fallen on hard times, could secure loans that would get them back on their feet. By loaning variable amounts at a low—or, more rarely, at no—cost, the risk to the borrower could be minimized. All that was required, in addition to a pledge to repay the loan, was some kind of collateral that could protect the lending institution from being defrauded by the unscrupulous or by a failure to clear the debt in a timely fashion. Even the indigent poor were permitted to borrow, albeit in small amounts.[46] But considerable capital investments were needed to create such an institution: in Italian this sum was called the *monte*, and it was gathered through appeals to the local community and especially to the elites. In answering the call of charity and justice, these investors were performing an act of *pietà*—hence the name "Monte di Pietà."

The Christian duty to aid those struggling to survive is firmly based in the Scriptures, and da Feltre often cited two texts in particular to justify the *monti*. The first was Deuteronomy 15:7–8, which states: "If one of your brothers dwelling within the gates of your city in the land which the Lord, your God, will give you, comes upon hard times [*ad paupertatem venerit*], you shall not harden your heart nor close your hand; but you shall open it to the poor man; you shall lend him [*et dabis mutuum*] that which you perceive he needs." The second text, from Luke 6:35, was equally clear: "But love your enemies, do good and lend [*benefacite, et mutuum date*], hoping for no return, and your reward will be great."

Bernardino da Feltre preached long and often on these themes, imploring the rich to open their hearts as well as their treasure chests in order to support one or more of these *monti* (Figure 2). His sermons were usually followed by elaborate religious processions from the church or piazza where he had spoken to the place where the local Monte di Pietà would be established. This apparently winning formula varied slightly depending on the town and its particular circumstances.

In December of 1484, da Feltre was again preaching in Mantua, where earlier that year he had confronted stern resistance from local

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Pietà (Bologna, 2007); Mario Sensi, "Un aspect singulier des deux 'âmes' du franciscanisme: Monts de Piété à titre onéreux et monts '*sine merito*,' in *Pauvreté et capitalisme. Comment les pauvres franciscains ont justifié le capitalisme et le capitalisme a préféré la Modernité,* ed. Luca Parisoli (Palermo, 2008), pp. 153–74; and Antonino M. Clemenza, "Dai Monti di Pietà all'etica della solidarietà: il ruolo dei francescani," *Quaderni Biblioteca Balestrieri* 13, no. 3 (2010), 29–43. To these can be added the many works on the Monti di Pietà by M. G. Muzzarelli (cited above in n. 5).

46. De Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, II, chap. 3, esp. pp. 22–35.

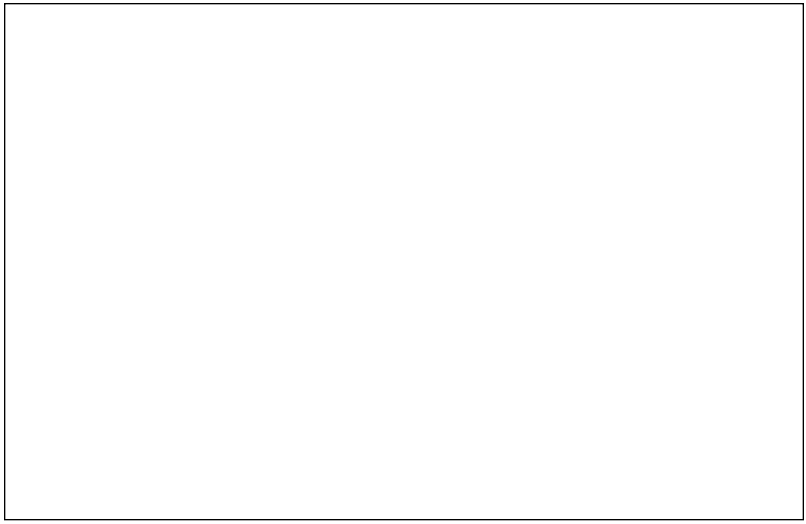

FIGURE 2. *Bernardino da Feltre Preaches on the Monte di Pietà* according to Vittorino Meneghin in *Bernardino da Feltre e i Monti di Pietà* (Venice, 1974), Tav. 9 opposite p. 529. This oil-on-panel painting was acquired by Henry Walters in 1902 (acc. no. 37.507) and is housed in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MD (http://art.thewalters.org/detail/3376/a-franciscan-monk-preaching/).

Jewish lenders who had the support of the town's ruling elite.[47] But on this occasion his appeal was hugely successful, and from this point forward until the end of his life, Piccolino pursued his calling, creating completely new *monti* or reviving those that were failing or had already closed their doors.[48]

Bernardino da Feltre did not originate the idea of the Monte di Pietà. Since the early 1460s other Franciscans—most notably friars such as Michele da Carcano,[49] Marco di Matteo Strozzi, and Marco di Monte-

47. De Besse, *Bienheureux Bernardin*, I, pp. 176–79.

48. The most accurate way to study this phenomenon is through an examination of the particular histories of each Monte established in specific towns. But see also the more general remarks made by M. G. Muzzarelli, "Le Sedi dei Monti di Pietà," pp. 283–96 (cited above in n. 5).

49. Rosa Maria Dessì, "*Usura, caritas* e Monti di Pietà. Le prediche antiusurarie e antiebraiche di Marco da Bologna e di Michele Carcano," in *I Frati osservanti e la società in Italia nel secolo XV* [Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, n. s. 23] (Spoleto, 2013), pp. 169–226.

gallo[50]—had likewise attempted to set up institutions of this kind, with varying success. Indeed, da Feltre realized early on that, for such an institution to realize its vision of helping the struggling poor, it would have to charge interest on the loans being made.[51] But this practice conflicted with the Church's longstanding prohibition against charging interest at all, which most commentators viewed as usury, plain and simple. For the record, the Dominicans were the most steadfast opponents of lending at interest, though two notable exceptions to this rule were Annio da Viterbo and Girolamo Savonarola. Relying on the economic writings of his namesake, Bernardino da Siena (who, in turn, had drawn many of his ideas from the writings of Peter of John Olivi), da Feltre insisted that each Monte di Pietà *should* and indeed *must* charge a low interest rate—perhaps around 4 percent—to cover operating costs and safeguard the investments of the original principals—the *monte*.[52] By creating lending banks that served the lower and middle classes, da Feltre hoped to put the Jewish lenders out of business or force them to reduce their exorbitant interest rates in order to remain competitive with these Christian institutions.

Conclusion: The Sermon on the Feasting Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus

Uppermost in the mind of our Piccolino was the creation of a just society in which a sufficiency of food, clothing, housing, and the means to earn a living would enable people to live in relative peace with one another. In this society the needs of all could be met in accord with their dignity as children of God.

This vision of a Christian society grounded in justice and united in charity recurs throughout the reported sermons of Bernardino da Feltre and in contemporary accounts of his activities. By way of example, there is the content of a sermon he delivered in Pavia during Lent of 1493. It is listed as *Sermo 18* in the published edition of the Capuchin Carlo Varischi da Milano under the title *De Divite epulone et Lazaro paupere* [*On the Feasting Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus*].[53] A variant of the famous "Dives and

50. Cf., Mario Sensi, "Marco da Montegallo, apostolo dei Monti di Pietà," in *Marco da Montegallo (1425–1496): il tempo, la vita, le opere*, ed. Silvano Bracci [Centro Studi Antoniani 30] (Padua, 1999), pp. 231–54; but see also his remarks on Marco's particular achievement in: idem, "Un aspect singulier," pp. 163–68 (cited above in n. 45).

51. This was a practice already employed by Michele da Carcano in his first Monte.

52. De Besse, II, chaps. 3 and 4, pp. 36–48, but esp. pp. 46–47.

53. The text of the sermon can be found in: *Sermoni del beato Bernardino Tomitano da Feltre*, ed. Carlo Varischi da Milano, I, pp. 231–45.

Lazarus" sermons popular in the Middle Ages, this discourse explores the dynamics between rich and poor and sets forth the demands of Christian charity.[54] While the announced divisions and subdivisions of the sermon are difficult to follow (since they were not always consistently realized in practice), its content affords an opportunity to reiterate certain points made in this presentation.

Da Feltre begins with a favorite citation from 1 John 2:15: "*Nolite diligere mundum necque ea quae in mundo sunt*" [Love neither the world nor the things that are in the world]. He then recalls several elements of Luke 16:19–31, the story of the poor man feasting with Lazarus at his table. In the first part of the sermon, da Feltre lays out a traditional interpretive framework for the passage: namely, that the poor man, despite his material poverty, is in fact rich whereas the rich man, despite an abundance of possessions, is spiritually poor. For, while the wealthy enjoy many things in this life, it is the poor who will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.[55] This classic medieval reading of the relationship between rich and poor has been deliberately heightened for da Feltre by his own embrace of the Franciscan ethos.[56] Nevertheless, to state baldly that the poor are more content and happier in their poverty than the rich are in their wealth seems to betray a certain insulation from the grinding poverty of the truly indigent. But assertions of this kind also help us to appreciate the focus of much Franciscan preaching, which has tended since the 1230s to be on the *pauperes pinquiores* rather than the *pauperes indigentes*, who were relegated, more or less, to the almsgiving and charity of the Christian faithful.

The next section of the sermon treats the issue of physical or bodily needs (beyond the inner, spiritual dispositions of Christians). Da Feltre does finally acknowledge that the poor are those who live in acute need,

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54. Cf., for example, the study of Jussi Hanska, *"And the Rich Man also died, and He was buried": The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki, 1997); and, more recently, see the previously mentioned commentary of Pietro Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone,* pp. 196–209.

55. Bernardino da Feltre, *Sermo 18,* in *Sermoni*, ed. Varischi, I, p. 233, vv. 23–36, passim: "Or, dic mihi: quid habet divus?—O, habet domos, possessiones, viridaria, merces, denarios, etc. . . Quando haverà ben consumato el corpo e perduta l'anima, quid habebit post hec? Dic ergo: ubi est maior possessio: divitis vel pauperis? [. . .] Vult enim Deus divitem salvare per pauperem, omnia sua illis dedit. Pauperibus celum, divitibus terram; facta est certa, paupertas est investita de celo. Lk. 6, 20: '*Beati pauperes quoniam vestrum est regnum celorum*'. Etiam Mt. 5, 3 dicit: '*Est*,' non dicit: '*erit*'; sed '*est*' de presenti; ne sono investiti; post mortem intrabunt in possessionem."

56. Indeed, he refers to Francis of Assisi no less than three times in the sermon; and among the numerous citations from Christian as well as pagan authors, he refers to Alexander of Hales three times as well.

exclaiming: "*Debemus adiuvare pauperes, et subvenire eis. . .*" [We must help the poor and come to their aid].[57] In da Feltre's view, lawyers have a special duty to advocate for the poor, lest they be defrauded by the wealthy and powerful.[58] But the Franciscan emphasis remains on the rich, who need to aid the poor in three ways: First, by providing basic necessities to alleviate their immediate physical suffering. The well-off, he says, must assist the poor, not work against them. "Do you have clothes? Well, then help the poor! Then you will make a mansion for yourself in Heaven rather than in Hell!" "Give to the poor and help yourself," he says.[59] Second, if the wealthy try to hold on to what they have, hoarding their riches, they will realize on their deathbeds that they failed in their duty to aid the poor and that the only thing they can bring across the threshold of death is the merit of having helped them.[60] Third, and most pointedly, da Feltre lays out the absolute duty of the wealthy to give from their abundance to the poor. For iniquity, he says, is equated with two things in particular: First, "*vel iniquitatis, idest superfluitatis*" [Iniquity consists in superfluity, that is, the abundance which is hoarded to oneself]. Quoting Luke 11:41, he warns: "Whatever is left over to you, give in alms. . . ."[61] Second, referencing Alexander of Hales, he states unequivocally: "*vel etiam dicitur iniquitatis, idest non equitatis, quia non est eque divisa*" [That which is said to be iniquitous is that which is not equitable because it is not equally divided].[62]

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57. Bernardino da Feltre, *Sermo 18*, I, p. 239, vv. 35–36.

58. Ibid., p. 240, vv. 3–10: ". . . dicit Hostiensis et Thomas 2, 2, q. 71, ar. 1, quod advocatus tenetur amore Dei advocare pro pauperibus, quia, sicut ille obligatur sibi dare de pane qui habet, quando est in necessitate, sic tu obligaris ei subvenire tuo adminiculo, alias diabolus te ne portarà; et si perdet causam suam contra justiciam, Deus te ne dimandarà rasone come se li havesti spoliati li dinari; sicut illi imputabitur quod occiderit, si non paverit esurientem. . . ."

59. Ibid., vv. 15–17: "Adiuva te, adiuva te, et aiuta li poveri a sublevarli e non a desfarli! Donna, tu hai de la roba?—Sì.—Adiuva pauperes. Heu, est talis que posset facere palatium in celo, et utinam non faciat in inferno."

60. Ibid., vv. 23–38 and throughout: "Conservativa. Vis bene conservare? Da pauperibus, nunquam perdes pur un bagatino, mette in bone mane. . . . Si das pauperibus, tu hai la scritta dal patrone che te li renderà cum lucro; etiam quod pauper abuteretur, serva scripturam et chrygraphum, che non poteris farne male. Fac ut vis, che omnino oportet relinquere in morte, licet nolis. . ." [then, citing Gregory's *Moralia,* 18, 9]: "Dives res suas, cum moritur, secum tolleret, si ad petentis vocem cum viveret sibi tulisset. Nam terrena omnia, que servando amittimus, largiendo servamus, patrimoniumque nostrum retentum perditur, manet erogatum. Diu enim cum rebus nostris durare non possumus, quia, aut nos illas moriendo deserimus, aut ille nos viventes quasi deserunt pereundo; agendum ergo nobis est ut, res absolute perituras, in non merituram cogamus transire mercedem, etc."

61. Ibid., p. 242, vv. 11–13: "Vel iniquitatis, idest superfluitatis, quia necessaria retinere possumus, superflua erogare: Lk. 11, 41: '*Quod superest date elimosynam*,' etc."

62. Ibid., vv. 14–15.

This equation of iniquity with inequity (defined as the unequal distribution of goods) is a key theme of early Franciscan social praxis which had already been alluded to in the *Sacrum commercium*, where a subtle reference appears to the famous "Song of the Vineyard" (from Isaiah 5:7), in which the concepts of iniquity and inequity are likewise equated.[63] Social instability and the hardship and poverty it creates could be remedied, according to our preacher, only by helping the struggling poor of the middle classes, whose economic wellbeing was so essential to urban concord.

And this is why da Feltre and others of his era insisted that the poor actually helped the wealthy to inherit the Kingdom of God. He concludes by asserting: "*Regnum caelorum est pauperum: si recipitis eos in hoc mundo, illi vos recipient in alio*" [To the poor belongs the Kingdom of Heaven: so if you welcome them in this world, they will welcome you into the next].[64] The foundation of Christian society, says da Feltre, is justice for the poor.

63. Cf. Michael F. Cusato, "Social Action or Fraternal Presence: Medieval Franciscanism at the Crossroads (1220–1247)," *Franciscana* 15 (2013), 49–88, here 71–72 and nn. 20–21. The allusion to Isaiah 5:7 was made in the *Sacrum commercium beati Francisci cum Domina paupertate*, c. 49.

64. Bernardino da Feltre, *Sermo 18*, I, p. 242, vv. 15–16.

Crossing Cultures: The Mental World and Social Subversion of St. John Baptist de La Salle

RICHARD M. TRISTANO*

The public life of John Baptist de La Salle (1651–1719) as saint and educational innovator is better known than his private life as a nonconforming ascetic. This article examines de La Salle's attitudes toward Augustinianism, Jansenism, and mortification practices. It then explores the connection between his role as a social subversive and his mental world. While de La Salle's motivations were religious, his renunciation of the privileges of birth, office, and wealth often evoked hostility, especially from members of the social elites. Most radical was de La Salle's determination to be poor, which entailed psychological and physical challenges that were powerfully expressed in his relationship with food.

Keywords: John Baptist de La Salle, Brothers of the Christian Schools, Jansenism, social subversion, asceticism, mortification, food.

When recalling the iconography of John Baptist de La Salle (1651–1719), the figure of the saint in an inspirational pose accompanied by two young students comes immediately to mind. The best-known sculptural example is surely Cesare Aureli's statue of the saint, created in 1903 and located in the upper reaches of the nave of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome (Figure 1). This public image reflects de La Salle's contribution to education as the patron saint of teachers and founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools (Fratres Scholarum Christianarum or F.S.C.), the purpose of which was to provide gratuitous schooling for the sons of artisans and the poor in seventeenth-century France. While some of the trials and vicissitudes de La Salle experienced as he pursued this charism are well known, his private life has been more admiringly narrated than analyzed, and assessed from a theological perspective. This essay hopes to situate de La Salle's mental world—

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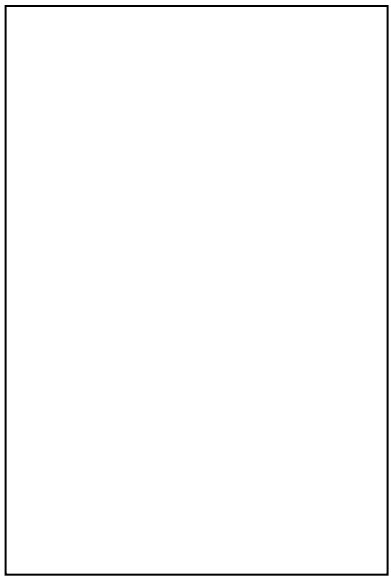

FIGURE 1. Statue of St. John Baptist de La Salle in the Basilica of St. Peter, Vatican City (1903) sculpted by Cesare Aureli (1844–1923)

what he thought and how he thought it—within the social and cultural context of his time and place. This historical approach is in contradistinction but not contradiction to the predominantly theological approaches of such giants of Lasallian studies as Michel Sauvage, F.S.C., and Miguel Campos, F.S.C. De La Salle's connection to the *dévots* in seventeenth-century France, to Augustinianism, Jansenism, the monastic tradition, and mortification practices are some of the crucial components of that world. This study then shifts focus to de La Salle's rather complex relationship to the social order in the France of Louis XIV. What sort of thinker was de La Salle? What were the origins of his ideas? How was he perceived by others? Even if his motivations were wholly religious, how did he subvert the social order? Three episodes—the Marseilles experience, the Clément affair, and de La Salle's fraught relationship to food—constitute case studies that can provide the data needed to answer these questions.

De La Salle's relationship to Jansenism offers a valuable entrée into his mental world because of the traditional assertion that he was not a Jansenist and because of the complex nature of and vital role played by Jansenism in contemporary French society. The term *mental world* here means the complex of ideas and the web of political and social attitudes, and so a context

into which the individual is placed.[1] De La Salle was not a Jansenist, because he refused to become an appellant—that is, he would not publicly align himself with those who sought to appeal to a French church council against Pope Clement XI's *Unigenitus*, the apostolic constitution of 1713 that condemned 101 propositions found in Pasquier Quesnel's book *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*.[2] But this refusal did not exclude Jansenism from the complex of ideas that constituted his mental world.

De La Salle's nephew, Jean-François Maillefer, had been suspended from his post as canon of the Church of St. Symphorien in Reims for refusing to accept the validity of *Unigenitus* and appealing to a secular authority. Sometime early in 1717, de La Salle chided Maillefer in a letter for disobeying his bishop and seeking recourse from a civil authority: "How can you recognize laymen as your judges in a matter that is as surely the province of the Church as ever there was?"[3] Two years later, on January 28, 1719, de La Salle defended himself against accusations that he had joined the appeal, pointing out that his name had been confused with that of his brother, Jean-Louis, and declaring: "I have too much respect for our Holy Father the Pope and too great a submission to the decisions of the Holy See not to give my assent to them."[4] While de La Salle certainly understood the theological questions involved in the papal condemnation, it is also clear that he declined to debate them and focused instead on the issue of obedience to legitimate ecclesiastical authority, something that many Jansenists challenged by citing the Gallican church's independence and the primacy of conscience.[5]

De La Salle's early biographers, especially Jean-Baptiste Blain, and nearly everyone since has emphasized de La Salle's orthodoxy in rather absolute terms.[6] But very little about who a Jansenist was qualified as absolute. The remarks of the duke of Saint-Simon are a case in point:

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1. Linda Levy Peck, *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 149.

2. See Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering Saints: Jansensists and Convulsionnaires in France, 1640–1799* (Portland, OR, 2008), pp. 156–91.

3. Jean Baptist de La Salle, *The Letters of John Baptist de La Salle*, ed. Augustine Loes, F.S.C., and trans. Colman Molloy, F.S.C. (Romeoville, IL, 1988), Letter 120, pp. 238–40.

4. De La Salle, *Letters*, Letter 132, pp. 251–54.

5. Strayer, *Suffering Saints,* p. 18.

6. Jean-Baptiste Blain, *The Life of John Baptist de La Salle, Founder of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools: A biography in three books* (1733), ed. Luke Salm, F.S.C., trans. Richard Arnandez, F.S.C. (Landover, MD, 2000), pp. 615–17, hereafter cited as Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*. The challenges of using Blain's work are expertly outlined by the editor of the English translation of Blain's *Life*, Luke Salm, who describes Blain's text as "an authentic documentary source" (p. xi). Despite the difficulties of his style, which Salm describes as

> I hold all party divisions detestable in Church and State. There is no party but that of Jesus Christ. I also hold to be heretical the five famous propositions [condemned in Cornelius Jansen's *Augustinus*], direct or indirect, and equally so all books, without exception, which contain them. I believe also that there are persons who hold them to be good and true, who are united among themselves and form a party. Therefore, in these respects I am not a Jansenist.

But Saint-Simon does not stop here. Immediately thereafter he proclaims the formulary oath accepting condemned propositions as heretical, as a "pernicious invention," and voices his support for the liberties of the Gallican church. He then praises Jansenism for producing persons who are "most saintly, purest, most learned, most instructive, most practical, and, nevertheless, most elevated, most luminous, most shining, issued from that school and from what is known under the name of Port Royal." Finally, he asserts "that the name of Jansenist and Jansenism is a convenient pot of paint with which to blacken those it is desirable to ruin; and that out of a thousand persons daubed with it there may not be two who deserve it."[7] In short, Saint-Simon denounces the formulary; asserts his support of Gallicanism; praises Jansenists for their moral rectitude and learning; and testifies to the rampant abuse of the term *Jansenism* to discredit foes—all while declaring himself *not* a Jansenist, which suggests just how complicated identifying a Jansenist could be.

At the heart of this movement was an Augustinian anthropology, a conviction that human nature was so deformed by original sin that humans were totally dependent on God's grace for salvation. Augustinianism was so widespread during the Reformation that one could accept its view of human nature and freedom and not be a Jansenist. The *dévots*, a group of reformers associated with the French Reformation and Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle, one of its most influential figures, expressed a dim view of human nature, advocated a life of strict morality, and defended the right of bishops against papal authority.[8] In sum, there were those who identified with Jansenism, and those who denied being Jansenists, and

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being "prone to repetition, digression, exaggeration, extended apologetics, and outmoded rhetorical devices" (p. xi), he ultimately concludes: "In spite of these shortcomings, there is perhaps no better way to immerse oneself in the spirituality and mindset of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century than to read Blain's account" (p. xi). I shall have the opportunity both to highlight the value of Blain's text and to point out some of its inconsistencies.

7. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, T*he Age of Magnificence; The Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon*, trans. Sanche de Gramont (New York, 1963), pp. 321–23.

8. Strayer, *Suffering Saints*, p. 50.

often one could detect few differences between the two. Then there were those who leveled accusations of Jansenism either at people who really *were* Jansenists or at others who were merely the object of a polemical attack. The combination of this ambiguity with de La Salle's narrow definition of Jansenism invites a more comprehensive analysis of de La Salle's relationship to this movement. The episode of de La Salle at Marseilles can clarify this complicated situation.

De La Salle and the Jansenists in Marseille: The Account of Jean-Baptiste Blain

The Lasallian movement was northern in origin. A native of Reims, de La Salle moved in 1688 to Paris to staff a parish school and then to Rouen. It was not until 1703 that he initiated the opening of schools in the south, first in Avignon and then in some smaller towns heavily populated by French Protestants who had been forced to convert to Catholicism in 1685 when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. De La Salle arrived in Marseille sometime in mid-1712 with plans for the Brothers to take over the existing gratuitous schools. This required the establishment of a novitiate to train native teachers for the southern schools.

Initially the Brothers enjoyed widespread support, but sermons by an unnamed Jesuit on the value of the Christian Schools set off a very negative reaction among members of what appears to be a significant Jansenist faction of the Marseilles clergy. The key figure in this sequence of events was the pastor of Les Accoules, identified as Joseph Arnaud.[9] Once a supporter of de La Salle and the Brothers, Arnaud soon became their greatest foe, and Blain considers Arnaud and his faction responsible for the Marseille novitiate's demise. Blain's account also reveals how de La Salle was perceived by the Jansenists.

According to Blain, when Arnaud "made the first overtures, he did not get very far without noticing in de La Salle's attitude and on his countenance that the Founder did not care for the new doctrine [i.e., Jansenism]." While Blain's intention is to show de La Salle's orthodoxy, his inference that Arnaud approached de La Salle thinking he might be a fellow Jansenist is more intriguing. When Arnaud concluded to the contrary, the Jansenists decided to defame de La Salle, but his life was so exemplary that they could find no moral failing with which to do so. Instead, they chose to tack and

9. Alfred Calcutt, F.S.C., *La Salle, a City Saint and the Liberation of the Poor through Education*, 2nd ed. (Essex, UK, 2004), p. 696.

focus not on the legitimacy of his religious rigor but on the excesses of his piety, its extreme severity, and exaggerated regularity. The Jansenists

> found fault with the different kinds of penance and mortification that de La Salle had learned from the saints and had introduced into his Community. They represented him as unconventional, harsh, un-balanced, inflexible—a man who never changed his mind. According to them, caprice was at the root of all his behavior. He was hard headed and agreed with nobody, and what was worse still, he wanted to mold everyone else to resemble him. He laid impossible burdens on the shoulders of the Brothers and subjected them to an impractical and outlandish lifestyle.[10]

It is ironic that Blain describes de La Salle in terms typically applied to Jansenists, for they were the ones often accused of excessive severity, inflexibility, and stubbornness.

There must have been some plausible basis for the defamation campaign, because it succeeded: the schools remained in the hands of clerics, the novitiate plans were abandoned, and de La Salle accepted with a "submissive mind and heart" his former backers' withdrawal of support. The Jansenist faction then tried to win de La Salle over to their side. Having already successfully maneuvered the Brothers out of the schools, why would they do this if they were convinced that De La Salle was a Molinist, a supporter of free-will and papal authority? Their pursuit of De La Salle provides an intriguing opportunity to examine his attitude toward Jansenism and how he was perceived by the Jansenists.

Members of the Jansenist faction visited de La Salle often, flattered him, and offered him gifts, all of which, according to Blain, he rebuffed. They invited him to join their theological discussions. "The clerics, who held conferences regularly on certain days, were happy to have de La Salle in attendance. The discussions were not always on topics of piety; the current theological issues were the matters ordinarily discussed." Why did de La Salle attend these meetings and what is the difference between "topics of piety [*Les discours . . . de pieté*]" and "current theological issues [*Les matières du tems*]"? The following remark from Blain hints at an answer to these questions and again suggests de La Salle's narrower disciplinary view of Jansenism: "De La Salle was always amazed to hear from the same mouths the language of angels when they spoke of God and the language of Luther and Calvin when they spoke of the pope and the bishops."[11]

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10. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 615–17.
11. All quotations in this paragraph are drawn from Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 614.

When Jansenists spoke of God, they spoke de La Salle's language—not so when they expressed their relationship to the hierarchical church.

The attempts to defame de La Salle have something in common: they hover around alleged excesses of devotion. References by the early biographers (Brother Bernard, François-Elie Maillefer, and Blain) to de La Salle's penitence and mortification are legion. Maillefer references de La Salle's mortifications as "continual," including the use of a hair shirt and sleeping on the floor of his room, while Bernard relates how the mortification practices of the first Brothers were so severe that the common people sometimes responded by throwing stones at them.[12]

The attitude of those outside the community, such as de La Salle's nephew, Maillefer, provides the most convincing evidence for why de La Salle's penance and mortification were perceived as excessive. When de La Salle returned to Paris from his sojourn in the south, as ordered by the "Principal Brothers," he lived from October 1717 until March 1718 at the seminary of Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet. The superior wrote this about the Founder.

> We noted in him chiefly an ardent zeal, an extraordinary fervor in working out his own sanctification, a very profound humility, and a great love of mortification and poverty. . . . His mortification astounded us, although we were greatly edified. He would never accept a heated room when he came to live with us, and rather than warm himself at the common stove, even during recreation, he preferred to walk in one of the rooms or in the gardens with several of the seminarians. . . .[13]

This impression of de La Salle's mortifications, here described by a seasoned cleric as "astounding," is supported by a story Blain tells, in which Paul Godet des Marais, bishop of Chartres and fellow student of de La Salle's at the seminary of Saint Sulpice, together with his vicar general, tricked de La Salle into staying for dinner by having all of the exit doors locked shut. This extraordinary plot was made necessary by de La Salle's refusal to accept invitations to dine with the bishop because it violated the community's Rule. The purpose of the ruse was to advise de La Salle that he "carried the practice of austerity too far," and that doing so was undermining the health of the Brothers.[14]

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12. Dom François-Elie Maillefer, O.S.B., and Brother Bernard, F.S.C., *John Baptist de La Salle: Two Early Biographies*, ed. Paul Grass, F.S.C. , trans. William J. Quinn, F.S.C., rev. trans, Donald C. Mouton, F.S.C. (Landover, MD, 1996), Maillefer, p. 95; Bernard, p. 317.

13. Maillefer, *Two Early Biographies,* pp. 183–84.

14. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 377.

Blain also relates how de La Salle gave his valet orders to wake him at set intervals because he thought sleep an obstacle to perfection. He specifically sought to subdue his sensitivity to pain by placing sharp pebbles on his prie-dieu. His spiritual director forbade him to continue very rigorous fasts.[15] With whips and sharp belts he scourged himself until blood ran down the walls. The Brothers intervened and searched out these instruments "to remove them from his reach, thus sparing him, at least for a few days, the torments he suffered and giving his body a little respite."[16] Abundant evidence exists of de La Salle's excessive mortification, which appears to be rooted in a sort of holy self-loathing. As Blain explains it:

> This holy abhorrence of himself was one of the most precious gifts that God had bestowed on him. Because everything about himself served only to fill him with loathing . . . de La Salle regarded this fallen nature as his greatest enemy.[17]

Blain here describes a radical Augustinianism, which de La Salle shared with the Jansenists. Given his propensity to praise de La Salle, Blain's negative judgment is surprising,

> If it is possible to go to excess in the matter of penance, we must admit that this is a very rare failing, especially in the age in which we live. . . . I say it again: if we can go too far in the practices of austerities (and no one denies that this is possible), we must admit that it was a fault committed by the greatest saints and one that can be charged also against John Baptist de La Salle. Indeed, there was no lack of humiliating reproaches made against him on this score.[18]

De La Salle's mental world was much broader than has been traditionally thought. Motivated by their zeal to prove his orthodoxy, de La Salle's early biographers depicted a narrow, parochial thinker. In fact, he was deeply engaged in the intellectual life of seventeenth-century France and influenced by a goodly number of intellectual traditions. He shared the extreme rigor associated with the *dévots*. Even de La Salle's closest followers and supporters—his bishop, his spiritual director, and the Brothers—noted his excesses of mortification and intervened to moderate his behavior. In composing his catechism, *The Duties of a Christian*, he selected from

15. Ibid., pp. 44–45.

16. Jean-Baptiste Blain, *The Mind and Heart of John Baptist de La Salle*, ed. Augustine Loes, F.S.C., trans. Edwin Bannon, F.S.C. (Landover, MD, 2002), p. 168, hereafter cited as Blain, *Mind and Heart*.

17. Blain, *Mind and Heart*, pp. 460–62, here p. 462.

18. Ibid., p. 464.

both pro-Jansenist and anti-Jansenist texts.[19] Although undoubtedly a practical thinker, de La Salle was more fundamentally an inductive one.[20] This allowed him to internalize paradox, to behave with Jansenist-like asceticism while maintaining a Jesuitical loyalty to the papacy. In his devotional practices he was among the most avant-garde figures of his time, yet he remained scrupulously obedient to authority. On occasion, the more radical aspects of his mental world could interject themselves into the social context, subverting some of French society's most fundamental precepts with dire personal consequences.

Subverting Corporate Structures

One author has posited de La Salle's support for existing social hierarchies and conventions: "He [de La Salle] did not seriously question the social order, much less try to work against it. Even the briefest perusal of his life indicates his acceptance, if not his actual endorsement, of the forces set in motion by the king and his ministers."[21] This author adds that de La Salle recognized how the social order made life very precarious for artisans and the poor. This evaluation of de La Salle's social attitudes is typical: he recognized the suffering of the poor, but he accepted the social order and was a loyal subject of the king. His immediate goal was to give to poor French boys the tools of reading and writing so that they might improve themselves materially, while the ultimate goal of his schools was the salvation of their souls.

This analysis is an oversimplification of de La Salle's relationship to the social order, which resembled his rather complicated mental world: inductive, unsystematic, seemingly conservative and orthodox but subversively challenging the status quo. These challenges came not in the form of manifestos with which Jesuits debated Jansenists but in three life-changing acts of personal heroism. The first and second are familiar episodes in the story of de La Salle's sainthood: his resignation in 1682 as canon of the cathedral of Reims and his extraordinary charity to the poor during the famine of 1683–1684. The third was the most radical and personal: the quest to transcend his bourgeois origins and transform himself into one of

19. Jean Pungier, *John Baptist de La Salle: The Message of His Catechism*, trans. Oswald Murdoch, F.S.C., ed. Gerard Rummery, F.S.C. (Landover, MD, 1999), pp. 53–118.

20. Léon Lauraire, F.S.C., *The Conduct of Schools, A Contextual Approach* [Cahier Lasalliens, 61], trans. Leonard Marsh, F.S.C. (Rome, 2008), p. 12.

21. Bonaventure Miner, F.S.C., "La Salle and the Social Order of Louis XIV," in *A Seminar on Power and Authority*, ed. Martin C. Helldorfer (Lockport, IL, 1976), 41–46, esp. pp. 44–45.

the poor. Accomplishing this transformation was a harrowing process and an act of sheer will.

In 1700, France still recognized the three estates of clergy, nobility, and everyone else, a structure traceable to the twelfth century.[22] De La Salle's father, Louis de La Salle, was a magistrate in the local court who had married Nicole Moët, a member of the local nobility. From this position of wealth and status de La Salle entered into the advantaged first estate when he was ordained a priest. John Baptist's privileged life as a cleric had been laid out for him at the age of fifteen when his great-cousin Dozet passed on to him the office of canon of Reims Cathedral.[23] Gradually de La Salle was led by God from this exclusive path to a very different one culminating in the founding of the Christian Schools.

The three estates were far from the only corporations in French society. The university was another, and both the working and professional classes were organized into guilds. Licensed by the king and municipal governments, guilds were legal entities with privileges that they guarded jealously.[24] Within Lasallian history, two of these corporate bodies were the teachers of the Little Schools (*petites écoles*) and those of the Writing Masters (*Maîtres Ecrivains*),[25] The ongoing hostility between these groups and the Brothers reflected the fact that the innovative Christian Schools did not fit into France's existing educational structure: their main purpose was to serve the poor, but they admitted all students regardless of their economic status. This undermined the Little Schools, which charged fees, while the Christian Schools were gratuitous. In addition, the Brothers taught writing, which until then had been the privilege of the Writing Masters. De La Salle's educational system provoked a series of legal challenges from 1704 to 1706, most of which de La Salle lost because the local authorities favored tradition and were suspicious of his innovations.[26]

The elites also opposed the Christian Schools. From the secular side came the fear that teaching the poor to read and write would cause them to abandon the menial labor that was their function in society and thus had

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22. Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy 1598–1789*, trans. Brian Pearce (Chicago, 1979), pp. 3–48 and pp. 112–46.

23. Calcutt, *La Salle, a City Saint*, 2nd ed. (cited in n. 9 above), p. 38.

24. Mousnier, *Institutions,* pp. 463–72.

25. Léon Lauraire, *The Conduct of Schools: A Contextual Approach*, pp. 208–18.

26. Henri Bédel, *An Introduction to the History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools: The Origins, 1651–1726*, trans. Allen Geppert, F.S.C. (Rome, 1996), pp. 128–32. Calcutt, *La Salle, a City Saint,* 2nd ed., pp. 518–26.

the potential to disrupt the entire social order. Opposition from the clergy was, if anything, even more intense. Bishop Godet Desmarets of Reims was concerned that the Brothers taught the students to read French first rather than the traditional Latin.[27] Joachim Trotti de La Chétardye, pastor of Saint-Sulpice parish and once a steadfast supporter of de La Salle, turned against him, because he wanted to exert greater control over the parish school staffed by lay Brothers. Not surprisingly, the immediate pretext for de La Salle's removal as superior was the harshness of his discipline. La Chétardye managed to convince the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris to replace de La Salle, who was restored to his position only when the Brothers refused to accept the authority of the cardinal's appointee.[28] An earlier, more serious attempt to remove de La Salle had occurred when he himself tried to install a Brother as the school's superior. The astonished authorities had intervened. Blain describes their uneasy response: "A simple Brother placed over a priest, a doctor, a former canon? The Founder, father, director, and confessor of the little community at the feet of one of his children, one of his penitents, seemed to them a disorder that called for a remedy, a monstrosity in the area of government."[29] Despite his sincere obedience to authority, de La Salle challenged both secular and sacred traditions that functioned as mechanisms of social control as he pursued a radically new educational paradigm built on a lay society of consecrated teachers and catechists. Ultimately he came up against the corporate entity that was most fundamental to French society—the family; and when he did, his actions were perceived as another sort of monstrous disorder.

The Clément Affair

At the center of French society was *lignage* [lineage], the succession of kinfolk from a common ancestry. Essential to the identity and social status of the nobility for centuries, the link between social rank and family line was filtering down to the bourgeoisie.[30] Of course, the fortunes of the royal family depended on producing a male heir. Primogeniture and other such hereditary rights were legal tools designed to prevent the division, reduction, or loss of a family's fortune and property, along with the diminution of status it would entail. The early modern period in France saw a signifi-

27. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 379–81.

28. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 413–21; Calcutt, *La Salle, a City Saint*, 2nd ed., pp. 477–88.

29. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 223.

30. Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household, and Sexuality in Early Modern France*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 1–10.

cant increase in paternal power and the authority of the paterfamilias within the household.[31] The paterfamilias possessed legal rights over his wife and children. He controlled their property; through a *lettre de cachet* he could have his sons under the age of twenty-five detained by the police or his wife imprisoned for adultery. Children could neither marry nor take religious vows without paternal permission.[32]

These legal privileges were buttressed by religion and the authority of the Church. The Council of Trent, in response to Protestant theological attacks, reinforced all of the sacraments and sought to bolster the stability of the family through the indissoluble sacrament of marriage. It condemned clandestine marriages as "detested and prohibited," though formerly valid; condemned officials who pressured couples to marry; and imposed new regulations that required a priest as witness and the announcement of banns to the community.[33] In France, St. Joseph was increasingly depicted as the ideal father and head of the family, the model whose intercession was frequently sought. In turn, the Holy Family, as the epitome of the Christian family, became a standard topic for sermons.[34] When de La Salle was maneuvered into a conflict with paternal power, he suffered his most humiliating defeat. This episode is known as the Clément affair.

The cleric Jean-Charles Clément, aged 23, approached de La Salle in December 1707 with a proposal to collaborate on a project to raise homeless boys and teach them a trade.[35] When the Founder explained that such an undertaking was not within the scope of the Institute, the young abbé accepted de La Salle's alternative suggestion to establish a school to train rural schoolmasters. With his friend, Louis Rogier, acting as intermediary, de La Salle agreed in October 1708 to provide a down payment of 5,200 *livres* on a property to house the school. In February 1711, while visiting newly established schools in the south, de La Salle received letters from Paris informing him of a lawsuit initiated by the abbé's father, Julien Clé-

31. Jeffrey Merrick, "Fathers and Kings: Patriarchalism and Absolutism in Eighteenth-Century French Politics," in *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*, eds. Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick (University Park, PA, 2009), p. 103.

32. Merrick, "Fathers and Kings," p. 104.

33. On the former validity of clandestine marriages and banns of matrimony, see *The Council of Trent, The Twenty-Fourth Session*, chap. 1; on condemnation of officials, see chap. 9 at https:// history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct24.html (accessed May 28, 2017).See also John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), pp. 224–28 and 256–57.

34. Jean Delumeau and Daniel Roche, eds., *Histoire des pères et de la paternité* (Paris, 1990), pp. 130–54.

35. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 588–601.

ment. De La Salle was quickly found guilty of suborning a minor; he was obliged to forfeit his down payment and was liable to be arrested. De La Salle fled Paris and returned to his tour of the southern schools. These are the bare-bones facts of the case.

The usual narrative (based on Blain's text) focuses on Clément *fils*, even though Clément *père* was the driving force behind the suit. François de Vaux de Foletier has written an analysis of forty-six medical professionals who were ennobled under Louis XIV and XV, twenty of whom were physicians and twenty of whom were surgeons. Most were connected to the court.[36] Among those twenty surgeons was Julien Clément (1649–1728). With the help of the archbishop of his native Arles, Julien went as a young man to Paris, where he became a pupil of the renowned obstetrician Jacques Lefèvre, whose daughter he later married.

Julien Clément apparently became an obstetrician of considerable skill and reputation. He practiced great discretion on several clandestine deliveries, including that of a ballerina at the *Opéra*, who gave birth to a nobleman's child; and he delivered one of Madame de Montespan's children, sired by the king.[37] Clément was brought blindfolded to her room, and it was there that he first met Louis XIV, who ultimately entrusted him with the responsibility of preserving the Bourbon dynasty by delivering the royal progeny. The king rewarded this service by naming Clément first head valet of the duchess of Burgundy on January 22, 1707. Four-and-a-half years later, in August 1711, he was issued a letter of ennoblement.[38]

Evidently, Julien Clément was also a man of ambition. On January 23, 1712, just a few months after his ennoblement, a summons requiring de La Salle to appear in court was filed, accusing the cleric of taking advantage of a minor, Julien's son Jean-Charles.[39] There can be little doubt that the prosecution of de La Salle was connected to Julien Clément's new social status. But there was also something personal in Julien Clément's legal

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36. François de Vaux de Foletier, "Anoblissements de médecins et chirurgiens de Louis XIV à Louis XVI,"
http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/sfhm/hsm/HSMx1982x016x003/HSMx1982x016x003x0163.pdf (accessed Aug. 7, 2015).

37. Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les lettres de cachet a Paris étude suivie d'une liste des prisonniers de la Bastille (1659–1789)* (Paris, 1903), p. 155.

38. See "Julien Clément (médecin),"
https://www.wikiwand.com/fr/Julien_Clément_(médecin) (accessed Apr. 25, 2016).

39. Armand Ravelet, *Histoire du Vénérable Jean-Baptiste de La Salle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1874), p. 400.

action against de La Salle, something that tapped into the core of the Ancien Régime, something that infuriated the surgeon and triggered bitter contempt for the priest. De La Salle was a class traitor. The social ambitions of the bourgeoisie, as epitomized by Julien Clément, are insightfully explained by Fernand Braudel:

> The bourgeoisie turned class traitor the more readily since the money which distinguished rich from poor was in the sixteenth century already appearing to be an attribute of nobility. . . . If the social order seems to have been modified, the change was sometimes more apparent than real. The bourgeoisie was not always pushed out, brutally liquidated. It turned class traitor. . . . The chief ambition of these pseudo-bourgeois was to reach the ranks of the aristocracy, to be absorbed into it, or at the very least to marry their richly-dowered daughters to a nobleman. . . . But in 1615 the same spectacle could be seen in France. . . . It was the same everywhere in the seventeenth century, for the class barrier was always being crossed and social censure was ever on the watch.[40]

De La Salle's conversion experience was primarily religious, but his confrontation with guilds, pastors and clericalism, and the corporate basis of French society had profound social and cultural ramifications. Julien Clément, whose claims to social privilege were brand new and most vulnerable, wanted to humiliate de La Salle and remove all taint to his *lignage*, all connections between his family and this class traitor. He needed the affirmation of his new status by a traditional public institution, such as the court, which had its own interest in upholding the social order that de La Salle was subverting. The priest needed to be taught a lesson. The most revealing phrase in the court's judgment was how it identified him: "M. de La Salle, Priest and so-called [or pretended] superior general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools from the city of Reims."[41] This constituted both a legal claim—that the Institute of the Brothers had no legal basis in French law—and a sociocultural one—that de La Salle was a mere priest from the city of Reims, with neither legal standing nor social respectability. This priest had once belonged to a solidly bourgeois family and been the

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40. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 726, 729, and 733. Yves Poutet puts it somewhat more benignly in one of his titles: "The Great Breaches of 1681–1688" [Les Grandes Ruptures de 1681–1688]; see *Le XVII^e [i.e. Dix-septième] siècle et les origines lasalliennes, recherches sur la genèse de l'oeuvre scolaire et religieuse de Jean-Baptiste de La Salle (1651–1719)*, 2 vols. (Rennes, 1970), vol. 1, p. 715.

41. "[C]ontre le sieur de la Salle prêtre se disant supérieur général des frères de l'école chrestienne de la ville de Rheims. . ." (cited in Ravelet, *Histoire du Vénérable Jean-Baptiste de La Salle*, pp. 403–05).

canon of one of France's most famous cathedrals, but he had renounced both. In doing so, he had flouted the most fundamental conventions of French society. As Ravelet has pointed out, the judgment against de La Salle conferred a stigma of dishonor [*une flétrissure*], expressed as "requiring minor children to such acts and money to use in these same sorts of ways."[42] De La Salle was a threat to society, to the family, and needed to be punished, blackened, and most of all publicly humiliated, with something like the duke of Saint-Simon's "pot of paint."

Conjunction: De La Salle's Ascetic "Social Revolution" and His Mental World

The traditional narrative describes de La Salle's conversion as a gradual and rather passive spiritual journey, during which he tried to discern God's plan for him. But within this story lies another more social and cultural in character, more radical, and in which de La Salle plays a much more active role. As he was abandoning his birthright, his prebend as a canon, his wealth, and social status, and moving toward the foundation of schools for the poor, de La Salle was compelled to learn about the poor he wished to serve, and to establish contact with them. Doing so was difficult because, as the child of a prominent family, he had been sheltered from the lower classes. For Poutet the key event was the introduction of the teachers into the ancestral home.[43] As de La Salle recalled in his *Memoir on the Beginning*, "'I considered the men whom I was obliged to employ in the schools at the beginning as being inferior to my valet, the mere thought that I would have to live with them would have been insupportable to me.'"[44] But mere knowledge was insufficient, "He needed to *become* one of the poor so that he might enrich them."[45] This was a conscious act of downward social mobility and personal transformation, and it induced a psychological dissonance as well as a determination to overcome his bourgeois sensibility. De La Salle realized that his effort to become one of the poor was both a psychological and physical challenge that was causally linked to mortification of the body. During Holy Week he attempted to eat nothing but a broth made from herbs but was unable to digest anything he ate. This was de La Salle's first bout with vomiting, a physical expression of the psychological repulsion triggered by his social and cultural

42. "[D']exiger des enfants mineurs de pareils actes et de l'argent et d'user de pareilles voies" (cited in Ravelet, *Histoire*, p. 402).

43. Poutet, *Les origines lasalliennes*, pp. 740–41.

44. De la Salle, *Memoir on the Beginning*, cited in Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 80.

45. Ibid., pp. 43–45, emphasis added.

devolution into the class of the urban poor. Given his "holy abhorrence of himself," overcoming his deep repugnance required a tremendous act of will as a nonconforming ascetic.[46] Because this asceticism rejected the world (the world inhabited by, for instance, Julien Clément), it also contained the germ of a "social revolution."

The origins of de La Salle's ascetic "social revolution"—his ideas on poverty, solitude, withdrawal from the world, prayer, and mortification—are fundamental to his mental world and typically eclectic. His Augustinianism was appropriated from the Reformation. In 1506 the Amerbach brothers completed publication of their edition of Augustine's collected works, just in time for the Reformation to access the ideas of their favorite Church Father on justification, grace, predestination, and many other topics. We know that Luther was influenced by the *schola Augustiniana moderna*, associated with Gregory of Rimini (ca. 1300–1358), who, like Luther, was an Augustinian friar.[47] Augustine was even more central to Calvin's theology. Of course the *locus classicus* of French Augustinianism was Jansenism, and at its center were Cornelius Jansen and his *Augustinus.* The influence of Augustine was ubiquitous, and it was linked to a strict moral probity that stood in opposition to the Jesuits and their perceived moral laxity.

The basis of de La Salle's mental world in this regard can be probed through seven of his *Meditations*: 1) St. Anthony Abbot; 2) St. Paulinus of Nola; 3) St. Bruno; 4) St. Peter Celestine (Pope Celestine V); 5) St. Francis of Assisi; 6) St. Carlo Borromeo; and 7) St. Augustine. From these can be traced four sources of inspiration: 1) the Desert Fathers; 2) medieval monasticism; 3) modern asceticism; and 4) St. Augustine. In turn, the ideas contained therein can be classified under six topics: 1) to sell all and give to the poor; 2) to be or to become poor; 3) to withdraw from the world; 4) solitude or seclusion; 5) prayer; and 6) mortification.[48] St.

46. I gratefully acknowledge adopting this latter term from one of the journal's referees, whose comments I found very helpful.

47. On the Amerbach edition of Augustine's work, see Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 4th ed. (Malden, MA, 2012), p. 13; on the schola Augustiniana moderna, see p. 69.

48. John Baptist de La Salle, *Meditations*, ed. Augustine Loes, F.S.C., and Francis Huether, F.S.C, trans. Richard Arnandez, F.S.C., and Augustine Loes, F.S.C. (Landover, MD, 1994). The *Meditations* in question are here cited not by the pages on which they appear in the Loes edition but by their ordinal numbering in de La Salle's text: St. Anthony Abbot, 97; Paulinus, 137; Bruno, 174; Peter Celestine, 127; Francis of Assisi, 173; Charles Borromeo, 187; St. Augustine's conversion, 123; and St. Augustine, 161. The number of times that each of these six topic appears in the *Meditations* is 4, 3, 4, 4, 5, and 9, respectively.

Anthony Abbot was a prime exemplar of the principle that the Christian life depends on detaching oneself from possessions. He became the fountainhead of a radical Christian asceticism—looms large. One of his counterparts in the Western church, St. Paulinus of Nola, is described as not wanting "to possess anything except God"; and St. Francis inspired his disciples to "Learn to love poverty and to live in detachment from all things." But to "become" poor requires transformation at an existential level.

Any conclusions drawn from this kind of analysis must be limited and modest, for many other factors constitute de La Salle's mental world, and many other meditations and sources could be adduced. Still, the results of this analysis are revealing. Two observations are most germane. The first is that the topic of mortification, with nine mentions, exceeds all others; the second is how de La Salle combines topics in interesting ways. In the first, he writes about Peter Celestine: "His macerations were carried to such an excess that when he slept he used a stone for a pillow."[49] This is reminiscent of de La Salle's war against sleep and his practice of placing stones on his prie-dieu to keep himself awake. In the second, he frequently (four times) links prayer to mortification. For example, in the meditation on St. Francis he writes: "He often spent his nights in prayer and took very severe disciplines" (p. 323 [173.3]). He emphasizes that mortification helps to resist temptation. In his meditation for the feast of St. Bruno, he asserts: "Mortification subdues the body and makes it less susceptible to temptation" (p. 325 [174.5]), while noting that Peter Celestine practiced "[m]acerating his body to resist the temptation that bothered him" (p. 234 [127.1]).

Even more incisive is de La Salle's contention that the efficacy of prayer depends on mortification. For example, in the meditation on St. Charles Borromeo, he writes: "Prayer without mortification is often an illusion" (p. 349 [187.2]). According to de La Salle, St. Bruno linked prayer and mortification to seclusion: "[He] Chose three very sure means to go to God: seclusion. . . , continual prayer, and mortification in everything" (p. 325 (174.3]). Finally, de La Salle created two mediations on St. Augustine, one for his feast day and another for his conversion. On the former he noted that "He led an extremely solitary and penitential life" (p. 297 [161.1]), while for his conversion he wrote that "he endeavored to give up the pleasures of the senses" (p. 227 [123.3]), an observation reminiscent of the charges levied against de La Salle by the Marseilles Jansenists.

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49. De La Salle, *Meditations*, p. 234 (127.1). Quotations from this work are cited parenthetically in the text; citations include page numbers in Loes's English translation, followed in brackets by references to the three-part numbering system of the *Meditations*.

One need not go far to see direct correlations between de La Salle's thoughts on these saints and his own behavior. Like St. Anthony, he sold all of his possessions and gave the proceeds to the poor; like the monastics, he withdrew from the world and craved solitude; like Paulinus and Celestine, he embraced the virtue of charity and extreme mortification; like Francis, he not only loved the poor but wanted to become poor; like Bruno, he saw mortification as the best means to curb temptations of the body; like Charles Borromeo, he regarded mortification as essential to prayer, wore a hair shirt, and slept little; and like Augustine, he strove to abjure sensual pleasures, a renunciation for which the Marseille Jansenists attacked him. There can be no doubt that de La Salle's pursuit of poverty, solitude, prayer, and mortification was a conscious act of self-invention guided by the models of radical monasticism that he recommended to the Brothers in his *Meditations*.

It is unsurprising that this sort of acute asceticism had social ramifications and that it formed the context for de La Salle's public actions. When de La Salle finally introduced the teachers into his ancestral home, most of his family members were horrified; their responses—full of references to honor, blood, and heraldry—echoed the language of the Ancien Régime that Clément would have recognized. As Blain writes, "They accused him of staining the honor of the family and of blotting the escutcheon by associating with people of such low standing. They said that he was not living up to his blood . . . that it was ridiculous not to make any distinction between them and his own brothers."[50] His decision to leave his home, the very symbol of his patrimony, was quite literally a liminal moment. It led to the beginning of his conscious pauperization. The teachers challenged him by pointing out the social gap that still divided them. If the enterprise they had embarked upon failed, they might well starve while de La Salle could fall back on income from his canonry and family inheritance. His response, to resign his benefice, set up yet another social conflict. De La Salle turned over his canonry not to his brother Jean-Louis, but to a priest of low birth named Faubert. Everyone, including Archbishop Le Tellier, was appalled by de La Salle's violation of the obligation of family ties (which evoked once again the Clément affair). Later, the bishop righted this wrong by making de La Salle's brother a canon, explaining that he was "offering . . . this gift to make reparation for the foolishness of Monsieur de La Salle, who gave his benefice to someone other than his own brother."[51]

50. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 89.
51. Ibid., p. 131.

De La Salle's next and most radical act was to give away his patrimony during the famine of 1683–1684, "the most unusual, heroic, and unworldly action he ever performed."[52] It is at this point that de La Salle *becomes* poor, poorer than those to whom he gave away his wealth, and actually begs door to door. This singular act was the most decisive step yet in creating a new persona, and it coincided with the decision to design a distinctive habit that symbolized an extravagant rejection of the world. De La Salle's actions not only evoked hostility from Julien Clément and Archbishop Le Tellier, but they even aroused derision among the artisans and the poor.

> People pointed the finger of scorn at them. They were escorted with raucous cries amidst scenes of near riot . . . they were spattered with mud and pursued by those who threw stones at them until they reached the door of their house. . . . What kind of people are these? they asked in mockery. Where do they come from?[53]

The people were stunned and offended by de La Salle's disregard for the most revered codes of social behavior. Who in their right mind would freely embrace the misery of poverty? This was a revolutionary idea.

De La Salle's Trauma Crossing Cultures

While de La Salle was crossing social classes he was also traversing cultures. In a society as stratified as that of seventeenth-century France, there were many ways to showcase one's social position. Dress was the most obvious, but food was the more substantial. The poor continued to eat black breads, soups, and—when they could get it—salted meat. Town dwellers, on the other hand, ate lighter bread and fresh meat; aristocrats were inveterate meat-eaters. The sense of taste, according to Massimo Montanari, is located not in the tongue but in the brain; it is cultural and historical and can vary according to place and time. Taste is therefore a product of society, reflecting conscious calculation. For the lower classes of de La Salle's France it was about abundance—filling one's belly, the ease of obtaining enough to survive—and "taste" was often a matter of life and death. For the upper classes it was quite the opposite: they sought not what was abundant but what was rare—seeking to whet rather than sate the appetite—and this taste reflected their wealth and social status.[54]

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52. Ibid., p. 147.
53. Ibid., p. 188.
54. Massimo Montanari, *Food Is Culture* (New York, 2006), p. 61; Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat, Riddles of Food and Culture* (New York, 1985), p. 72.

One of the notable things about Blain's narrative is his use of the word *repugnance* [*répugnance*], which appears fourteen times in Volume I and thirty-seven times in Volume II of the French original. The use of this word is not limited to Blain; both Bernard and Maillefer use it as well, though typically more economically than Blain.[55] Rachel Herz describes repugnance (she uses the term *disgust*) as the last emotion that children acquire, as early as age five or as late as age nine.[56] Because it is culturally defined, it must be learned, which makes it the most enigmatic and sophisticated emotion. It is also socially conditioned yet individualized: what disgusts one person may delight another, depending on the meaning of the object of repugnance. Food is especially disgustable. What constitutes wholesome food varies widely from culture to culture, with insects regarded as inedible by one group and as a delicacy by another. Most cultures have food taboos, which are usually connected to moralization (the process whereby an object or activity becomes morally charged). For example, a vegan may associate eating meat with the inhumane conditions under which animals are raised for slaughter. Disgust has a social function: it maintains boundaries and can frame social order. Our parents and caregivers teach us the social meanings of disgust. Through gestures and facial expressions, we learn that certain behaviors will separate us from the group. Eating things that are distasteful challenges an individual's identification with a social group as well as that group's acceptance of the individual. Disgust represents an effective means of curbing undesirable behaviors. If eating insects can trigger ideas of the primitive or savage, condemning their consumption can be seen as a way of protecting the social order. As a child, de La Salle was inculcated with a highly refined sense of repugnance, first toward his social inferiors and then toward their food. He learned how to subject sensory experience to a will forged out of his dim view of human nature and his conviction that severe mortification was necessary to resist temptation, all of which was intimately committed to his pauperization. Nowhere is the matrix of de La Salle's mental world so dramatically revealed than through food.[57]

Blain ends Book I by describing de La Salle's voluntary impoverishment and begins Volume II by noting how he had "indeed come down in

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55. See Bernard, *Two Early Biographies,* pp. 282–83 and 325–26; Maillefer, *Two Early Biographies*, p. 62.

56. Much of this paragraph is based on Rachel Herz, *That's Disgusting: Unraveling the Mysteries of Repulsion* (New York, 2012). Herz uses the term *disgustable* (pp. 27, 31, and 35) to mean "liable to disgust"; see also pp. 232, 46, and 21.

57. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 82; p. 87.

the world." With this structure Blain establishes his subject's willful impoverishment as the turning point in de La Salle's life and then addresses its consequence with the founding of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Just a few pages later Blain introduces de La Salle's difficulty in adjusting to the Brothers' food. When moving with the Brothers from his ancestral home, the type of food he was served had not changed. But now that he was poor, it was no longer affordable. Blain makes clear that this circumstance was not merely, or even principally, an economic condition but a moral one. The founder was determined to live like the Brothers because he wanted to establish fraternal bonds with them. It was a moral act. This course of action—which would have been unheard of and roundly condemned in stratified French society—presented de La Salle with deep psychological hurdles to overcome. Eating things that are distasteful challenges an individual's identification with a social group as well as that group's acceptance of the individual.[58] Food is a vehicle for anticipatory socialization, which entails "consciously or unconsciously adopting the ways, tastes, and manners of a social group to membership of which one aspires."[59] This was exactly de La Salle's goal. As Mary Douglas has pointed out, food can be understood as a code that can express social relations. In a modern context drinks are for strangers, while meals are for family and close friends.[60] In learning how to eat the Brothers' food, de La Salle was attempting to establish the most intimate of relationships with them. This was a conscious decision, an act of will that, despite the Brothers' best efforts to dissuade him from pursuing, he was resolute to complete. Blain describes de La Salle's state in vivid terms:

> He was never in greater distress than when it was time to eat. Nature, alarmed at the mere thought of what it would have to endure, caused him to shudder when they brought on the soup. There ensued for him a grievous struggle, an agonizing conflict, for on such occasions nature and grace lock in strenuous battle, and the latter does not emerge victorious over the former save at the cost of a galling ordeal. The former canon was indeed a pitiable sight at these times. His stomach turned, and his hand trembled; when he put the spoon into the bowl, he could not withdraw it. What will he do? Will he obstinately insist on overcoming a repugnance which seems to bring on an agony and threatens to burst a blood vessel in his chest, because of the superhuman efforts he makes to force himself to eat?

58. Krystal D'Costa, "What's Stopping Us from Eating Insects?" *Scientific American*, July 24, 2013, http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/anthropology-in-practice/whats-stopping-us-from-eating-insects/ (accessed May 3, 2016).

59. Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, 1996), p. 75.

60. Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," *Daedalus,* 101 (Winter 1972): pp. 62 and 66.

> But can he yield to nature? And was it not time for him to make his body do penance for having been brought up in so fastidious a manner?[61]

While Blain couches the conflict in the theological terms of nature, grace, and penance, it was just as much a psychological and physical battle. It was a moral one as well, for de La Salle had turned his fastidious bourgeois upbringing into some sort of moral wrong for which he needed to atone. Nowhere can one find a greater contrast with the Cléments' ethic celebrating ascendancy in the world than here. De La Salle's descent was an inversion of the royal physician's rise to noble status. The following passage is disturbing.

> He did violence to his feelings and ate, but he could not keep the food down. His vomiting began when he saw and smelled the soup; when he tried to eat it, the heaving became so violent that he brought up blood. Prudence would have suggested that he stop trying, for on such occasions exaggerated efforts often lead to serious consequences. But if he yields, he is vanquished. . . . To win a total victory over himself, he forces himself to swallow again what he had thrown up, and this repeatedly. Before him I do not know of anyone who had ever given such an example of mortification. This torture, which lasted all through this first meal, continued for several more days. Everything they brought him—salted meat, coarse vegetables, and other dishes of the plainest kind of food—made him vomit.[62]

Norbert Elias has identified the connection between repugnance and shame that helps to explain the effects of de La Salle's deep conflict.

> Shame takes on its particular coloration from the fact that the person feeling it has done or is about to do something through which he comes into contradiction with people to whom he is bound in one form or another, and with himself, with the sector of his consciousness by which he controls himself. The conflict expressed in shame-fear is not merely a conflict of the individual with prevalent social opinion; the individual's behavior has brought him into conflict with the part of himself that represents this social opinion. It is a conflict within his own personality; he himself recognizes himself as inferior. He fears the loss of the love or respect of others, to which he attaches or has attached value.[63]

De La Salle was in the midst of an extreme social and cultural transmutation. He had successfully freed himself from the social opinion of the dominant classes. The anger and humiliations suffered at their hands did

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61. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 165–66.

62. Ibid., p. 166.

63. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, rev. ed., trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Eric Dunning et al. (Malden, MA, 2000), p. 415.

little to disturb him. But his failure to conquer his own repugnance induced fear of the loss of the Brothers' love and respect, despite their assurances to the contrary. This created intense inner conflict through which he was determined to persevere, to assert ever-greater self-control, and to shame himself in their eyes by consuming his own regurgitation, another mortification. These were the signs of the most profound trauma caused by the change in his social status and cultural moorings, an inversion of the normal societal goal of upward mobility, as personified by the Cléments.

This cycle of physical and psychological repugnance went on for some time until de La Salle discovered a strategy to overcome it. He strictly fasted for days on end, creating such hunger that the food he found so repulsive came to be palatable. Hunger is biological, one of the most powerful human survival drives; appetite is psychological, a state of mind, a *desire* to eat. When one feels hungry, an internal process begins that regulates what, when, and how much to eat or whether to eat at all.[64] De La Salle was attempting to adjust his appetite by amplifying his hunger to the point that almost anything would have tasted good.

This leads immediately into the "Absinthe story," recounted by all three of de La Salle's early biographers.[65] So complete was the priest's victory over his repugnance that he could no longer tell the difference between what was appetizing and what was foul-tasting. One day the Brother-cook made a stew of only absinthe leaves, thinking it was a palatable herb. All the Brothers immediately laid down their spoons upon their first taste. Not so de La Salle who ate his entire portion and was surprised when the Brothers expressed their alarm that he would be poisoned by the foul concoction. Another time, having trained the Brothers to eat their soup flies and all, "he saw one of the Brothers removing the insects from his bowl, [and] he made him a sign not to be so fastidious."[66] De La Salle's transformation of self and his relationship with the Brothers was complete.

Conclusion

In the complexity of the human mind and culture the ability to transform oneself is never total and there always remains memories of the past. In the context of his social and cultural transformation, as he rejected his

64. Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, pp. 20–21.

65. See Maillefer, *Two Early Biographies*, p. 62; Bernard, *Two Early Biographies*, p. 326; and Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 167.

66. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, p. 310.

old identity, he had "indeed come down in the world."[67] It is astonishing, therefore, that he also wrote *The Rules of Christian Decorum and Civility*. While he abandoned his bourgeois culture for that of the poor, he aspired to cultivate in the poor French boys he taught the art of bourgeois good manners, specifically asserting that it serves God as well as humans. Indeed, the text represents the converse of his personal journey. In it he so perfectly preserved bourgeois manners that Norbert Elias in his classic study, *The Civilizing Process*, makes great use of the *Rules* as one of the great landmarks of the civilizing process.[68] In the text there are quite complicated rules for walking together according to precise social order, an order he consciously abandoned. An entire section is devoted to food and there one can find a bland phrase that had the deepest personal meaning to de La Salle: "The self-control which you are obliged to maintain at table when eating soup."[69]

How do we explain this contradiction? De La Salle had the capacity to distinguish between rules and actions he imposed on himself and those he imposed on others, between the individual and the social. Individually he exhibited all of the moral rectitude and ascetic lifestyle to suggest to the Marseille Jansenists that he was one of them and which they later used against him. Yet he refused to join their party. Similarly, while he imposed on himself the social devolution from rich to poor, he attempted to raise up the poor students who read *The Rules of Christian Decorum and Civility*, encouraging them to adopt the rules of civility associated with the upper classes. This is why de La Salle was less a true social revolutionary and more a nonconforming ascetic. He did not strive to change society, only himself. But these individual acts had suborned the privilege of birth, a concept so fundamental to the Ancien Régime, that they had social consequences. De La Salle acted as a kind of purlieu, on the edge between individual religious conviction and social subversion. De La Salle's behavior offended the social sensibilities of both rich and poor, both of which accepted the naturalness of social inequality. De La Salle was most concerned with creating community, not effecting social revolution, but it was a radical new vision of community of consecrated teachers who rejected old methods, institutions, and traditions, who taught French first, not Latin, and who replaced the individual method of the *petites écoles* with the simul-

67. Ibid., p. 161.

68. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, chaps. 5–8.

69. John Baptist de La Salle, *The Rules of Christian Decorum and Civility*, ed. Gregory Wright, F.S.C. and trans. Richard Arnandez, F.S.C. (Romeoville, IL, 1990), p. 87 (on walking,), pp. 57–83 (on food), and p. 73 (on self-control).

taneous method, teaching groups of students, organized by ability, at the same time. De La Salle strove to create order, but it was a new order.

At the first assembly of his twelve principal disciples, de La Salle chose three topics for discussion. The first was a Rule, the second a distinctive habit, and the third was food. These were guidelines for direction, instruments to assert public distinctiveness, and the creation of a common culture, all to create community.[70] What is most salient about them is how typical they are of the Ancien Régime. De La Salle is doing nothing less than creating an order, a corporation, a religious community. Through his often bizarre individual behavior de La Salle was establishing something essentially communitarian. He was creating an institution that was simultaneously endorsing the notion of a corporate social order while subverting it; reflective of the dominant culture while creating an alternative and rejectionist one.

This seeming paradox is altogether Lasallian. These subversions explain the extraordinarily venomous reaction he elicited from entrenched elites. De La Salle was not eliminating collectives; he was remaking them. He was determined to unlearn the one in which he was raised; he was violating the essential concept of *lignage.* He was not severing head from body, but remaking their relationship through sheer force of will in such a radical way that the conflict between the two, as body tried to catch up to head, caused the extreme physical reaction of chronic vomiting. Amidst such trauma it is little wonder that his social worldview was as eclectic and paradoxical as his mental world. Here was the steadfast subject of the king who undermined the royal principle of birth, who challenged the royally sanctioned corporation of Writing Masters; the obedient son of the Church who created a new type of school, who deflected the traditional authority of bishop and pastor in order to preserve the community's autonomy. De La Salle's biographers describe their subject as stolid in the wake of persecution and injustice inflicted by the court and Julien Clément. In truth, the court ruled correctly, according to the laws and the customs of the kingdom, in conformity with those inherited assumptions of nobility, family, minority, and the rights of fathers. As paterfamilias Julien Clément had the law on his side; as a member of the nobility he had the influence to sway the court against the "so-called or pretended superior general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools from the city of Reims." But his victory was temporary because de La Salle had created the future.

70. Blain, *The Life of de La Salle*, pp. 172–76.

Pietro Tamburini's Jansenist Legacy at the Irish College in Rome and His Influence on the Irish Church

CHRISTOPHER KORTEN*

Pietro Tamburini (1737–1827) is known as the foremost "Italian Jansenist" of his time, penning numerous theological works between 1770 and 1798, and helping to spearhead the infamous synod at Pistoia in 1786. Yet, as this article will reveal, these were not his only interests; he was also very active in proselytizing for the so-called (Italian) Jansenist cause, an activity that until now has been little understood. While serving as prefect of studies at the Irish College in Rome (1772–1778), a period in Tamburini's life that has been relatively neglected by biographers, he attracted at least six young Irish followers. His influence had transnational implications, as Tamburini's disciples carried his teachings to the Irish College in Salamanca and later to the Irish Church when they returned to their native land. Based on archival materials in Rome and Dublin that have been largely overlooked, this article reveals the exploitation of students at national colleges by school administrators and its negative impact on national churches.

Keywords: Pietro Tamburini, Irish College, Italian Jansenism, John Lanigan, Charles O'Connor, Rome, Salamanca

The life of Italian theologian Pietro Tamburini (Figure 1) has attracted the interest of historians and theologians alike.[1] Much of his personal correspondence has been collected and published, and his life, especially after

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1. Major contributions include Paolo Corsini and Daniele Montanari, eds., *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo* (Brescia, 1993); Arturo Jemolo, *Il Giansenismo in Italia prima della rivoluzione* (Bari, 1928); Ernesto Codignola, *Illuministi, giansenisti, e giacobini nell'Italia del settecento* (Florence, 1947); Paolo Guerrini, *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia: Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo bresciano* (Moretto, 1982); Giovanni Mantese, *Pietro Tamburini e il giansenismo bresciano* [Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia, 11] (Milan, 1942); Roberto Mazzetti, *Pietro Tamburini, la mente del Giansenismo italiano* (Messina and Ferrara, 1948); Mariano Comini, *Pietro Tamburini (1737–1827). Un giansenista lombardo tra riforma e rivoluzione* (Grafo, 1992); Franco Ardusso, *Natura e Grazia Studio Storico-Teologico sul Teologo Giansenista Italiano Pietro Tamburini* (Brescia, 1969); Innocente Garlaschi, *Vita cristiana e rigorismo morale. Studio storico-teologico su Pietro*

1778 with his return to Lombardy, has been closely scrutinized.[2] But despite the rather extensive historiography on this figure, his six-year appointment in Rome (1772–78) at the Irish College as prefect of studies remains unexamined. Among Irish historians the main question about this period has concerned the degree of theological influence Tamburini exerted while at the College. The consensus seems to be that his influence was minimal. Former Irish College rector and historian Michael O'Riordan conjectures that Tamburini probably "kept . . . [his Jansenist doctrines] to himself, and taught the students only the doctrines which he knew he was commissioned to teach."[3] As for Tamburini's legacy at the College, O'Riordan writes: "when Tamburini had gone, hardly a trace of his mind remained."[4] Likewise, James O'Boyle believed that Tamburini's theological "virus" had been successfully contained, while allowing for the possibility that perhaps the Irish priest Charles O'Connor had harbored so-called Jansenist leanings.[5]

Another author who defended Irishmen against a suspected theological affinity with Tamburini was W. J. Fitzpatrick, who in 1873 penned a very colorful and stylistically engaging portrait of Irish historian John Lanigan (1758–1825). Fitzpatrick tries to free Tamburini's former pupils of any

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Tamburini (1737–1827) (Brescia, 1984); Enrico Dammig, *Il movimento giansenista a Roma* (Vatican City, 1945); Emanuela Verzella, *Nella rivoluzione delle cose politiche e degli umani cervelli: il dibattito sulle Lettere teologico-politiche di Pietro Tamburini* (Florence, 1998); Pietro Stella, *Il giansenismo in Italia*: *Crisi finale e transizioni* (Rome, 2006); Ettore Rota, "Pietro Tamburini di Brescia 'teologo piacentino' e la controversia giansenista a Piacenza," *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, 12, fascicolo 3–4 (1912), pp. 343–64.

2. Ernesto Codignola, *Il Giansenismo toscano nel carteggio di Fabio de Vecchi* (Florence, 1944); Ernesto Codignola, *Carteggi di giansenisti liguri*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1941); Paolo Guerrini, "Carteggi bresciani inediti sulla vita e i tempi di Pietro Tamburini (1737–1827)," in *Bollettino Società Pavese di storia patria*, 27 (1927), pp. 161–250; Antonella Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini in Biblioteche e Archivi Italiani," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo : atti del Convegno internazionale in occasione del 250. della nascita, Brescia, 25-26 maggio 1989*, ed. P. Corsini and D. Montanari (Brescia, 1993), pp. 403–54; Roberto Mazzetti, "Relazioni fra il giansenismo pavese e il giansenismo toscano," in *Miscellanea Pavese* [Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, 130] (Torino, 1932), pp. 119–239; Giovanni Scarabelli, "Le lettere di Tamburini da Roma al can. Bocca," in *Studi in onore di Luigi Fossati* [Società per la storia della Chiesa a Brescia, 5] (Brescia, 1974), pp. 237–307.

3. Michael O'Riordan, "Rev. Charles O'Conor D.D.," in *The Seven Hills* (Dublin, 1908), pp. 229–74, here p. 250; Michael O'Riordan, "The Abate Luigi Cuccagni," in *The Seven Hills* (Dublin, 1908), pp. 15–41, here pp. 26–27. See also Michael O'Riordan, "Irish College, in Rome," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. C. G. Herbermann, vol. 8 (New York, 1910), p. 158.

4. O'Riordan, "Charles O'Conor D.D.," p. 250.

5. James O'Boyle, *The Irish colleges on the continent* (Dublin, 1935), p. 121. Unless replicating the spelling in a title (as in citations of O'Riordan's article), I spell O'Connor with a double *n*.

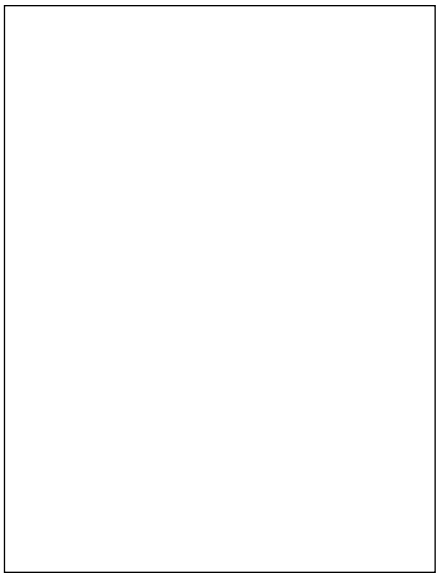

FIGURE 1. An anonymous nineteenth-century engraving of Pietro Tamburini (1737–1827).

Jansenist associations in an attempt to restore Lanigan's reputation, tainted during his failed attempt to gain employment at Maynooth College in the late 1790s, on which more below.[6] For Timothy Corcoran, Lanigan's achievements as a writer of Irish history and university professor overshadowed any possible theological controversy.[7] For the centennial of Lanigan's death, which was commemorated with the erection of a statue at the University of Pavia in acknowledgment of his scholarly contributions there, Corcoran composed an encomium in Lanigan's honor. He defends the professor against any hint of controversy, going so far as to assert an adversarial relationship between Lanigan and the Italian "Jansenist" leaders, including Tamburini: Lanigan, he says, "went to Pavia, having declined a perilous invitation to attend the notorious synod presided over at Pistoia by [Bishop] Scipio Ricci, an invitation pressed on him by the notable Jansenist theologian, Pietro Tamburini."[8]

6. W. J. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies, including Dr Lanigan, his life and times, with glimpses of stirring scenes since 1770* (Dublin, 1873), pp. 39, 49, 87.

7. Timothy Corcoran, "Ireland and Pavia: 825–1925," in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 14, no. 56 (1925), 595–610, here 596.

8. Ibid.

Finding suitable terminology to describe the movement associated with Tamburini is problematic.[9] "Jansenism" has too much historical baggage; in its purest sense, this term refers to a seventeenth-century theological movement confined mainly to France and the Netherlands. Reincarnations of the original Jansenist movement arose in Italy (and elsewhere in Europe) in the eighteenth century but varied greatly from region to region. What is more, the agenda of these so-called Jansenist movements had expanded to include theological, political, social, and even cultural elements. The movement's new diversity is partly explained by eighteenth-century Italy's fractured politics; differing conditions among the dozen or so independent states resulted in widely varying social, political, and theological preoccupations.[10] Thus, to employ the term "Jansenist" is historically anachronistic, despite its widespread use at the time and later to describe men like Tamburini.[11] "Jansenism" is here used only when referring to the seventeenth–century movement or when quoting someone else, otherwise opting to use terms such as "so-called Jansenist," "philo-Jansenist," or "Jansenist-like" in discussions of Italian Jansenism.

Tamburini's influence while in Rome is understood mainly in the context of his association with the *Archetto*,[12] a group founded in the mid-eighteenth century and which operated under the direction and patronage of Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685–1770). The *Archetto* included both regular and secular clergy who opposed the Jesuits and their theology.[13] Its members would later form the nucleus of the political faction in Rome that brought about the suppression of the Society of Jesus. Along with Corsini, Mario Marefoschi (1714–80) figured prominently in the heady days of the early 1770s. Appointed cardinal protector of the Irish College in 1771, Marefoschi was also given responsibility for organizing the initial papal visitations of Jesuit institutions, which occurred that same year; and just two years later he was named president of the committee overseeing the Jesuit suppression. An

9. Mario Rosa, "The Catholic *Aufklärung* in Italy," in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael O'Neill Printy (Leiden, 2010), pp. 215–248, here pp. 215–17.

10. Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves, "Giansenisti i illuministiche," in *La Cultura Illuministica in Italia*, ed. Mario Fubini (Turin, 1957), pp. 189–207, here p. 190.

11. On this point, see the very informative book review by Eric Cochrane, "*Riflessi politici del giansenismo italiano* by Carmelo Caristia," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Apr., 1968), pp. 172–174, who elicits two main problems with the term "Jansenism."

12. See, for example, Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," pp. 406–07.

13. Giuseppe Pignatelli "Bottari, Giovanni Gaetano," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13 (1971),
http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-gaetano-bottari_(Dizionario_Biografico), retrieved on Oct. 1, 2015.

outspoken opponent of the Jesuits, Marefoschi was an understudy of Rome's most noted Augustinian, Cardinal Domenico Passionei (1682–1761), himself deeply at odds with the Jesuits.[14] By the 1760s there was little to distinguish Roman clerics like Passionei, who held rigid Augustinian views, from philo-Jansenists such as Marefoschi or the so-called Jansenists with whom Tamburini is frequently identified.[15] At Passionei's death, Marefoschi assumed a leading role in the *Archetto*, providing Tamburini entrance into the group.[16] Marefoschi also opened up his vast personal library to members of the *Archetto* to assist them in the production of anti-Jesuit works.[17]

Both Marefoschi and Tamburini had earlier experienced attempts by the Jesuits to derail their careers. In Marefoschi's case, he had been denied the cardinalate in 1759 as a result of concerted efforts by the Society to sway Clement XIII (1759–1767) from his original intention.[18] Tamburini, on the other hand, had encountered problems after completing his doctoral thesis, in which he criticized the Jesuit doctrine known as Molinism, which emphasized grace and human cooperation within the salvation process.[19]

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14. Marina Caffiero, "Compagnoni Marefoschi, Mario," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 27 (1982), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/mario-compagnoni-marefoschi_(Dizionario_Biografico), retrieved on July 2, 2013. See also Dammig, *Il movimento giansenista a Roma*, p. 234; and J. M. Roberts, "Italian States," in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 8 (rpt. Cambridge, 1976), pp. 378–96, here p. 392. Roberts's article contains an interesting passage devoted to Marefoschi and his theological associations. On Passionei, see Alberto Caracciolo, *Domenico Passionei tra Roma e la Repubblica delle lettere* (Rome, 1968). For a discussion of Marefoschi's heightened presence in Rome after 1771, see Mario Rosa, "Riformismo religioso e Giansenismo in Italia alla fine del Settecento," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo*, ed. Corsini and Montanari, pp. 1–30, here p. 11.

15. See the article by Dale van Kley, "Jansenism and the Suppression of the Jesuits," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660–1815*, ed. Stuart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 302–28, here p. 318. See also Samuel J. Miller, *Portugal and Rome c. 1748–1830: An Aspect of the Catholic Enlightenment* (Rome, 1978), p. 16n; and Hugh Fenning, *The Irish Dominican Province, 1698–1797* (Dublin, 1990), p. 630.

16. Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves, "La riforma 'Giansenista' della Chiesa e la lotta anticuriale in Italia nella seconda metà del Settecento," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXI (1959), 209–34, here 211, observes that "in Rome, in the College of Cardinals one finds the most powerful and illustrious friends of filojansenists and of rigorists (whether Jansenists or quesnellists)."

17. Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, p. 211; Giovanni Scarabelli, "L'autobiografia di Pietro Tamburini," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo*, ed. Corsini and Montanari, pp. 247–89, here p. 276.

18. Caffiero, "Compagnoni Marefoschi, Mario." See also Dammig, *Il movimento giansenista*, p. 234. He was eventually named cardinal in 1770.

19. Consult Ardusso, *Natura e Grazia*. His doctoral thesis is entitled: *De summa catholicae de gratia Christi doctrinae praestantia dissertatio* (Pavia, 1770).

Jesuits in Brescia forced Tamburini out of the diocesan seminary where he had been teaching, prevailing upon the bishop (and cardinal) who had originally hired him, Giovanni Molino, to terminate Tamburini's appointment.[20] Fortunately for the young theologian, this event occurred early in 1772, which happened to be a propitious moment in Rome for men of his theological leanings. Later that same year, Tamburini accepted an appointment at the Irish College.

His arrival in Rome in the spring of 1772 coincided with the international conspiracy against the Jesuits led by Spain, which was then reaching its height.[21] The young Brescian joined a new wave of non-Roman theologians who descended upon the capital during the pontificate of Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–74). Historians who discuss Tamburini's association with the *Archetto* invariably mention his exceptional ability to reconcile the members' varied theological viewpoints into a coherent message.[22] It was this group that Innocente Garlaschi had in mind when he observed that Tamburini developed many "*parecchi* [future collaborators]."[23] But his rather short stay in Rome has led some to conclude that Tamburini's ideas never really took hold there but were instead "rendered ephemeral by the subsequent pontificate of Pius VI [beginning in 1775], which took a dim view of Jansenists."[24] Tamburini's relatively brief tenure—combined with the stark ideological contrast between Clement XIV's and Pius VI's pontificates—has likely contributed to historians' neglect of this period in Tamburini's life.

In terms of proselytizing in the eighteenth century by the so-called Italian Jansenists, Ernesto Codignola discusses the *Archetto*'s "oral and epistolary" outreach,[25] emphasizing the group's literary activities, such as publishing and translation.[26] But in his 1942 biography, Giovanni Man-

20. Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, p. 211; Scarabelli, "L'autobiografia di Pietro Tamburini," p. 273.

21. Pietro Stella, "Pietro Tamburini nel quadro del giansenismo italiano," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo*, ed. Corsini and Montanari, pp. 151–204, here p. 160 and n. See also Niccolò Guasti, "The Expulsion and Suppression in Portugal and Spain. An Overview," in *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context. Causes, Events, and Consequences*, ed. J. Wright and J. D. Burson (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 117–38.

22. Rosa, "Riformismo religioso," p. 17.

23. Garlaschi, *Vita cristianae rigorismo morale*, p. 14 and n.

24. Rosa, "The Catholic *Aufklärung*," pp. 242–46.

25. Codignola, *Illuministi, giansenisti e giacobini*, pp. 208–09. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," pp. 406–07.

26. Codignola, *Illuministi, giansenisti e giacobini*, pp. 208–09.

tese makes no mention of Tamburini winning adherents to his cause while in Rome.[27]

The significant theological influence Tamburini had on the Irish Church represents an international component to the recruiting efforts of so-called Jansenists within Italy and further afield, one that has hitherto been unacknowledged in church historiography. By focusing primarily on the connections, both direct and indirect, that Tamburini developed at the Irish College in the 1770s and in the 1780s after his departure from Rome, we will see not only that he transmitted his theology to those with whom he came in contact, but that he did so with the approval and support of cardinal protector Mario Marefoschi.[28] Archival sources from Dublin and Rome are analyzed here, many for the first time, in order to trace Tamburini's outreach to the Irish Church.

Tamburini's associations with Jansenism fall into two categories. First, his purely theological or spiritual ideas reflect the principles of early Jansenist thinking in France, especially those of Cornelius Jansen's *Augustinus*. In his doctoral thesis on grace, completed in 1770, Tamburini, like Jansen, criticized Jesuit views of salvation that juxtaposed free will with God's omniscience, an idea often referred to as Molinism. Instead, Tamburini argued for limiting the role of human free will in relation to salvation.[29] Van Kley reminds us that this new generation of "Augustinian rigorists" took their theological lead from France, "allying a radical or Jansenised Gallicanism with indigenous traditions of regalism."[30] This regalism—the idea that the state controls its own ecclesiastical matters—would be more fully realized in the Habsburg Empire of the 1780s, to which Tamburini belonged.

The second set of associations between Tamburini and Italian Jansenism was via the ecclesiastical reforms that took place in Lombardy and Tuscany during the 1780s. Joseph I produced a series of measures, known collectively as Josephism, which aimed at circumscribing papal influence and enabling government to take more direct control of ecclesi-

27. Mantese, *Pietro Tamburini*, pp. 65–72. James O'Boyle, *The Irish colleges on the continent* (Dublin, 1935), p. 121.

28. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," pp. 406–07.

29. See footnote 18.

30. Dale K. Van Kley, "Piety and politics in the century of lights," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 110–145, here p. 124, and what follows.

astical affairs within its territory.[31] Tamburini's *Vera idea della Santa Sede* (1784) argued for a similar reduction of papal influence, advocated for parity among bishops within the Catholic Church, and underscored the importance of church councils.[32] Tamburini also supported a heightened role for priests, especially in the election of bishops. This position clashed with that of the Ultramontanes (and many ex-Jesuits), who argued for papal primacy and a more rigid hierarchical structure within the Church.[33]

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The first evidence of Tamburini's theological influence at the College appeared in 1776, when a troubled Archbishop James Butler II of Cashel asked Marefoschi to inquire into the "dubious" theologies of two returning students, John Harlin and Charles Waters of Armagh.[34] Butler was regarded as a man of "eminently sound doctrine."[35] His letter to Marefoschi expressed concern that the two students held so-called Jansenist views. Assuring Butler that approved doctrine was being taught at the College, the cardinal protector then offered another explanation:

> . . . the accusation that some of the clergy have Jansenist tendencies is too vague and unproven and therefore not worthy of notice; the two Armagh priests, who departed from the college, must have been influenced by error elsewhere, though even this is unlikely in view of their characters.[36]

Marefoschi concluded his letter with an attempt to pacify Butler, commending the archbishop "for his straight-forwardness in raising the question with the authorities of the college."[37] Ironically, the cardinal protector

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31. See Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London, 2005), pp. 287–308; and *Joseph II: Against the World 1780–1790* (Cambridge, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 307–32.

32. Pietro Tamburini, *Vera idea della Santa Sede* (Pavia, 1784), chaps. 1–2.

33. See, for example, responses by Giovanni Vincenzo Bolgeni, *Esame della Vera idea della Santa Sede: operetta divisa in due parti e stampata in Pavia nel 1784* (Macerata, 1795), and Mauro Cappellari, *Il Trionfo della Santa Sede e della Chiesa contro gli assolti de' novatori respinti e combattuti colle stesse loro armi* (Rome, 1799).

34. Dammig, *Il movimento giansenista a Roma*, p. 218.

35. Luigi Cuccagni, Rector of Irish College, to Archbishop James Butler II, July 20, 1776, as summarized in Mark Tierney, "A Short-Title Calendar of the Papers of Archbishop James Butler II in Archbishop's House. Thurles: Part 1, 1764–86," *Collectanea Hibernica*, nos. 18–19 (1976–77), 105–31, here 112–13; available online at http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 30004603.

36. Marefoschi to Butler, Apr. 13, 1778, Cashel Archives folder, Pontifical Irish College, Rome (hereafter cited as PICR), as summarized in Tierney, "A Short-Title Calendar," p. 116.

37. Ibid.

had asked Tamburini to draft the response to Butler, revealing where his true loyalty lay.[38]

The young Charles O'Connor provides further evidence of Marefoschi's duplicity in a 1782 letter to his grandfather. O'Connor, who had matriculated in 1779, confirms Marefoschi's support of so-called Jansenists within the Irish College:

> I briefly and confusedly touch upon the ruling factions of Rome and the part this College bore in them. I say bore, because those times are now all over. The Emperor has called our partymen [i.e., prefects of studies Tamburini and Giambattista Marini (1778–1782)] to Pavia where he erects an altar contra altars i.e. Rome. Cardinal [Marefoschi] is dead, and Cardinal [Gregorio] Salviati, who may one day fill the Pontifical throne, has succeeded in his place. Jansenism (I do not deny it) has had its partisans here, but, like other human institutions, it has suffered the turn of fortune.[39]

Indeed, the theological climate in Rome changed with the death of Clement XIV in 1774 and the subsequent election of Pius VI the following year. Jansenist-like ideas that had been allowed to thrive under Clement would be slowly extinguished under Pius;[40] as powerful as Marefoschi was during Clement's pontificate, his waning influence under Pius was equally noticeable.[41] By 1778, as his health declined, the cardinal protector of Ireland saw his appeals to Rome being circumvented by Irish clergy,[42] and the so-called Jansenists no longer felt welcome in the Eternal City. In fact, nearly all of the Jansenist sympathizers who had made their way to Rome during Clement XIV's reign had departed by 1780; Tamburini was no different. He increasingly felt isolated and even discriminated against. At one point in 1775 he complained that he was no longer eligible to receive dispensations to read prohibited books.[43]

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38. Dammig, *Il movimento giansenista a Roma*, pp. 217–18; and Comini, *Pietro Tamburini (1737–1827)*, p. 23.

39. O'Connor to his grandfather, Sept. 24, 1782, cited here from O'Riordan, "Rev. Charles O'Conor D.D.," pp. 247–48.

40. On the growing anti-Jansenist climate, see Van Kley, "Jansenism and the Suppression of the Jesuits," pp. 324–27, and Scarabelli, "L'Autobiografia di Pietro Tamburini," pp. 278–79.

41. Dammig, *Il movimento*, pp. 216–17, instances an ideological clash between Marefoschi and Pius VI.

42. Dublin, National Library of Ireland, Microfilm p5999, Abbe Belluzze, letter, June 2, 1778. Propaganda Fide encouraged clerics to write to them directly. Marefoschi died in 1780.

43. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," p. 407.

Despite these adverse circumstances, Tamburini was adept at connecting Irish students in Rome with members of his growing theological network in Italy. In 1777, while still prefect at the College, he wrote to Florentine Francesco Fontani about two (unnamed) Irishmen who were "sojourning briefly in Florence" and asked him to introduce them to the vicar general and to mutual friends in Pisa and Livorno.[44] Among the others Tamburini notified were two men referred to as "Jansenists": Vincenzo Fassini and Antonino Boldovinetti.

Before Tamburini departed Rome in late 1778, he formed a few important relationships at the Irish College. Archbishop Butler, who was first alerted to Tamburini's questionable theological teachings, would unwittingly facilitate one of these relationships when he provided a letter of support for the precocious John Lanigan to study in Rome.[45]

Lanigan arrived in September 1776 at the age of 16, following a long and arduous journey from Ireland. Later, however, he would reflect upon his time in Rome as "the most agreeable period of his career," "the bright hours" of his life.[46] His tenure at the Irish College coincided with the great theological reversal that took place, not only between the pontificates of Clement XIV and Pius VI but also between the College's cardinal protectors—Marefoschi (r. 1771–80) and his successor, Gregorio Salviati (r. 1781–94)—as O'Connor mentions in the letter quoted above. Described as Tamburini's "disciple," Lanigan excelled under his tutelage and, according to one report, "distinguished" himself while a student.[47] The relationship between Tamburini and Lanigan was given impetus by Marefoschi himself, who encouraged the young Irishman to join Tamburini in Pavia: "this step was taken […] 'under the advice and patronage of Cardinal Marefoschi.'"[48]

When Salviati replaced Marefoschi as cardinal protector in 1781, Lanigan suddenly became a lightning rod for criticism. Intolerant of Jansenist ideas, Salviati singled Lanigan out in 1783 not for his superior accomplishments in the classroom but for his questionable theology. In a letter to Butler, the cardinal protector remarked on Lanigan's "unsatisfactory"

44. Ibid., p. 434.

45. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies*, p. 20.

46. Ibid., p. 38.

47. Maurice Vaussard, "Un episodio della storia del Giansenismo: le lettere di Giuseppe Zola all'abate Mouton," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 3 (1966), 485–98, here 488; and Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies*, p. 212.

48. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies*, p. 39.

progress and asserted that action must be taken.[49] Furthermore, Lanigan had not honored his earlier pledge to return to Ireland; instead, "he took a detour and went with Tamburini, against my [i.e., Salviati's] will."[50]

Tamburini had been so impressed with Lanigan during their two years together at the Irish College that he wanted his former pupil to come to Pavia in order to instruct students in Divinity, Hebrew, and Ecclesiastical History.[51] Lanigan's initial teaching post in Pavia, beginning at some point after 1783, was at the German-Hungarian College, where Tamburini had been prefect of studies and theologian Guiseppe Zola, Tamburini's close friend, was director.[52] Five years later Lanigan was offered a position at the University of Pavia, an appointment that Tamburini once again had arranged.[53]

As part of the Habsburg Empire and thus out of Rome's reach, Pavia was a hub of the so-called Jansenist movement in northern Italy and a popular place to publish such theological treatises.[54] O'Connor's earlier reference to "altar contra altars" resonates in this sense. Tamburini referred to Pavia as the "queen city of the Catholic world" in acknowledgment of its theological richness.[55] Many contemporary scholars in Pavia contributed meaningfully to the anti-Jesuit and philo-Jansenist movements, including Zola, Francesco Alpruni, Martino Natali, and Gregory Fontana.

By the 1780s the so-called Jansenist movement had found common cause with secular or political ideologies, such as the Catholic *Aufklärung* and regalism, which dealt with laws of sovereignty, defending the "absolute state," combatting "clerical privileges and immunity," and challenging the papacy's universal power.[56] In this narrow sense Tamburini's *Vera idea della Santa Sede* and Josephist policies spoke the same language.[57] Both political and theological reformers valued the rights of the sovereign and shared the same enemies: Molinists and (ex-)Jesuits.

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49. Salviati to Butler, June 26, 1783, Cashel Archives folder (transcript), PICR.
50. Ibid.
51. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies*, p. 39.
52. Scarabelli, "L'autobiografia di Pietro Tamburini," p. 283.
53. Tamburini, letter dated Feb. 25, 1789, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazioni," p. 193.
54. See Rosa, "Riformismo religioso," p. 16.
55. Ibid.
56. Rosa, "Roman Catholicism," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Kors (Oxford, 2003), p. 469; also quoted in Rosa, "The Catholic *Aufklärung*," pp. 217, 242, and 245; Rosa, "Riformismo religioso," p. 17; Passerin, "Giansenisti i illuministiche," pp. 192–94, here p. 192. For more comparisons, see also the bibliography listed in footnote 34.
57. Passerin, "Giansenisti i illuministiche," p. 196; Passerin, "La riforma 'Giansenista'," p. 234.

Lanigan's response to Tamburini's final (Pavian) overture poignantly reveals the Irishman's conflicting loyalties. He desired to take up the post at the University of Pavia, yet realized that such an association would be unacceptable to Rome and to many clerics in Ireland. Seminarians were expected to return to their home dioceses upon completion of their training; in fact, students swore an oath to this effect at the commencement of their studies, which made this issue a sensitive one when that pledge was contravened. Ironically, in his 1772 visitation report on the Irish College, Marefoschi had specifically criticized the Jesuits in Rome for persuading students to serve in their own religious order, in effect stealing seminarians from their sponsoring dioceses.[58] Accepting an appointment anywhere other than the place determined by one's bishop required special permission; in Lanigan's case, the decision belonged to Archbishop Butler. Aware of his predicament, Lanigan embarked on a delicate path of prevarication.

When Lanigan first wrote to Butler about the offer, he did so in a way that suggested his reluctance and uncertainty about the job:

> I received this notice [of my election as professor] on Good Friday, and immediately fell into a state of anxiety and agitation, which has not ceased ever since to trouble me now and then, and to keep me in suspense concerning the advisableness of my accepting of, or renouncing this employment. […] I am still agitated with doubts.[59]

In hindsight, however, it is clear that Lanigan was less than forthright. Had he not been interested, he could simply have declined the offer and returned home, as promised. Instead, he affected a humble spirit of obedience in the spring of 1788, expressing his willingness to submit to the will of the archbishop: "should your Grace think my assistance necessary in the present circumstances of the diocese of Cashel, a word from your Grace will be sufficient."[60] At the same time, he contrasted obedience with opportunity, emphasizing the unique chance that the offer represented and, in the process, revealing his true feelings:

> . . . many foreigners resort to this University, which is at present in extraordinary reputation, and particularly with respect to the Faculty of Divinity, and as it is undoubtedly the most flourishing in Italy [. . . ,] [there are] many great men who adorn this University.[61]

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58. Mario Marefoschi, *Relazione della Visita Apostolica del Collegio Ibernese* (Rome, 1772).
59. Lanigan to Butler, Apr. 21, 1788, Cashel Archives folder (transcript), PICR.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.

In order make the idea as palatable as possible, Lanigan fastidiously avoided objectionable terms that would immediately have incited resistance on Butler's part: Jansenism, Tamburini, Ricci, and Pistoia are never mentioned in any of his correspondence. Instead, he spoke in generalities about the extraordinary opportunity and attributed the position announcement not to Tamburini but to "the Vice President of the Tribunal of the Government of Milan."[62] Yet this same letter indirectly reveals that it was, in fact, Tamburini who instigated the offer, though Lanigan refers to him only by his title: "thinking it now full time to return to Ireland, I discovered my resolution on this to the Director of Studies, and was disposing myself for my departure, when unexpectedly I received the notice that forms the subject of this letter."

Lanigan's bluff was called when Bishop Moylan presented him with a counter-offer to teach at the seminary in Cork.[63] It became clear that Lanigan had coveted the position in Pavia all along while attempting—and hoping, understandably—to keep his reputation free from any association with Jansenism. Lanigan thanked Butler for the opportunity to teach in Cork, but the seminarian's consent, given in April, to submit freely to the decision of church leadership was, by August, audaciously accompanied by six demands, including exemption from financial and administrative duties and from teaching all but two subjects. If Bishop Moylan agreed to these conditions, Lanigan would then request a letter of invitation from Butler, so as not to offend the Viennese court (never mind how Moylan and Butler must have felt after reading his letter). Lanigan wrote, however, that he was still "half inclined to accept [the offer at Pavia],"[64] and a close reading of his correspondence plainly shows his desire to avoid the appointment in Cork and to remain in Pavia with Tamburini. In his list of demands to Butler, Lanigan proposed that he teach only divinity and philosophy; but in a letter to Butler written just a few months earlier, Lanigan noted that in Pavia he had been teaching other subjects.[65]

Butler, persuaded by Lanigan's doubletalk, finally gave his approval for Lanigan to accept the position in Pavia; but James Connell's letter to Butler,

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62. Ibid.

63. John Lanigan to Archbishop Butler, Aug. 3, 1788, as summarized in Mark Tierney, "A Short-Title Calendar of the Papers of Archbishop James Butler II in Archbishop`s House, Thurles: Part 2, 1787–91," *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 20 (1978), pp. 92–93.

64. Ibid.

65. Lanigan to Butler, Apr. 21, 1788, and Aug. 3, 1788, Cashel Archives folder (transcript), PICR.

written a few months later, left little room for ambiguity about "the refractory disobedience of that unhappy, young man, ensnared and perverted by the artifices of that rank Jansenist [Tamburini]."[66] Connell stated explicitly that Lanigan had adopted so-called Jansenism while in Rome: "Mr. Lanigan has been for several years in this school of error: he contracted an intimacy of such a nature with Tamburini whilst they were both in the Irish College."[67]

The next Irish student to fall under Tamburini's sway was William Howley, who, like Lanigan, evacuated Pavia in 1797 following the French invasion. Friends since their youth, Howley and Lanigan shared a common love for the northern Italian city: "He [Lanigan] renewed his friendship with Howley, who one day exclaimed 'God be with Pavia!' Dr Lanigan's eyes filled up with tears at the allusion, as stirring reminiscences of the past crowded on his mind."[68] Lanigan's association with Howley apparently did not enhance the latter's reputation in Ireland. What Howley was doing in Pavia is unknown, but his presence there was probably for theologically-related reasons, as Fitzpatrick reports that he was rumored "to be tinged by the tainted theology which overspread Austrian Italy."[69]

The deep, positive associations that these two felt toward Tamburini and Pavia may point to something more than just theological sympathies, as has already been suggested in Lanigan's case. On a personal level, Tamburini was said to be very likable, engaging, and warm. In 1777 close friend and well-known Italian philo-Jansenist Fabio De Vecchi described Tamburini while the latter was still at the Irish College: "[Tamburini is] the sincerest defender of the truth. He is neither imprudent nor fanatic. His manners mesh with these maxims and his sweet [*dolcezza*] spirit is a wonder and finds its way into the youth."[70]

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66. James Connell to Archbishop Butler, Nov. 1, 1788, Cashel Archives folder (transcript), PICR. An Irish agent in Rome, Luke Concanen, was also convinced that Lanigan was a Jansenist (Concanen to John Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, June 10, 1797, Dublin Diocesan Archives [hereafter cited as DDA], letters April–June 1797, Troy IV: 1797–99, Dublin).

67. James Connell to Archbishop Butler, 1 Nov. 1788, Cashel Archives folder (transcript), PICR.

68. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies*, p. 175.

69. Ibid., pp. 89. Here, too, Fitzpatrick feels that Howley is misunderstood.

70. Fabio De Vecchi, quoted in Garlaschi, *Vita Cristianae Rigorismo Morale*, p. 14n. See also Samuel J. Miller, "The Limits of Political Jansenism in Tuscany: Scipione de' Ricci to Peter Leopold, 1780–1791: Review Article" [of *Lettere di Scipione de' Ricci a Pietro Leopoldo, 1780–1791*, by Bruna Bocchini Camaiani and Marcello Verga], *The Catholic Historical Review*, 80, no. 4 (1994), 762–767, here 766. Miller notes the presence at the Synod of Pistoia of "some of the most vigorous purveyors of Jansenist views in Italy."

If anyone was qualified to speak on Tamburini's character, it was De Vecchi, who hosted Tamburini in his home for a few months upon his initial arrival in Rome until a room (and a position) became available at the Irish College.[71] But Lanigan and Howley would not be the only Irish youths to form close personal bonds with the former prefect of studies.

Florence McCarthy of Cork matriculated at the Irish College a month or so after Lanigan, on October 12, 1776, and remained there until his ordination in 1784.[72] Thus he had two years of tutelage under Tamburini and four years under Giambattista Marini, Tamburini's protégé and his successor as prefect of studies at the College.[73] Marini had been a favored pupil under Tamburini in Brescia while at seminary, ably defending his mentor's theses on grace in 1771.[74] Marini also played a rather significant role in the Synod of Pistoia (1786), according to one report sent to Rome.[75] When appraising Marini's performance at the Irish College, Tamburini described him as an "excellent student [*scolaro*]" for the seminarians as well as for Marefoschi.[76] This characterization suggests that theological inroads had been made among the Irish seminarians. Like Lanigan, Marini followed in Tamburini's footsteps. In 1782, when his appointment as prefect of studies in Rome ended, Marini, too, went to Pavia and resumed his theological teaching in a less-hostile environment, accepting a post at the German-Hungarian College as professor and vice-rector. The ideological links with Tamburini in McCarthy's case are slim but nonetheless worthy of mention. Tamburini corresponded with him on at least one occasion. In his letter he discussed "various students" who were at the College, which indicates a certain level of trust and discretion between the two men.[77] He also uses the same word to refer to McCarthy that he used in a similar context to describe Marini: *scolaro*.[78]

Among all the Irish youths in Rome during this period, Edward (henceforth "Odoardo") Butler perhaps enjoyed the closest friendship with

71. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," p. 407.

72. This information was provided to me by Vera Orschel, a very helpful former archivist at the PICR.

73. Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, pp. 165, 173, and 175–76.

74. Ibid., p. 165n.

75. Martin Coen, "The Choosing of Oliver Kelly for the See of Tuam, 1809–15," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 36 (1977–78), 14–29, here 25n.

76. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," pp. 435–36.

77. Tamburini to McCarthy, n.d. (but post–1784), quoted in Rosa Zilioli Faden, "Carte tamburiniane nell'archivio della Biblioteca Fornasini," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo*, ed. Corsini and Montanari, pp. 455–89, here p. 479.

78. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," pp. 435–36.

Tamburini, remaining in close contact with the Italian theologian for more than a decade. For a while the two were inseparable, and Garlaschi reports that they lived together in Pavia.[79] They first met in Rome, where Butler was one of Tamburini's students; but there is no record of Butler's presence at the Irish College, though he could well have been a regular at the *Archetto* meetings.[80] He is described as "talented, possessing probity of manners and chaste honor."[81] Tamburini, just months after his departure from Rome at the end of 1778, was already making inquiries on behalf of Butler about attending a medical school in the north.[82] By June 1779, he had confirmed that Butler would join him in Padua, presumably for a holiday.[83] Two years later (in December 1781), Tamburini recommended him to the "illustrious Professor" of clinical medicine Samuel August Tissot at the University of Pavia, where Butler eventually completed his studies.[84]

The two often travelled together, taking many trips during the 1780s. For example, in July 1782 Tamburini stayed with the "Irish youth" in Florence.[85] In the middle of 1786, he expressed the hope that Butler would again travel with him to Florence: "I would very much appreciate his company."[86] The respect and affection ran both ways: "many regards from the optimum Irish youth Odoardo" ran a salutation in one of his letters.[87] Tamburini's closest confidants were also Odoardo's, an indication of the extent to which their worlds converged. The younger man sent greetings from Tamburini to Zola and Bishop Ricci on numerous occasions.[88] Likewise, Ricci frequently sent Odoardo greetings in his correspondence with Tamburini.[89]

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79. Garlaschi, *Vita Cristianae Rigorismo Morale*, p. 14.

80. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," p. 420 and 420n.

81. Michele Uricchio, "Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico di Pavia," *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, 55 (1955), 33–64, here 54.

82. Fantini, "L'Epistolario di Pietro Tamburini," p. 420. The inquiry took place in April 1779.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., p. 450. On Irish studying medicine in Europe, Thomas O'Connor, "Ireland in Europe, 1580–1815; some historiographical remarks," in *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin, 2001), p. 14.

85. Ibid., pp. 420 and 436.

86. Tamburini, letter dated July 3, 1786, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazione," p. 175.

87. Tamburini, letter dated June 21, 1783, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazione," p. 159.

88. See, for example, Tamburini, letter dated Sept. 10, 1782, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazione," p. 150.

89. See, for example, Ricci to Tamburini, Dec. 2, 1790, quoted in Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, p. 208.

The Irishman sometimes filled the role of an assistant to Tamburini, presumably in advancing his theological cause: "Odoardo has distributed 100 copies of it [an unknown work] and [they] have inflamed all parts of the city; I will send some copies to Tuscany."[90] The context suggests a controversial theological work. Butler also attended the Synod of Pistoia, evidently as Tamburini's personal aide.

Tamburini was given the title "promotor" of the Synod, an indication of his deep involvement in the assembly.[91] One Ricci letter to Tamburini reveals an active desire to grow their movement: "Give my respects to friends[,] among those always Odoardo. See if he is able to return to Tuscany where it is much more serene than before, and where many are repenting [*si ravvedono*], and the good cause acquires new proselytes."[92]

In the end, around 230 clerics traveled to Pistoia and agreed upon the eighty-six propositions of faith. This event was an attempt to make religion more utilitarian.[93] As it turned out, the synod represented the peak of church reform in Tuscany. Conducted under the patronage of Grand Duke Peter Leopold, a Habsburg and the more politically talented younger brother of Joseph II, the synod advocated reforms similar to those implemented in Habsburg territories in northern Italy. Its aim was to reduce direct papal authority within Tuscany and to create a more autonomous church under Leopold, with "rights to set the diriment impediments to marriage, to reform or abolish religious orders, and to redraw parish boundaries."[94]

By 1787 Odoardo was assuming a more prominent role in Tamburini's movement. The future medical doctor even composed a work on the jurisdiction of the parish—a key idea at Pistoia. He hoped to publish it and "take various measures."[95] In 1790 Tamburini transmitted Butler's draft to Ricci, but the bishop felt that the moment was not right for publication.[96]

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90. Tamburini, letter dated Dec. 27, 1783, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazione," p. 162.

91. Miller, "The Limits of Political Jansenism" [Book Review], p. 766. On the function of a promoter, as a public manager, see *Caeremoniale Romanum of Agostino Patrizi, Piccolomini* (Venice, 1516; rpt. Ridgewood, NJ, 1965), fol. 60v. For a fuller account of this role at Lateran V, see Nelson H. Minnich, "Paride de Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, 14 (1982), 370–460, here 441–443.

92. Ricci to Tamburini, July 6, 1789, quoted in Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, p. 198.

93. Rosa, "The Catholic *Aufklärung*," p. 242.

94. Van Kley, "Piety and politics," p. 125.

95. Tamburini, letter dated July 25, 1787, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazione," p. 184.

96. Tamburini to Ricci, Mar. 1, 1790, quoted in Mazzetti, "Relazione," p. 207; Ricci to Tamburini, Mar. 13, 1790, quoted in Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, p. 202.

Even after relations cooled between Tamburini and his former student, Odoardo's keen interest in books never waned. On May 18, 1803, he purchased manuscripts and monographs from the library at Bobbio at an auction resulting from damage done by the invading French; he later bequeathed his collection to the town.[97] Bobbio bears an indelible Irish stamp, which was perhaps Butler's motivation for this charitable act. In the seventh century, St. Columbanus (543–615) founded one of the great Italian abbeys there, bestowing upon the area a great center of learning and exemplifying the impact of Irish missionary activity in Europe. The saint's name would be adopted much later as the *nom de plume* of another Irishman who penned a half dozen or so polemical pamphlets and would be viewed as a philo-Jansenist.

Charles O'Connor was the grandson and namesake of the famed eighteenth-century Irish intellectual who was one of the founding members of the Royal Irish Academy.[98] A student at the Irish College in Rome from 1779 to 1786, the younger O'Connor later became linked to the so-called Jansenist movement. O'Connor matriculated at the College when he was just fifteen, in accordance with the wishes of his father.[99] Known for "studious instincts" as a young man, he collected early medieval Irish manuscripts, acquired from many of Europe's richest libraries.[100] His true notoriety came after 1810, however, in connection with his controversial series of polemics written under the pen name Columbanus.

O'Connor's convergence with Tamburini's world seemed unlikely after the young man began employment under Luigi Cuccagni, rector at the Irish College and Tamburini's theological nemesis. While Cuccagni and Tamburini had both been brought to Rome under the protection of Marefoschi in the early 1770s, they drifted apart following Pius VI's elevation in 1775, splitting irrevocably after Marefoschi's death in 1780. Cuccagni sided with curial authorities to oppose philo-Jansenist ideas he had embraced a decade earlier. For a few years O'Connor translated articles for Cuccagni's polemical *Giornale Ecclesiastico*, the leading curial anti-Jansenist publication from 1785 to 1798.[101] In September 1786, O'Connor

97. *La Rassegna della letteratura italiana*, 43–44 (1935–36), p. 135.

98. Charles O'Conor, "Origins of the Royal Irish Academy," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 38 (1949), 325–37.

99. Liber XIX, fol. 104v, PICR.

100. Thomas Seccombe, "Charles O'Conor," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 41 (1895), p. 412.

101. Hugh Fenning, "Irishmen ordained at Rome, 1572–1697," *Archivium Hibernicum* [hereafter *AH*], 59 (2005), 1–36, here 32.

was asked to remain in Rome, a request that the young Irishman described to Tamburini in a letter: "the superiors are extremely kind to me and the Cardinal [Salviati] will not only give me leave to remain another year but even insists on my staying until May '88."[102] By his own account, O'Connor wished to stay in Rome and greatly enjoyed these years. In the same letter to Tamburini he noted: "'nothing else [except this present illness] could make me tired of my Ludovisian [Irish College] existence.'"[104] A 1788 report from James Connell to Archbishop Butler and Archbishop Troy of Dublin, the gatekeepers of orthodoxy in Ireland, gave no hint of the theological transformation that was taking place inside O'Connor: "If no opportunity should sooner offer itself, I will send them [i.e., relics] by Mr O'Connor, a very worthy young man, who having already ended his studies in the Irish College will next year return to Ireland."[105]

Between late 1788 and early 1789, however, he and Cuccagni became embroiled in a very unpleasant dispute. O'Connor accused Cuccagni of exploiting him for his (unpaid) translating services to the *Giornale Ecclesiastico*. In 1790 O'Connor published details of the feud in a blistering salvo against Cuccagni and his administration of the Irish College.[106] Cuccagni fired off a dismissive one-page response in March 1791, published in the *Giornale Ecclesiastico* under the name of Giuseppe Bianchi, the College cook.[107] Cuccagni's references to Pavia and Jansenism in connection with O'Connor reveal another aspect of this conflict.[108] It was clear to Cuccagni

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102. O'Connor to [Tamburini?], Sept. 30[?], 1786, quoted in O'Riordan, "Rev. Charles O'Conor D.D.," p. 257.

103. Fenning, "Irishmen ordained at Rome," p. 32.

104. O'Riordan, "Rev. Charles O'Conor D.D.," p. 257, Sept. 30, 1786. Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632) established the Irish College in 1625 with an annual endowment, and the first seminarians took up residence there in 1628. On its beginnings, see Pontifical Irish College Rome, *Collegium Hibernorum de Urbe 1628–1678* [*The Irish College, Rome 1628–1678: An early manuscript account of the foundation and development of the Ludovisian College of the Irish in Rome*] (Rome, 2003).

105. James Connell to Archbishop Butler, Nov. 1, 1788, Cashel Archives folder (transcript), PICR.

106. Pre-Cullen, NC-3, folder 2, PICR; this folder contains a transcribed copy of the original tract, which was published on Nov. 19, 1790, in the philo-Jansenist journal *Annali Ecclesiastici di Firenze*. The work is entitled, *Lettera scritta dal sig. ab. D. Carlo O'Connor all'em.o sig.r card.e Gregorio Salviati, protettore del Collegio Irlandese di Roma, intorno a D. Luigi Cuccagni, ec.*

107. "Risposta di Giuseppe Bianchi da Gubbio Cuoco del Collegio Ibernese di Roma," published in short form in the *Giornale Ecclesiastico di Roma* (1791), p. 47.

108. Collegi Vari, b. 34, Irlandese (1655–1848), fols. 29r and 32v, Archivio della Propaganda Fide.

that Tamburini and company were behind this latest personal attack, and that O'Connor was merely a pawn in the larger personal and theological dispute between the two older rivals.

That he published his attack in *Annali Ecclesiastici di Firenze* constitutes compelling proof of O'Connor's philo-Jansenist sympathies.[109] *Annali* was known as a "Tamburini production," and its circulation in Rome had been prohibited since 1786.[110] In addition, it was both the chief target of Cuccagni's *Giornale Ecclesiastico* and the mouthpiece for the Synod of Pistoia, attempting to legitimize its proceedings. The following year offered further evidence of O'Connor's active participation in the so-called Jansenist cause: Giuseppe Zola wrote of a certain "Sig [Signore] Colombo [Columbanus]" who was involved in the distribution of 50 copies of one of Zola's works. O'Connor, who would later adopt this moniker, acted as a conduit to get these tomes into the hands of "*macenate*" [patrons].[111]

There are clues as well in O'Connor's past that could explain his theological affinities or transformations. While O'Connor never knew Tamburini personally, he entered the Irish College while Marefoschi was cardinal protector and Marini was the prefect of studies.[112] He spent three years under Marini's tutelage. A report concluded that Marini's "influence on Charles O'Connor and others […] was regarded as not good." A revealing letter from 1784 confirms the good rapport that O'Connor had with Marini and the ideas he espoused. O'Connor identified three theological strands in Rome: Molinists, semi-Molinists, and Jansenists. Critical of all three, O'Connor nevertheless considered Jansenism acceptable to his theological senses, calling the cause "ever so good."[113]

Thus far this study has highlighted Tamburini's recruitment of young Irishmen mainly via the Irish College to his theological cause in Italy. It has also discussed the type of theology he advocated, one that was in sync with Josephist tendencies throughout the Habsburg-held areas of northern Italy. In transnational terms, Tamburini's theology affected another Irish

109. See also Van Kley, "Piety and politics," p. 124.

110. Bruna Bocchini Camaiani, "Gli 'Annali Ecclesiastici' e Pietro Tamburini," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo*, ed. Corsini and Montanari, pp. 307–30, here p. 307.

111. Zola letter, Feb. 28, 1791, quoted in Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, pp. 228–29.

112. Guerrini, *Carteggi bresciani inediti*, pp. 165, 173, and 175–76.

113. O'Connor to [Marini?], Nov. 15, 1784, quoted in O'Riordan, "Rev. Charles O'Conor D.D.," pp. 250–51.

seminary on the Continent. His ideas were blamed for the problems that occurred at the college in Salamanca beginning in the late 1790s.[114] The college's conservative rector, Patrick Curtis, spoke of "great evils" that would befall the institution "if it attaches itself to Peter Tamburini rather than to Rome."[115] According to Curtis, the ideas emanating from the Synod of Pistoia and propagated enthusiastically by the archbishop of Salamanca, Antonio Tavira, created a morally lax atmosphere in which some students fell into the habit of carousing in the city at night and took to drunkenness.[116] A seminarian named Timothy Carey "possessed uncommon abilities" but was habitually drunk and involved in other acts of "public immorality."[117] Such was the influence of Tavira, "the herald of Spanish Jansenists," that Curtis averred, "All of the Salamancan youth is Port-Royalist, of the Pistoian variety."[118]

The ecclesiastical leadership in Ireland was likewise convinced that Tamburini's ideas were the source of the problem. Curtis, known by his detractors as "Cortez," warned the archbishops of Ireland about Tamburini's influence in 1800, as he unsuccessfully attempted to submit his resignation.[119] Based on Curtis's reports, Archbishop Troy also linked the college's anarchical state to Tavira's Jansenist-like doctrines, which Troy deemed "most dangerous."[120] In this context Troy observed, "instead of regretting the injunction of not sending students thither, I rejoice at it, as it is better to have ignorant or no priest, than any disciple of Ricci or Tamburini."[121]

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114. See Patricia O'Connell, "The early-modern Irish college network in Iberia, 1590–1800," in *The Irish in Europe: 1580–1815*, ed. Thomas O'Connor (Dublin, 2001), pp. 49–64, here pp. 54–57.

115. Dr Curtis to Archbps of Ireland, Apr. 3, 1800, quoted in Claude Meagher, "Calendar of the Papers of Dr. Bray, archbishop of Cashel and Emly (1792–1820)," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (hereafter cited as *JCHAS*), LXXIV (Jan–Dec 1969), 40–70, here 54.

116. Hugh Fenning, "Troy to Bray: Letters from Dublin to Thurles, 1792–1817," *Archivium Hibernicum* (hereinafter cited as *AH*), 55 (2001), pp. 48–125, here pp. 92–3. Letter of August 14, 1800.

117. Ibid.

118. Andrea J. Smidt, "Bourbon Regalism and the Importation of Gallicanism: The Political Path for a State Religion in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 19 (2010), 47–48.

119. Dr Curtis to Archbps of Ireland, Apr. 3, 1800, quoted in Meagher, "Calendar of Bray Papers," p. 54.

120. Troy to Bray, July 8, 1800, quoted in Fenning, "Troy to Bray," p. 90.

121. Troy to Bray, July 17, 1800, quoted in Ibid., p. 91.

In a way, the Irish College in Salamanca was a microcosm of the larger drama being played out in Spain, as the Spanish Church was divided between liberal anti-clerics, who shared some theo-political ideas with followers of Tamburini, and Catholic conservatives, who upheld strong links with Rome. This clerical division developed after the Jesuit suppression in 1767 and the gradual accumulation of power by Jansenist-type political and ecclesiastical forces. The height of so-called Spanish Jansenism occurred in the late 1780s with the infiltration of ideas articulated at the Synod of Pistoia.[122] Such was the status of the movement within Spain that it triggered a backlash, and Spanish clergy soon found themselves divided into the two above-mentioned camps.

While Tamburini's theology spread to other Continental Irish colleges, the College in Rome remained rather isolated. In this sense, it was unique among the vast Irish network of Continental seminaries. No Irishman was employed there during the period between the Jesuit and French suppressions (1773–1790s), in contrast to the college in Lisbon, for example, where the Irish were fully in control after its reopening in 1778.[123] And all Irish colleges in France had Irishmen present in some operational capacity. In Rome, however, the Italian rector Luigi Cuccagni insulated the College from outside influences, allowing his own theological enterprises to go unchecked. The O'Connor scandal, mentioned earlier, revealed this; as a result, correspondence and links with the other Irish colleges were restricted to several letters by Cuccagni to Irish bishops over a thirty-year period. What is more, students at the College were too young to have had any effect on their Continental peers. Most were between 14 and 17 when they left Ireland, and the two and a half months or so needed to reach Rome at this time meant that visits home were rare and generally occurred only at the conclusion of one's studies. Thus the meaningful interplay between Rome and the other Irish Continental colleges was limited to Tamburini's Jansenist theology.

But what relevance did Tamburini's influence on Irish seminarians have within the Irish Church? Nearly all of those seminarians discussed above eventually returned to Ireland and found obstacles in the way of their aspirations. The exception may have been Florence McCarthy, with whom

122. Andrea J. Smidt, "*Luces por la Fe:* The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Spain," in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Lehner and Printy, pp. 403–452, here pp. 439–46.

123. Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590–1834* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 41, 44.

Tamburini had some limited and apparently secret contact. But Dr. Howley's career, for example, seems to have been adversely affected by his Jansenist associations; he remained a priest in the village of Clerihan (at that time in the diocese of Cashel) until his death in 1825, stuck in a position that Fitzpatrick described as "second-rate."[124]

The person most damaged by his relationship with Tamburini was John Lanigan, who was arguably Ireland's best historian in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1822 he published a four-volume work entitled *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the first introduction of Christianity among the Irish to the beginning of the thirteenth century*. A second edition followed in 1829. Even today, critics still speak positively of Lanigan's scholarship on the medieval period of Irish history. Felim Ó Briain praised Lanigan's "critical discernment" and called his work "one of the finest pieces of research on ecclesiastical history during this period."[125] Proof of his superior scholarship was the extensive referencing in his footnotes.[126] According to historian Timothy Corcoran:

> From 1799 to 1822 Dr. Lanigan worked steadily at his *Ecclesiastical History of Celtic Ireland*, and the result has been of enduring value. Orderly in method, severely rigorous in statement, precise and logical in his comment, this very fine example of judicial impartiality and reserve may be supplemented, but it cannot be displaced.[127]

Despite his talent, Lanigan's well had been poisoned by Tamburini: the young Irishman's decision to take the job in Pavia had serious consequences for his career in Ireland, as it was the reason he was denied the professorship in ecclesiastical history at the recently-opened Maynooth College. Forced out of Pavia by the Revolution, he had begun searching for opportunities in Ireland and appeared to have luck on his side when Thomas Clancy suddenly resigned from his position in church history in the summer of 1795.[128] Founded that same year, Maynooth had been created by the Irish parliament in response to the political problems developing on the Continent, which ultimately resulted in the closure of nearly all of the Irish colleges on the Continent. The Irish Parliament agreed to sup-

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124. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies,* pp. 175–77.

125. Felim Ó Briain, "The Expansion of Irish Christianity to 1200: An Historiographical Survey. Part I," *Irish Historical Studies*, 3, no. 11 (1943), 241–266, here 241.

126. Donald MacCartney, "The Writing of History in Ireland, 1800–30," *Irish Historical Studies*, 10, no. 40 (1957), 347–62, here 350.

127. Corcoran, "Ireland and Pavia," p. 598.

128. Patrick J. Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795–1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 31.

port Maynooth in part so that it could monitor more closely the theological formation of Irish priests.

In July 1795, as political uncertainty swirled in northern Italy, Lanigan wrote to Dr. Thomas Bray, Butler's successor as archbishop of Cashel (1792–1820) and one of Maynooth's trustees, offering to replace Clancy.[129] But Lanigan was not the only person lobbying the archbishop. In April 1797, as the matter began heating up, Archbishop Troy asked Bray to delay a decision on Lanigan until the following January, when more prelates, including Bishop Moylan, would be in attendance.[130] Concerns about Lanigan were finally brought out into the open in early 1798; Troy believed it prudent to ask him to sign a formal declaration affirming his unqualified acceptance of Clement XI's *Unigenitus* (1713), which condemned the major tenets of Jansenism, and Pius VI's *Auctorem Fidem* (1794), which condemned the propositions formulated at the Synod of Pistoia.[131] Incensed by this request, Lanigan refused to sign the declaration and was therefore denied the position.[132]

Few in Ireland could have known at the time that Lanigan had signed another document eight years earlier endorsing the same theology he would have had to reject in order to teach at Maynooth. On June 25, 1790, Lanigan had added his name to a letter of protest against changes proposed by the Austrian government which would have more strictly regulated the curriculum within the University at Pavia.[133] Lanigan was joined by Tamburini and Zola, among others, in professing allegiance to the university's core principles, which were essentially a synopsis of certain Jansenist beliefs. The document outlines an adherence to Augustinian principles and to the four Gallican articles from 1682, which called for limits to be placed on papal power.[134]

Perhaps the only person to provide published material linking his own ideas with those of Tamburini was Charles O'Connor. Historian James Sack describes the seven-part series of pamphlets that O'Connor published

129. Claude Meagher, "Calendar of the Papers of Dr Bray, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly (1792–1820)," Pt. II, *JCHAS*, 62, no. 218 (1968), 81–113, here 112. John Lanigan to Bray, July 20, 1795.

130. Troy to Bray, Apr. 15, 1797, quoted in Fenning, "Troy to Bray," p. 78.

131. Troy to Bray, Jan. 1798, quoted in Ibid., p. 81.

132. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Wits and Worthies*, pp. 86–88.

133. Marco Bernuzzi, "Lo spazio universitario del giansenismo pavese," in *Pietro Tamburini e il Giansenismo Lombardo*, ed. Corsini and Montanari, pp. 291–305, here p. 300.

134. Bernuzzi, "Lo spazio universitario del giansenismo pavese," pp. 300–301n.

under the pseudonym "Columbanus" between 1810 and 1813 as "attempts to reinvigorate the Gallican tradition in the Roman Catholic Church of the United Kingdom—a tradition fallen upon hard days since the commencement of the nineteenth century."[135] The Gallican tradition is, of course, originally associated with medieval France and the monarch's desire for more ecclesiastical autonomy from Rome.[136] Nonetheless, Archbishop Troy discerned what he believed was the true ideological root: he called O'Connor "a true son of Tamburini."[137]

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Contrary to the assertions outlined at the beginning of this article, Tamburini's theological influence was pervasive and long-lasting among the Irish clergy. From Rome to Pistoia, from Salamanca to Dublin, Tamburini both attracted and (mainly) repelled Irish seminarians. His influence stemmed from the combination of his alluring personality and a clarity and coherence of ideas that few of his opponents could match. His impact on the Irish church spanned six decades, from his entrance to the Irish College as its director of studies in 1773 to the death of John Lanigan in 1825.

That no one has investigated Tamburini's proselytizing efforts reveals a gap in our understanding of the so-called Italian Jansenist movement. Until now church historians' focus has understandably been on the content of the doctrines and their distinctive characteristics from region to region. With this study of Tamburini's influence on the Irish seminarians, we can begin to understand how Philo-Jansenism grew within the Church. National colleges were opportune places to spread controversial theological concepts. Abroad, perhaps for the first time, seminarians were young, impressionable, open-minded, and far from their familiar (diocesan) supervisors. Assessed from a longer perspective, the national colleges as a whole were exploited for their most valuable assets—their students. Jesuits were charged with unethical recruiting practices prior to 1773; after this date, Tamburini used similar tactics, albeit in the opposite theological direction; and later still, rector Cuccagni comandeered the services of at least one young man—and probably more—for his own personal theological initiatives. In every case, the national church and the students' sponsoring dioceses suffered as a result of these opportunistic practices.

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135. James J. Sack, "The Grenvilles' 'Eminence Grise': The Reverend Charles O'Conor and the Latter Days of Anglo-Gallicanism," *Harvard Theological Review*, 72 (1979), 123–42, here 137.

136. Smidt, "Bourbon Regalism," p. 28n.

137. Coen, "The Choosing of Oliver Kelly," p. 26.

The unorthodox theological training that these Irish seminarians received not only rendered them ineffective in their own national church, but, worse still, they were even perceived as liabilities or threats. The College's brightest pupil during this period, John Lanigan, was effectively silenced and prevented from teaching after his return to Ireland, despite achieving near celebrity status in Europe. Likewise, O'Connor, in many respects, came to be viewed as a nemesis of the Irish Church. Instead of being trained for service as they were intended to be, these followers of Tamburini came to represent internal threats to the Church's health and vibrancy. As the modern historian Thomas O'Connor has observed, "People who leave a country do not necessarily cease to act as historical players there: rather they assume new roles, enter novel networks of patronage and exercise influence indirectly."[138] Those men associated with Tamburini did indeed enter new networks of patronage while on the Continent, but, as a result, they would be deprived of any meaningful new roles or influence upon their return to Ireland.

138. Thomas O'Connor, "Ireland in Europe," p. 10.

Ignatian Radicalism: The Influence of Jesuit Spirituality on Dorothy Day

BENJAMIN T. PETERS*

While celebrated in U.S. Catholicism, Dorothy Day (1897–1980) is often marginalized in American Catholic scholarship. One of the ways this marginalization has occurred is by depicting the sources of her theological vision—particularly "the retreat" she embraced in the 1940s—as "Jansenist" or "perfectionist." But "the retreat" has also been portrayed in other ways, and this article will examine the argument that its theology is rooted in the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises *and a strain of Jesuit spirituality that includes early modern Jesuits such as Louis Lallement, Jean-Joseph Surin, and Jean Pierre de Caussade. Such an alternative understanding not only retrieves "the retreat" from the margins; it also links Day with other kindred spirits in Ignatian spirituality.*

Keywords: Dorothy Day, Ignatian spirituality, Louis Lallemant, John Hugo

In the December 1951 issue of the *Catholic Worker* newspaper, Dorothy Day (1897–1980) included an obituary for a French-Canadian Jesuit named Onesimus Lacouture (1881–1951), the originator of "*the retreat*" that she had enthusiastically embraced a decade earlier and which she would later memorialize in her autobiography, *The Long Loneliness*. Noting that Lacouture had been one of twenty-one children in his family—his father had married twice—Day wrote,

> Doesn't that sound like the beginning of the life of a saint? Peter Maurin was one of twenty-three children. These two men who had the most influence on my life (and so in a way on the life of the **Catholic Worker**) were both French peasants, of France and French Canada. They both knew the life of the land and of the city. Both were men of the poor.[1]

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1. Dorothy Day, "Death of Father Onesimus Lacouture, S.J.," *The Catholic Worker* (Dec. 1951), p. 1.

For Day, Lacouture and his theology had a deeply profound effect and—along with Maurin—she saw the French-Canadian Jesuit as having had "the most influence" on her life and the Catholic Worker. "I am completely sold on this retreat business," she wrote in 1941, "I think it will cure all ills, settle all problems, bind up all wounds, strengthen us, enlighten us, and in other words make us happy."[2] And indeed, others would later credit the retreat—which Day called "bread for the strong"—as having brought about a "second conversion" in her life.[3]

Despite such high praise from Day, the theology operative in Lacouture's retreat has often been portrayed by contemporary scholars in much more negative terms. For instance, J. Leon Hooper, S.J., has suggested that the retreat was "filled with Jansenistic suspicion of the body" and that its "wholesale rejection of the natural" could be understood only as "a flirting with the Jansenism of which Lacouture was (accurately) accused."[4] Not to be outdone, James T. Fisher described the retreat theology as being "imbued with the bitterly mystical, 'gloomy Catholicism' which wedded the Jansenism of Port Royal to the harsh struggle for Catholic survival in Canada."[5] And he described Lacouture's "ethnic Jansenism" as having blended potently with Day's more "aesthetic Jansenism" to help form what Fisher declared to be "one of the most abject brands of self-abnegation in American religious history."[6]

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2. Dorothy Day to Gerry Griffin, June 18, 1941, *All the Way to Heaven: The Selected Letters of Dorothy Day*, ed. Robert Ellsberg (Milwaukee, 2010), p. 125.

3. Rosalie Riegle, *Dorothy Day: Portraits by Those Who Knew Her* (Maryknoll, NY, 2003), p. 83.

4. J. Leon Hooper, S.J., "Dorothy Day's Transposition of Thérèse's 'Little Way," *Theological Studies* 63, no. 1 (2002), 68–82, here 76, n. 23. J. Leon Hooper, "Murray and Day: A Common Enemy, A Common Cause?" *U.S. Catholic Historian* 24 (Winter 2006), 45–61, here 57.

5. James T. Fisher, *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933–1962* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989), p. 59. Hooper suggested that Fisher's study "revels in Day's alleged Jansenism" ("Dorothy Day's Transposition," p. 76, n. 23).

6. Fisher, *The Catholic Counterculture*, p. 60, p. 1. While this term can often be thrown around rhetorically, it should be remembered that *Jansenism* is a technical term that refers to the five propositions condemned in 1653 by Pope Innocent X in *Cum occasione*:

1. Some of God's precepts are impossible for the just, who wish and strive to keep them, according to the present powers which they have; the grace, by which they are made possible, is also wanting.
2. In the state of fallen nature one never resists interior grace.
3. In order to merit or demerit in the state of fallen nature, freedom from necessity is not required in man, but freedom from external compulsion is sufficient.
4. The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of a prevenient interior grace for each act, even for the beginning of faith; and in this they were heretics, because they wished this grace to be such that the human will could either resist or obey.

Such characterizations of the theology that deeply shaped Dorothy Day are not insignificant. This study argues that depictions like those made by Hooper and Fisher have greatly contributed to the way in which Day and others associated with the Catholic Worker have been characterized as "sectarian" and out of step with traditional Catholic theology.[7] In fact, Fisher's depiction of Lacouture's theology goes a long way in shaping Eugene McCarraher's argument that, because of their rejection of the middle-class materialist aspirations of their fellow Catholics, Day and others associated with the Catholic Worker movement are ultimately "irrelevant" to American Catholicism.[8]

But while descriptions of the retreat as Jansenist seem to prevail in American Catholic scholarship—influencing the way Day and others have been perceived—it is certainly not the only way that Lacouture's theological vision can be or has been interpreted. In fact, a quite different depiction of Lacouture's retreat was offered by Fr. John J. Hugo (1911–85) two generations ago. Hugo, a Pittsburgh priest, was Dorothy Day's spiritual director for much of the 1940s and '50s, and was perhaps the greatest promulgator of the retreat in English-speaking countries (Figure 1).[9] Throughout the

5. It is Semipelagian to say that Christ died or shed His blood for all men without exception. (This papal bull is here cited from Henry Denzinger, ed., *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, trans. Roy J. Deferrai [St. Louis, 1957], pp. 1092–96.)

7. While Hooper and Fisher portray Hugo and the retreat in similar terms, their accounts of Dorothy Day greatly differ.

8. See Eugene McCarraher, "The Church Irrelevant: Paul Hanly Furfey and the Fortunes of American Catholic Radicalism," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 7, no. 2 (1997), 163–94, here 186.

9. Day met Lacouture only once—in 1947, around eight years after he had been prohibited from leading retreats by his Jesuit superiors—and so he turned down her request to lead a retreat for her. By this time, though, Day was already quite familiar with "the retreat" and had been writing about it for some time. Day made her first retreat under Hugo's direction in the summer of 1941 at St. Anthony's Village, an orphanage in Oakmont, Pennsylvania where Hugo was leading retreats with Fr. Louis Farina. Immediately following that retreat, Day asked Hugo to lead the annual Catholic Worker retreat the following month at Maryfarm in Easton, Pennsylvania. Day made another retreat with Hugo in 1942. Hugo lost permission from his bishop to lead retreats in the Fall of 1942, but he and Day stayed in close contact and Hugo wrote several articles for the *Catholic Worker* over the next decade or so. Hugo also directed Day's "sabbatical year" in 1943, though he did not lead another retreat until 1957. Day's understanding of Lacouture's spirituality, then, was clearly mediated through Hugo, as well as Pacifique Roy, S.S.J. (d. 1954). It should be noted, though, that there were differences between Lacouture and Hugo. For instance, Jack Downey has suggested that Lacouture was much less inclined toward the outward-looking social Catholicism of the Catholic Worker. See Jack Downey, "The Strong Meat of the Gospel: 'Lacouturisme' and the Revival of Asceticism in North America," *American Catholic Studies*, 122, no. 4 (2011), 1–22. In addition, Lacouture led retreats almost exclusively for clergy, while Hugo

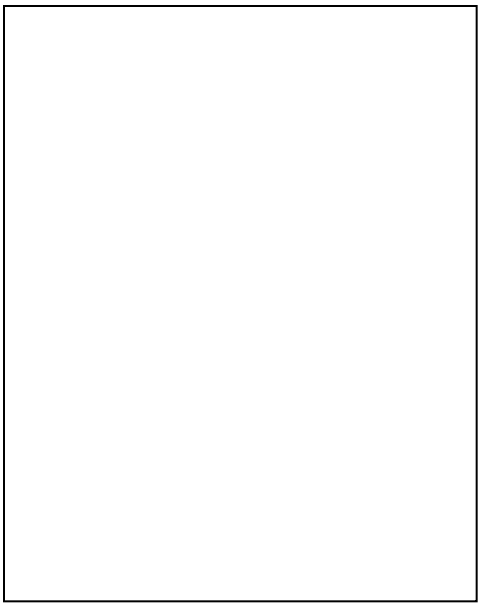

FIGURE 1. Rev. John J. Hugo, courtesy of the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Libraries.

1940s—during a period in which he himself was prevented from preaching the retreat by his bishop—Hugo wrote several works defending the retreat theology in response to criticisms of it made by some of the most prominent U.S. Catholic theologians of the day. These critics had accused the retreat of promoting an "exaggerated supernaturalism" with Jansenist tendencies—charges not all that unlike those made more recently by Fisher and Hooper. Central to Hugo's defense was his claim that Onesimus Lacouture, S.J., was not a world-denying Jansenist; rather that he was "a true disciple" of St. Ignatius of Loyola and that the retreat was rooted in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* and Jesuit spirituality.

Hugo's argument here is significant for many reasons, not the least of which is that it directly challenges the contemporary portrayals of the retreat

opened his retreats up to laity. While these and other differences are certainly important to acknowledge, Day's description of the influence Lacouture had on her—which she wrote about in his *Catholic Worker* obituary—coupled with the fact that her encounter with the retreat was largely through Hugo, at least suggests that Day saw little difference between the two priests.

as well as the marginalization of Day that these portrayals often foster. In pointing out the Ignatian roots of Lacouture's theological perspective—and thus situating the retreat squarely within the Christian tradition—Hugo offered a justification for the claims Day and the Catholic Worker made about the Christian life. And indeed, Hugo's presentation of the retreat makes it much more difficult to dismiss Dorothy Day as irrelevant.

In order to explore these issues, This study is divided into three parts. First, it offers examples of the ways in which scholars have characterized Day and others associated with her, both in the years surrounding the Second World War and today. Next, it will examine Hugo's counterargument that the retreat was not Jansenist but rather was shaped by Ignatian spirituality. Finally, it will look at some of the possible implications offered by this connection between Dorothy Day and Jesuit spirituality.

Placing Day and "the Retreat" on the Margins

Despite their celebrated importance and significance, Day and the Catholic Worker are often relegated to the fringes of American Catholicism, even by those who do the celebrating. For instance, in *Public Catholicism*, David O'Brien praises Day and her fellow Catholic Workers for their work with the poor and their opposition to the arms race; at the same time, however, he asserts that they embodied a certain "perfectionism" that devalued citizenship and reduced the moral significance of politics and the broader society.[10] As a result, they lacked a sense of "responsible citizenship" and became "marginalized" from larger public policy debates, leading O'Brien to conclude that Day and the Catholic Worker movement ultimately tended toward an "apocalyptic sectarianism."[11] In a similar fashion, in *Tranquillitas Ordinis*, George Weigel argues that Day's theological perspective stemmed from "a radically eschatological view of history" heavy with "apocalyptic overtones," which led her to denigrate human history and ignore the "world's demands."[12] Likewise, in *American Catholic Social Ethics*, Charles Curran portrays Day and the Catholic Worker movement as espousing a "radical type of social ethics" based on a theological perspective of "radical incompatibility" between nature and grace, and thus between American culture and society on the one hand and Christian eschatological fullness on the

10. David O'Brien, *Public Catholicism* (New York, 1989), p. 246.

11. Ibid.

12. George Weigel, *Tranquillitas Ordinis: The present failure and future promise of American Catholic thought on war and peace* (New York, 1987), pp. 150–51.

other.[13] More recently, in *Prophetic & Public: The Social Witness of U.S. Catholicism*, theologian Kristen Heyer has argued that, like Day, contemporary theologians associated with the Catholic Worker, such as Michael Baxter, represent a "prophetic sect type" and embrace "a rigorist, evangelical social ethic."[14] Such an ethic informs practices of nonparticipation in American political and social institutions, whether refusing to participate in war or to vote or to pay taxes or to engage in public-policy debates. All of which leads Heyer to label these theologians as "perfectionists."[15]

It is important to note that this criticism is largely based on a perception of the theological perspective that informed Day's spiritual outlook—a theology that is portrayed as one of "radical incompatibility" between nature and grace and thus between the Church and the world. For critics such as O'Brien, Weigel, Curran, and Heyer, the reason Day and others influenced by her did not participate in certain American political, social, and economic institutions is that they had largely rejected American society and culture as corrupt—a rejection that in turn led to their allegedly irresponsible citizenship, sectarianism, and irrelevance. And this rejection is depicted—at least in part—as stemming from a theology that devalues, denigrates, and rejects human nature as sinful out of excessive concern for the supernatural or eschatological. While the retreat is not mentioned by these critics, this study argues that characterizations of it as Jansenist and world-denying—like those made by Hooper and Fisher—at the very least share many of these same theological assumptions about Day held by O'Brien, Weigel, and others.

What is interesting about these more recent sketches of so-called Catholic radicals is that they were largely prefigured by similar portrayals made during the mid-twentieth century. Indeed, many of these contempo-

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13. Charles Curran, *American Catholic Social Ethics* (Notre Dame, IN, 1982), p. 130 and p. 163. Curran also points to the "Green Revolution" of Peter Maurin (1877–1949) —a "revolution that called for a return to the land, a withdrawal from the evil industrial society, and opposition to technology"—as a further example (p. 143 and p. 165). Curran maintains that this radical incompatibility was grounded in a theological understanding of the nature-supernatural relationship that was also one of radical incompatibility (p. 168).

14. Kristen Heyer, *Prophetic & Public: The Social Witness of U.S. Catholicism* (Washington, DC, 2006), p. 76. Heyer claims to have borrowed much from the work of both O'Brien and Curran.

15. Heyer, *Prophetic & Public*, p. 59. In his treatment of the topic, Richard Gaillardetz adds William Cavanaugh, Michael Budde, David Schindler, and John Milbank to this group; see Richard Gaillardetz, "Ecclesiological Foundations of Modern Catholic Social Teaching," in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes, O.F.M. (Washington, DC, 2004), p. 77.

rary criticisms appear to be largely based on the notion of "eschatological humanism" offered by John Courtney Murray, S.J. (1904–67), in *We Hold These Truths*.[16] As Joseph Komonchak has pointed out, Murray employed this idea in the aftermath of his debates with Paul Hanly Furfey (1896–1992), a Catholic University of America sociologist closely connected with Day and the Catholic Worker, over inter-creedal cooperation in the 1940s.[17] Murray saw the temptation among some mid-century Catholics to "spiritually withdraw" from U.S. institutions as emerging from a theological view that human nature and history—and thus American society and culture—is largely corrupted.[18] And he suggested that such a view tended toward an "eschatological humanism" which emphasized a final supernatural end "radically discontinuous" with human nature. And it was this emphasis that led to a "contempt of the world" and the view that American institutions and ideals were necessary evils—at best, as irrelevant as the basket-weaving of the Desert Fathers.[19]

Of course Murray was not the first to offer such a depiction of this kind of Catholic withdrawal. In 1943, Joseph J. Connor, a Jesuit teaching at Weston, wrote an article in *American Ecclesiastical Review* in which he labeled Catholics associated with the *Catholic Worker* paper as "Perfectionists" for their support of U.S. Catholic conscientious objectors in World War II.[20] For such a position—which Connor argued ignored duty and obligation to both family and nation—suggested "an air of exhilarating aloofness and detachment" and implied a desire to "dissociate" the Church from American society and culture. Connor likened this detachment to "Albigensian purism and Calvinist theocracy" and stated that it was as foreign to Catholic dogma as Communist secularism.[21]

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16. John Courtney Murray, S.J., *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (New York, 1960), pp. 175–196.

17. Joseph Komonchak, "John Courtney Murray and the Redemption of History: Natural Law and Theology," in *John Courtney Murray & The Growth of Tradition*, ed. J. Leon Hooper, S.J., and Todd David Whitmore (Kansas City, 1996), pp. 60–81, here p. 74.

18. Murray, *We Hold These Truths*, p. 185.

19. Murray titled his section on eschatological humanism "Contempt of the World." Murray, *We Hold These Truths*, p. 189.

20. Joseph J. Connor, S.J., "The Catholic Conscientious Objector," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, 108 (Feb. 1943), 125–38, here 127. He summarized the "Perfectionist" stance as: "I have an inalienable right to practice the counsels. Practice of the counsels includes non-resistance to an unjust aggressor. Therefore, even in a just war, I can, out of supernatural love of the enemy, refuse to resort to violence against him. Therefore I am exempt from military service, on the same grounds as the religious who practice Christian perfection" (Connor, "The Catholic Conscientious Objector," p. 129).

21. Connor, "The Catholic Conscientious Objector," p. 136.

Like scholars today, Murray and Connor depicted these Catholics as embracing an excessively eschatological and overly perfectionist theology, and thereby isolated them within Catholic discourse. While Murray and Connor did not mention Lacouture's retreat as the source of this theology, other prominent American Catholic theologians at the time did. In fact, almost immediately following the end of the Second World War, a series of articles critical of the retreat theology appeared in widely-read theological journals like *American Ecclesiastical Review* written by theologians such as Francis Connell, C.Ss.R. (1888–1967) and Joseph Clifford Fenton (1906–69)—both members of the theology faculty at The Catholic University of America and extremely influential in American Catholic circles.[22] These theologians depicted the retreat—or at least its articulation in John Hugo's book *Applied Christianity*—as promoting an "exaggerated supernaturalism" which focused too heavily on humanity's supernatural final end.[23] They argued that such overemphasis on the supernatural led to a denigration or undervaluing of human nature and its abilities. For Fenton and Connell, such supernaturalism was manifest in the retreat's call to give up or renounce attachments to created goods, such as cigarettes and alcohol, and the "natural motives" that such habitual attachments inspired—a kind of renunciation they likened to the "old heresies" of Luther, Baius, and Quesnel.[24]

Like Hooper and Fisher decades later, Connor and Fenton portrayed the retreat as promoting a theology that too heavily emphasized the super-

22. Francis J. Connell, "Review of *Applied Christianity*, by John J. Hugo," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 113 (July 1945), 69–72; Joseph Clifford Fenton, "Nature and the Supernatural Life," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 114 (Jan. 1946), 54–68. Connell held a chair in moral theology at CUA and at the time was "one of the most authoritative voices in moral theology in the United States." See Terrence Moran, "Connell, Francis (1888–1967)" in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, ed. Michael Glazier and Thomas Shelley (Collegeville, MN, 1997), pp. 371–72. Fenton was the editor of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (1944–1963) and a former student of Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., at the Angelicum. Fergus Kerr has described Fenton as "the most eminent American Theologian at the [Second Vatican] Council"; see Fergus Kerr, *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians* (Malden, MA, 2007), p. 7.

23. Fenton, "Nature," p. 63. The term "exaggerated supernaturalism" first appeared in Pascal Parente, "Nature and Grace in Ascetical Theology," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 108 (June 1943), 430–437, here 435. John Hugo, *Applied Christianity* (New York, 1944). Hugo's book was published by the Catholic Worker Press, and included illustrations by Ade Bethune and an imprimatur from then Archbishop Spellman.

24. Connell, "Review," p. 69. At one point, Hugo suggested that the "refusal of my colleagues and me to take a 'friendly smoke' or a 'friendly drink' with our brethren is one of the chief reasons why we have antagonized many of them. In fact, I think this is the chief sore spot in the whole controversy . . . our attitude, they say—oh so often—is completely un-Catholic: it is Manichean, Jansenistic, Puritanical" (Hugo, *Sign*, p. 32).

natural while downplaying the goodness and ability not only of human nature and history but of American society and culture as well. It is this kind of theology that critics, both then and now, seem to assume was at the heart of Day's belief that certain aspects of U.S. society—such as fighting in war or paying taxes—needed to be rejected in order to more fully live a Christian life.[25] For all these critics, the assumption seems to be that only that which is sinful—or "radically incompatible" with grace—must be renounced; and so they see Day's social and political nonparticipation as stemming from her desire to avoid sin—why else would she refuse to engage with these institutions?[26] The idea that the Christian life calls a person to give up something more than that which is sinful—an idea at the heart of the retreat—seems to be almost entirely missed by critics today, just as it was two generations ago.

A *Ressourcement* in Ignatian Spirituality

It was in response to this kind of criticism that Hugo wrote two books on the retreat—*A Sign of Contradiction* and *Nature and the Supernatural: A Defense of the Evangelic Ideal*—in which he situated the retreat theology within the broader Christian tradition as well as the more particular history of Jesuit spirituality.[27] According to these accounts, Lacouture directed his first retreat at the Jesuit novitiate in Sault-aux-Recollets outside of Montreal in 1931 after several years on a Jesuit mission band.[28] Brigid O'Shea

25. For the similarities that exist between the theological anthropologies employed by contemporary Catholic theologians and early twentieth-century neo-Thomists, see Frederick Christian Bauerschmidt, "Confessions of an Evangelical Catholic: Five Theses Related to Theological Anthropology," *Communio*, 31, no. 1 (2004), 67–84, here 77.

26. For these twentieth-century critics, the term "Jansenism" seems to imply a theological perspective that downplays the goodness and capability of human nature as corrupt and, by extension, human society and culture as also corrupt. For a historical account of the term "Jansenism," see William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic Resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (London, 2000).

27. John Hugo, *A Sign of Contradiction: As the Master, So the Disciple* (n.p., 1947); John Hugo, *Nature and the Supernatural: A Defense of the Evangelic Ideal* (n.p., after 1949). Besides the Jesuit writers who will be mentioned below, Hugo also turned to St. John of the Cross, St. Francis de Sales, St. Thomas Aquinas, and well as "lesser lights" such as Frederick Faber. Toward the end of his life, Hugo wrote a two-volume account of the retreat titled, *Your Ways Are Not My Ways* (Pittsburgh, 1984, 1986). For other historical accounts of the Lacouture-retreat movement, see Anselme Longpré, *Un Mouvement spiritual au Québec (1931–1962): Au retour à l'Evangile* (Montreal, 1976); Jean-Claude Drolet, "Un Mouvement de spiritualité sacerdotale au Québec au XXe siècle (1931–1965): Le Lacouturisme," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions, 1973* (Ottawa, 1974), pp. 55–87.

28. This biographical sketch of Lacouture comes from Hugo's *A Sign of Contradiction*. Unfortunately, Lacouture left relatively little written material behind, and most of what

Merriman—who called the retreat "one of the most noteworthy early twentieth-century developments of the Ignatian retreat in North America"—has explained that Lacouture condensed Ignatius's thirty-day *Exercises* into a series of three week-long retreats.[29] The "first series" of the retreat centered on the First Week of the *Exercises*, while the "second series" comprised the Second and Third Weeks, and the "third series" incorporated the Fourth Week of the *Exercises*.[30] Over the years, the "first series" retreat—with the its emphasis on the purification and reorientation of heart and spirit—was the one preached most often by a large margin;[31] and it was this series that Day referred to as simply "*the retreat*," and on which Hugo and his critics—both then and now—have focused (Figure 2).

This "first series" addresses a notion known as the "Folly of the Cross," which asserts that the Christian life involves much more than simply avoiding what is sinful or in violation of the natural law. In contrast to such "Christian minimalism," the "Folly of the Cross" declares that Christians are called to live a "supernatural life" of holiness—a life oriented toward the ultimate destiny to which all people are called. "Man was not merely created and left in the order of nature," Hugo explained; "he was re-created and raised to the order of grace . . . *he does not retain his purely human or purely natural end: this has been replaced by a supernatural end.* . . . So, the fact that man has a supernatural end, dictates that the means for attaining this end must also be supernatural."[32] A Christian life of holiness entails a living out of the "practical implications" of man's final end, which are spelled out in the Gospel

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remains is housed either in the Jesuit archives in Montreal or the Dorothy Day–*Catholic Worker* archives at Marquette University. For more on Lacouture, see Jack Downey, *The Bread of the Strong:* Lacouturisme *and the Folly of the Cross, 1910–1985,* (New York, 2015). While further study of this material is certainly needed, it must be remembered that Hugo was the primary source for any influence Lacouture had on Day—and it is on Hugo's writings that critics of the retreat in the United States have focused.

29. Brigid O'Shea Merriman, O.S.F., *Searching for Christ: The Spirituality of Dorothy Day* (Notre Dame, IN, 1994), pp. 132–33.

30. Ibid., p. 133. Merriman notes that Day attended a second-series retreat in the summer of 1944 led by Fr. Denis Mooney (*Searching for Christ*, p. 148).

31. John O'Malley explained that the theme of the First Week was "a turning from a sinful life or, probably more often, a turning to a more devout life"—what for Hugo and Lacouture was a supernatural life—and that this theme captured the essence of Ignatius's entire *Exercises*. O'Malley suggested that if a retreatant could not continue with the rest of the *Exercises*, "the better ordering" of his or her life would still have been essentially set in motion during the First Week. For if its purpose is achieved, the retreatant will find "a new and happier orientation at the very core of their being" and be "thus set more firmly than before on the path to salvation" (O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* [Cambridge, MA, 1993], pp. 39–40).

32. Hugo, *Sign*, p. 104.

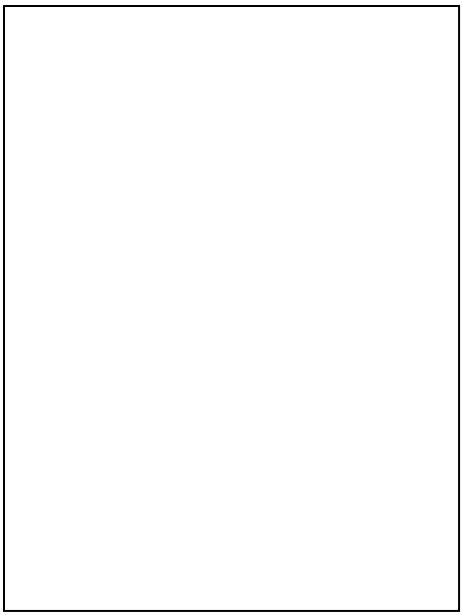

FIGURE 2. Dorothy Day reading at the farm, *ca*. 1937, courtesy of the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Libraries.

admonition: "Unless a grain of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains just a grain of wheat; but if it dies, it produces much fruit" (John 12:24). Jesus calls his followers to "die to" their attachments to worldly things—and even to themselves—if they wish to find true fulfillment.[33]

While such habitual attachments are not understood as necessarily sinful, they do eventually become the "natural motives" for actions that constitute a "natural life."[34] And while such a life is not regarded as sinful *per se*, it is also not seen as a path to holiness—the "supernatural life" of a saint.[35] Correspondence with grace is needed for holiness, and habitual

33. Hugo, *Nature*, p. 88. The other Gospel passage commonly cited to support the Folly of the Cross was Luke 9:23: "If anyone wishes to come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me."

34. Hugo, *Applied Christianity*, p. 14.

35. Hugo also employed this argument as a rationale for U.S. conscientious objectors' (COs) refusal to participate in World War II—a rationale he presented in a *Catholic Worker* article responding to Joseph Connor's critique, one of the few examples of an American Catholic cleric publically defending COs during the war. Hugo stated that even though

attachments to the created goods are distractions to such a correspondence.[36] And so attachments—even to one's own self—need to be either perfected or abandoned, and the retreat was presented by Hugo as a tool, like the *Spiritual Exercises*, for such ongoing discernment.

All of this theology is beautifully depicted in *The Long Loneliness*, where Day tells the story of her conversion not as one of a choice between a sinful life or a good life but rather as one of leaving behind her "natural happiness"—embodied in her "two great loves": her friends on the Old Left and her common-law husband Forster Batterham—in order to pursue a life she discerned to be far better, the life of a saint. While Day regarded such natural happiness as good (albeit in a limited sense) and even described her relationship with Forster as having led her to God, she also recognized that ultimately it had to be given up in order to pursue a much greater happiness. And for the rest of her life—as evidenced in her newly published letters and diaries—Day would use the retreat language to describe this process, referring to this renunciation as "sowing" her attachments and having them "pruned" away by God.[37]

In his defense of the retreat, Hugo turned to sources within the Christian tradition—first and foremost Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*. Hugo focused in particular on the "Principle and Foundation" of the *Exercises* because, as he argued, Lacouture considered this section to be the theological core of the *Exercises* and therefore of his retreat.[38] In these opening lines, Ignatius concisely described the essence of the Christian life. For instance, from Ignatius's statement that "Human beings are created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by means of this to save their soul" (*SE* 23), a specific theological anthropology emerged: human nature's ultimate destiny—"to save their soul"—is supernatural, as is the means by which this destiny can be attained—"to praise, reverence, and

participation in the war may not have been sinful—and could even be considered "just" according to natural law—it was not a path to holiness or the "higher way of Jesus" (Hugo, "Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors" in *The Catholic Worker* [May1943], pp. 6–8).

36. Hugo, *Nature*, p. 71.

37. According to Sr. Peter Claver, MSBT, during her final visit with her longtime friend in 1980, Day pointed to some flowers on a table and said that she was "still sowing" (William Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography* [San Francisco, 1982], p. 517). See also Robert Ellsberg, ed., *The Duty of Delight: The Diaries of Dorothy Day* (Milwaukee, 2008); and Robert Ellsberg, ed., *All the Way to Heaven: The Selected Letters of Dorothy Day* (Milwaukee, 2010).

38. While other sections of the *Exercises* were mentioned, Hugo's argument centered on these opening lines (Hugo, *Sign*, p. 97, p. 203).

serve God."[39] Ignatius thus regarded the supernatural as central and primary—the "prime determinant"—in the life of a Christian.[40] In other words, the supernatural has practical implications for the Christian life—transforming and perfecting it.

Ignatius was read as describing these implications in the "Principle and Foundation" when he wrote:

> The other things on the face of the earth are created for the human beings, to help them in working toward the end for which they are created.
>
> From this it follows that I should use these things to the extent that they help me toward my end, and rid myself of them to the extent that they hinder me.
>
> To do this, I must make myself indifferent to all created things, in regard to everything which is left to my freedom of will and is not forbidden. Consequently, on my own part I ought not seek health rather than sickness, wealth rather than poverty, honor rather than dishonor, a long life rather than a short one, and so on in all these matters.
>
> I ought to desire and elect only the thing which is most conducive for us to the end for which I am created.[41]

Hugo argued that for Lacouture the Christian life entailed a great deal more than simply avoiding what is sinful—indeed, it could and often should entail giving up even good things such as health, riches, honor, or a long life, since over time desire for these things becomes an impediment to the holiness to which we are called.[42] So for Ignatius the primary reason for Christian detachment and renunciation is not sin but rather a desire for union with God. And the Basque saint's admonition to be indifferent to created goods was not because such things as health or a long life are sinful, but rather because they cannot bring about true fulfillment.[43] Lacouture saw the *Exercises*, then, as a tool to help retreatants discern what could be perfected in their lives and what must be abandoned in light of the beatific vision. And Ignatius was interpreted as offering a path for Christians to live out the practical implications of their supernatural end.

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39. *Spiritual Exercises*, 23, in *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises and Selected Writings*, trans. George Ganss, S.J. (New York, 1991), p. 130 (hereafter cited as *SE*); Hugo, *Sign*, p. 104.

40. Hugo, *Sign*, p. 105.

41. *SE*, 23, p. 130.

42. Hugo highlights five other places in the *Exercises* where Ignatius used similar descriptions of created goods: the "Prelude for Making Election" in the Second Week (*SE*,169), the Sixteenth Annotation (*SE*,16), a Note attached to the Fourth Day of the Second Week (*SE*, 157), the First Rule (*SE*, 338), and the Fifth Rule "In the Ministry of Distributing Alms" (*SE*, 342); see Hugo, *Sign*, p. 117.

43. Hugo, *Sign*, p. 116.

In the context of Catholic theology, Hugo seemed to understand Ignatius as also offering an alternative to the "two-tiered" account of nature and grace which prevailed in the 1940s, with its notion of the supernatural building a kind of superstructure on top of a largely self-contained nature. This theological perspective, which Hugo contended had heavily shaped his critics' reading of the retreat, resulted in the "separated theology" of the early twentieth-century.[44] In contrast, Ignatius presented nature—even "fallen nature"—as essentially good and thus distinct from that which is sinful, while he recognized it as inherently lacking and thus distinct from the supernatural.[45] But while the supernatural was understood as being distinct from nature, Ignatius did not see it as separated; rather it was regarded as the inner dynamism and final end of an insufficient human nature.

But this emphasis on the supernatural and its implications—and the account of nature and grace it implies—meant that Lacouture and his reading of Ignatius were at odds with the theology of many of his Jesuit contemporaries. In fact, Lacouture was eventually prohibited from leading retreats in 1939. After reviewing Lacouture's retreat notes, a Jesuit censor in Rome even concluded that his theology contained many "grave faults" regarding nature and grace, and that it ridiculed "the deservedly proved writings of the commentators of the *Spiritual Exercises*."[46] But Hugo contended that these "deservedly proved writings" generally interpreted the *Exercises* as promoting a version of the Christian life that was merely "natural" or "pagan"—essentially a life that entailed avoiding sin and following the natural law.[47]

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44. Hugo refers to this as the "modern theology" of his critics (*Nature*, p. 190). For an excellent account of this theology and its effect on early twentieth-century American Catholicism, see Phillip Gleason, *Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1995), pp. 105–23. Also see, William M. Halsey, *The Survival of American Innocence: Catholicism in an Era of Disillusionment, 1920–1940* (Notre Dame, IN, 1980).

45. It is important to note that Hugo was reading Ignatius's notion of indifference to created goods through Aquinas's understanding of "fallen nature" as simply nature "left to itself." While the divine gift of original justice was lost as a result of the Fall, human nature still remains essentially good and distinct from that which is sinful—or as T.C. O'Brien put it, for Thomas human nature "stays itself, but forlorn"; see Thomas Aquinas, *Original Sin*, Vol. 26 of *Summa Theologiae*, trans. T.C. O'Brien, O.P. (New York,1965), *ST* I–II, 85.1; T.C. O'Brien, "Appendix 9," in *Summa Theologiae*, pp. 157–58. See also Hugo, *Nature*, p. 41.

46. Hugo reproduced the censor's report, dated Aug. 12, 1943, in *Sign*, p. 67.

47. As examples of such "deservedly proved writings," Hugo highlighted H. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J., *Exercices Spirituels selon Lla méthode de Saint Ignace*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1944); Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola: Spanish and English, with a Continuous Commentary* (London, 1915); Pierre Bouvier, S.J., *L'interpretation authentique de la méditation fondamentale dans les Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace* (Bourges, 1922); Aloysius

The problem, as Hugo saw it, was not that the existence of the supernatural was denied in these writings, but rather that the perfection it brings about was ignored—grace was mentioned, but its "specifically supernatural character" was not.[48] So from such commentaries, "we might easily infer that the only function of grace is to help nature to keep the commandments of the natural law; *gratia elevans*, that grace which super-elevates man above nature, is not mentioned and is in fact formally excluded."[49] But in Hugo's view, grace is central to Ignatius's notion of the Christian life:

> Man's supernatural elevation must not merely be dutifully mentioned and praised; it must be taken as the decisive fact in determining the meaning of the Christian life and the manner of living it. It is man's elevation to grace that fixes his end—a supernatural end; and this end in turn prescribes that the praise, reverence, and service due to God must be performed in the supernatural order. . . . To do less is to misrepresent the Christian life.[50]

By minimizing the supernatural character of the "Principle and Foundation" and the *Exercises* as a whole, these early twentieth-century Jesuit commentaries lost sight of the mystery and beauty of the Christian life.[51] Hugo argued that the most wonderful thing about such a life is not that it is "created in the order of nature" but that it has been "*re-created* in the order of grace."[52] And it was the implications of this re-creation by grace—of grace perfecting nature—that Lacouture and Hugo read the *Exercises* as helping to discern.[53] In this way they recognized what the late Cardinal Avery Dulles, S.J., called the "practical mysticism" of St. Ignatius, a synthesis of nature and the supernatural (and of the active and contemplative life)—a spirituality sensitive to the "interior leading of the Holy Spirit" at the same time dedicated "unswervingly to the service of the Church militant."[54]

Bellecio, S.J., *Spiritual Exercises, According to the Method of St. Ignatius Loyola*, trans. William Hutch (London, 1883); and Hugo Hunter, S.J., *Sketches for the Exercises of an Eight Days' Retreat*, trans. John B. Kokenge, S.J. (St. Louis, 1919). See also Hugo, *Sign*, p. 106.

48. Hugo, *Sign*, p. 103.

49. Ibid. For more on the various distinctions of grace within Catholic theology, see Bernard Lonergan, S.J., *Grace and Freedom: Operative Grace in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas* (New York, 1971).

50. Hugo, *Sign*, p. 105.

51. According to Hugo, "the essential purpose of Christianity is to elevate man, by the grace of Jesus Christ, to participate supernaturally in the life of the Trinity" (*Sign*, p. 105).

52. Ibid., p. 104.

53. Ibid., p. 105.

54. Avery Dulles, "Jesuits and Theology: Yesterday and Today," *Theological Studies*, 52, no. 3 (Sept. 1991), 524–38, here 525.

That many of Lacouture's contemporaries had lost sight of this practical mysticism is unsurprising. Indeed, it has a long history within Jesuit spirituality, tracing back at least as far as Alonso Rodríguez, S.J (1526–1616), and his book *Ejercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas* (1609)—a work that had a great deal of influence in Jesuit houses of formation even up to the early twentieth-century.[55] John O'Malley, S.J., has pointed out that by the seventeenth-century two distinct "strains" within Jesuit spirituality could already be distinguished.[56] The first—a strain shaped in large part by Rodríguez's spirituality—was "cautious and soberly ascetical, favorable almost exclusively to a methodical and even moralistic style of prayer, suspicious of contemplation and other higher forms of prayer as inimical to the active ministry to which the order was committed."[57] A second strain was also present then, one which was "more expansive, more syncretistic within the broad tradition of Christian spirituality, and intent on developing the implications of the affective and even mystical elements" in the life and writing of Ignatius.[58] Though the former soon emerged as dominant within Jesuit spirituality, both strains were operative well into the late nineteenth-century. And, in fact, both correspond with the two "tendencies" in Jesuit spirituality that Dulles has stated were present by "the age of Vatican I."[59] One favored a preference for the "Rules of Thinking with the Church" found in the *Exercises* (*SE* 352–370) and certain passages from the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus which stressed obedience to the hierarchical Church—a tendency generally held by nineteenth-century neo-Thomist Jesuits who, continuing the long tradition of Counter-Reformation dogmatics, based their theology on "natural reason and on the authority of the papal and conciliar documents."[60] And while this tendency prevailed within Jesuit circles into the early twentieth-century—and can be seen in the "deservedly proved writings" of Lacouture's critics—a second tendency existed simultaneously which emphasized "The Rules for the Discernment of Spirits" (*SE* 313–336) and the "mysticism of Ignatius."[61]

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55. John O'Malley, "Early Jesuit Spirituality: Spain and Italy," in *Christian Spirituality III*, ed. Louis Dupre and Don E. Saliers (New York, 1989), pp. 3–27, here p. 14.

56. Ibid., p. 17.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Dulles points out that while there has never existed a "Jesuit theology" *per se*, there is definitely a "Jesuit spirituality," which is firmly rooted in the *Exercises*. Dulles, "Jesuits and Theology," p. 531.

60. Dulles included neo-Thomist Jesuits like Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio, Matteo Liberatore, Joseph Kleutgen, and Louis Billot. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

Jesuits working out of this tendency "sought to connect theology more intimately with prayer and the experience of the Holy Spirit."[62]

This history is important for our purposes here in that it helps to situate Lacouture and his critics within the broader historical context of Jesuit spirituality. It is also helpful because, in his attempt to justify or certify the theological vision of the retreat, Hugo sought to locate Lacouture within the more mystical—albeit somewhat overlooked—tendency or strain in Jesuit spirituality. In his *ressourcement* theology Hugo highlighted sources not only in Ignatius's writings but also in those of sixteenth and seventeenth Jesuits like Balthasar Alvarez (1533–1580) and Louis Lallemant (1587–1635).[63] It was with Lallemant and his "school" of Ignatian spirituality in particular—which included Jean Rigoleuc, S.J. (1595–1658), and Jean-Joseph Surin, S.J. (1600–65), as well as Jean Pierre de Caussade, S.J. (1675–1751), and Jean-Nicolas Grou, S.J. (1731–1803)—that Hugo placed Lacouture, contending that he was "their heir, related at least by affinity . . . their son, begotten through a mysterious spiritual atavism."[64]

That Hugo looked to Lallemant for support—especially in the 1940s—is particularly noteworthy.[65] For, as the former Jesuit Henri Bremond noted, Lallemant was at the forefront of a school of Ignatian spirituality that flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries but then quickly faded from memory.[66] After serving years as a rector, spiritual

62. Dulles identified George Tyrrell, Henri Bremond, and Pierre Rousselot as Jesuits whose work highlighted this tendency. Ibid.

63. Hugo, *Sign*, pp. 149–63.

64. Ibid., p. 163. Louis Cognet's list of seventeenth-century Jesuit disciples of Lallemant included: Rigoleuc, Surin, Champion, as well as Jean-Baptiste Saint-Jure (1588–1657), Jacques Nouet (1605–80), Vincent Huby (1603–1693), Julien Maunoir (1606–83), Francois Guilloré (1615–84), Jean Crasset (1618–92), and Claude de la Colombière (1641–82), who was the spiritual director of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647–90). See Louis Cognet, *Post-Reformation Spirituality* trans. P. Hepburne Scott (New York, 1959), p. 107.

65. Dorothy Day already had a familiarity with Lallemant and credited her first spiritual director, Joseph McSorley, with introducing her to Lallemant's writings. See, William Portier, "Dorothy Day and her first spiritual director, Fr. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P." *Houston Catholic Worker*, (Sept–Oct 2002).

66. As Bremond noted, "More integral, more original, twenty times more sublime and twenty times more austere, more demanding than Port-Royal, the school which we are going to study made little noise. Its contemporaries scarcely suspected that it existed; Saint-Beuve did not speak of it; and for the most part, the Catholic of today knows nothing about it except its name. Its founder, the Jesuit Louis Lallemant died in 1635 without having written anything. Among the disciples of that great man, only one, Father Surin, has achieved recognition

director, and tertian-master at the Jesuit College in Rouen, Lallemant left no published materials. What is known of his theology comes from his students' lecture notes, which were eventually published in 1694 as *La vie et la doctrine spirituelle du Père Louis Lallemant de la compagnie de Jésus*—a work that became central to Lallemant's "school" of Jesuit spirituality.[67] Early on in this book, there is a discussion of human nature which states:

> There is a void in our heart which all creatures united would be unable to fill. God alone can fill it; for he is our beginning and our end. The possession of God fills up this void, and makes us happy. The privation of God leaves in us this void, and is the cause of our wretchedness.[68]

Commenting on this passage, Michael Buckley, S.J. has described Lallemant's spiritual doctrine as centering on a particular theological anthropology—one of human emptiness seeking the fullness of God.[69] And so, like Ignatius, Lallemant understood nature and grace not in terms of dialectical contrast or incompatibility but rather as a dynamic progression from emptiness to fulfillment—the void within human nature longing for the plentitude offered by God.

Starting from this anthropology, Lallemant taught detachment from the things of this world.[70] For, as with Ignatius, these created goods were

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[*glorie*], but a recognition that was contested, for a long time suspect, and one of infinite sorrow" (Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'a nos jours*, Vol. 5: *La conquete mystique* [1923], trans. Michael Buckley, S.J., "Seventeenth-Century French Spirituality: Three Figures," in *Christian Spirituality III*, ed. Louis Dupre and Don E. Saliers [New York, 1989], pp. 28–68, here p. 60).

67. For an English translation, see, Alan McDougall, ed., *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallemant of the Society of Jesus, Preceded by an Account of his Life by Father Champion, S.J.* (Westminster, MD, 1946); this work will hereafter be cited as *SD*. Surin's legacy largely surrounded his involvement, beginning in 1635, with a community of Ursuline nuns in Loudun and the demonic possession reportedly occurring in the convent. Over the next twenty-five years, Surin suffered severe mental imbalances that he attributed to demonic possession. It was during this period that Surin wrote the *Spiritual Catechism* (1657), now one of the great classics in spiritual writing. The *Catechism*, which gained the approval of Bishop Bossuet in 1661, carried the influence of both Surin and Lallemant into the eighteenth century, where it helped to shape the spirituality of Caussade and Jean Grou, S.J., in the nineteenth-century; and it even had a "decisive effect" on Raissa and Jacques Maritain in the twentieth century (Buckley, "Seventeenth-Century," p. 63). Surin's involvement at Loudun was memorialized in Aldous Huxley's *The Devils of Loudun* (New York, 1953).

68. *SD*, p. 27.

69. "The spirituality of Lallemant opens with an antithetical dynamic contrast. It is not that of contradiction but of privation and its fulfillment" (Buckley, "Seventeenth-Century," p. 56).

70. *SD*, p. 28.

not regarded as sinful, but neither were they deemed supernatural; so renunciation was necessary in order for human beings to become dependent only on "the good pleasure of God" and be resigned "entirely into his hands."[71] This gradual process of renunciation or purification of one's attachments and motives—what was termed "the spiritual life" (*la vie spirituelle*)—sought to restore the emptiness that marked human nature and return it to "the perfect nudity of the soul" (*la parfait nudite d'esprit*) so that it could be filled with the superabundance of grace.[72] Grace was understood as always available and waiting to correspond with a "purified soul."[73]

But for all his teaching on the spiritual life and "perfect nudity of the soul," it must be remembered that Lallemant spent his life working in the formation of young Jesuits, such as St. Isaac Jogues and the other North American martyrs—men engaged in the active Jesuit apostolate. Indeed, Buckley noted that Lallemant's *vie spirituelle* composed a life given over to apostolic service—a "service whose underlying determination [was] toward God as motive and in union with the Spirit as configuring guide."[74] Far from inhibiting such ministry, Lallemant's spiritual doctrine—and the mystical union that it sought—was understood as necessary for such work.[75] In this way, Lallemant can be seen as trying to unify the two aspects of Ignatius's "practical mysticism" in the spirituality he taught at Rouen.

Despite its popularity, however, by the late eighteenth-century Lallemant and his "school" were largely forgotten or ignored within the Society of Jesus.[76] Hugo suggested that this neglect of Lallemant was a primary reason for so many of "the modern Commentators" neglect of the supernat-

71. *SD*, p. 37.

72. *SD*, p. 37; Buckley, "Seventeenth-Century," p. 57.

73. *SD*, p. 37. In *The Devils of Loudun*, Huxley quipped that in Lallemant's spiritual life, "The corollary of 'Thy kingdom come' is 'our kingdom go'" (p. 77).

74. Buckley, "Seventeenth-Century," p. 60. As Buckley noted, the rapid expansion of Jesuit colleges in France at the time threatened the interior life that Ignatius saw as necessary to sustain such work. Buckley suggested that one must therefore presuppose "the dominant experience behind the *Doctrine spirituelle* to be that of apostolic call, and the rest of Lallemant falls easily into place" (Buckley, "Seventeenth-Century," p. 62).

75. *SD*, p. 264.

76. According to Hugo, it was Rodríguez's interpretation of the *Exercises*, and not that of Lallemant, which was placed in the hands of Jesuit novices and on the shelves of Jesuit libraries (*Sign*, p. 155).

ural in their treatments of the *Exercises*.[77] As he saw it, the criticism and opposition to Lacouture's retreat should be read within the context of this broader Jesuit history. But while Hugo's assertion of deliberate neglect by the Society of Jesus may have some validity, it must also be remembered that Lallemant belonged to an extraordinary group of spiritual writers—one that included St. Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, Cardinal Pierre Bérulle, and St. Francis de Sales—who wrote from the time just after the Protestant Reformation up to the controversy surrounding Quietism at the end of the seventeenth-century.[78] And in fact it was the Quietist controversy that brought about the abrupt end of this amazing flourish of spiritual writing. For almost immediately after François Fénelon's (1651–1715) submission to Pope Innocent XII in 1699, a very real anti-mystical attitude descended upon the Church, and spiritual writing of a more mystical nature largely disappeared from the public arena.[79] This decline left a clear void that was quickly filled by a resurgent Jansenism—most notably in the writings of Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719)—which strongly promoted a rigorist asceticism coupled with the notion that only a few predestined souls would ever be able to attain mystical union with God.[80] Any writing that empha-

77. "That a tradition like that inaugurated by Lallemant, wholly supernatural and carrying on admirably the general tradition of Christian spirituality, would be formally outlawed, or excluded, or set aside—they all amount to the same thing—at the reconstitution of the Society [in 1803] will perhaps help explain why so many of the modern Commentators have removed the supernatural from their version of the *Exercises*" (Hugo, *Sign*, p. 163).

78. In his volume on the period, Bremond used the term "Bérullian Jesuits" to categorize many of these Jesuits, including Lallemant. But Cognet and Buckley have disputed this claim, arguing that themes of mysticism and detachment are in fact Ignatian and that Lallemant, though sharing much in common with Bérulle, was essentially Ignatian at heart. What is perhaps more interesting, though, is the Ignatian influence on Bérulle. For Bérulle was a student at the Jesuit College of Clermont and made the *Spiritual Exercises* in 1602 in Verdun. One of Bérulle's earliest spiritual writings was *Bref discours de l'abnegation interieure* (1597), which was a "translation" of an Italian work, *Breve compendio intorno alla perfezione cristiana*, attributed to the visionary and mystic Isabella Bellinzaga but the true author of which was her spiritual director, the Italian Jesuit Achille Gagliardi (1537–1607). Gagliardi wrote one of the earliest commentaries on the *Spiritual Exercises*. Gagliardi's writings led to him being charged with introducing a monastic spirit into the Society of Jesus and the controversy that followed required Claudio Aquaviva (the Jesuit superior general) as well as Pope Clement VIII to intervene on Gagliardi's behalf (O'Malley, "Early Jesuit," p. 21). For more on Berulle, see Raymond Deville, *The French School of Spirituality*, trans. Agnes Cunningham (Pittsburgh, 1994); and William Thompson, ed., *Bérulle and the French School: Selected Writings*, trans. Lowell Glendon, S.S. (Mahwah, NJ, 1989).

79. C.J.T. Talar, "Prayer at Twilight: Henri Bremond's *Apologie pour Fénelon*," in *Modernists & Mystics*, ed. C.J.T. Talar (Washington, DC, 2009), pp. 39–61, here p. 39.

80. Jean Pierre Caussade, *A Treatise on Prayer from the Heart: A Christian mystical tradition recovered for all*, ed. and trans. Robert M. McKeon (St. Louis, 1998), p. 28.

sized the mystical or supernatural quickly became suspect. In *The Mystic Fable* (1982), the Jesuit theologian Michel de Certeau observed that by the end of the seventeenth-century, the adjective *mystical* had become the noun *mysticism* and, packaged as such, was neatly marginalized and quarantined as mystical prayer became understood as a practice exclusively reserved for cloistered spiritual elites.[81] Union with God and any emphasis on the supernatural in general quickly came to be seen as a phenomenon outside of the life of ordinary Christians—laity and secular clergy alike.[82]

The Quietist controversy, then, marked a significant turning point in Catholicism. In its aftermath "a narrowing, suffocating, and hyper-intellectualization" of the tradition occurred, eventually culminating in the form neo-Thomism—with its dualist account of nature and grace—that dominated early twentieth-century Catholic theology.[83] This was the "new theology" that the French Jesuit Henri de Lubac (1896–1991) argued had exiled the supernatural from the modern world and which Hugo identified as having shaped the way critics read and dismissed the retreat.[84]

The upshot here is that depictions of the retreat as "Jansenist" reflect a misunderstanding of the theology operative in it. If anything, the retreat—with its emphasis on the supernatural and the universal call to holiness—is much closer to Fénelon's vision than that of Quesnel. And, as Hugo repeatedly asserted, the theological roots of the retreat run deep in Jesuit spirituality. Despite critics' contentions, the nature-supernatural relationship presented in the retreat was one not of sin and grace but rather of a more mystical Ignatian dynamic of longing and fulfillment. Sin was not the chief reason for its calls to renounce "natural motives." Lacouture's reading of Ignatius—while not the prevailing one at the time—clearly fit within a long-held strain in Jesuit spirituality, a strain that sought to maintain Ignatius's practical mysticism.

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81. Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, vol.1, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Michael B. Smith (Chicago, 1992), pp. 16, 76–77, 107–13.

82. William Portier and C.J.T. Talar, "Mystical Element of Modernist Crisis," in *Modernists & Mystics*, pp. 1–22, here p. 17; Talar, "Prayer," p. 42.

83. Portier and Talar, "Mystical Element," p. 9. The French philosopher Maurice Blondel (1861–1949) highlighted "two Catholic mentalities" that emerged from the Quietist dispute and set the positions in the major conflicts within nineteenth and early twentieth-century Catholicism. See, Alexander Dru, "Introduction" in Maurice Blondel, *The Letter on Apologetics and History of Dogma*, trans. Alexander Dru and Illtyd Trethowan (New York, 1964), p. 25.

84. Henri de Lubac, *Surnaturel: Études historiques* (1946; rpt. Paris, 1991).

Kindred Spirits in Jesuit Spirituality

The retreat was certainly not the only example of this kind of Jesuit spirituality to emerge in the 1930s and 1940s. During the same period Lacouture and Hugo were preaching the theology of retreat in North America, several European Jesuits were putting forth theologies that were also profoundly shaped by Ignatius's practical mysticism. Much has been written on the effect of Ignatian spirituality on mid-century theologians such as Karl Rahner, S.J. (1904–84), Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, S.J. (1881–1955), and Hans Urs von Balthasar, S.J. (1905–88).[85] Though similarities between the retreat and the work of these Jesuits have yet to be explored, in *The Long Loneliness*, Day did suggest a connection between Hugo's theology of nature and grace and the theology then being developed by Lubac in France—a link made all the more significant by the fact that she made this claim just two years after the promulgation of *Humani Generis* in 1950 and the chilling effect it had on de Lubac.[86]

While Hugo's *ressourcement* theology can be seen as at least hinting at the similar work being done by de Lubac, the theological arguments each were making at the time reveal some striking commonalities. Both argued that human nature's end is beyond itself, not contained in some kind of autonomous natural order.[87] Both recognized nature as being distinct from the supernatural and sin: nature is not sinful, but neither is it self-sufficient.[88] Both saw human nature as inherently marked by a capacity for something far beyond itself—a theological anthropology consonant with the dynamic of human emptiness and divine fulfillment which is found in Ignatius and Lallemant. And both seemed to recognize that this Ignatian understanding of grace as the fulfillment of an intrinsic insufficiency in

85. For a helpful introduction, see Avery Dulles, "The Ignatian Charism and Contemporary Theology," *America*, 176 (Apr. 26, 1997), 14–22.

86. Day, *The Long Loneliness* (New York, 1952), p. 258.

87. These arguments were first presented in *Surnaturel* (1946). In response to criticism, de Lubac later refined the thesis of *Surnaturel* in *Augustinianism and Modern Theology*, trans. Lancelot Sheppard (1965; rpt. New York, 2000), and *Mystery of the Supernatural*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (1965; rpt. New York, 1998). This understanding of the relationship between nature and the supernatural as distinct but not separate was central to de Lubac's notion of the Christian paradox: humanity's natural desire for a supernatural end.

88. The biographical similarities between Hugo and de Lubac are interesting: both were writing at the same time (*Applied Christianity* appeared in 1944, *Surnaturel* in 1946); both were criticized by the prominent neo-Thomist theologians: Fenton, Connell, and Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P.; both were effectively "silenced" by ecclesiastical authorities, Hugo in 1944 by his bishop and de Lubac by his Jesuit superiors in the wake of *Humani Generis*; and both submitted.

human nature offered an alternative to the more dualistic view of nature and grace that characterized much early-twentieth century Catholic theology. These were important theological arguments to make in the 1940s. And in making them, Hugo, and in her own way Day, were part of a growing trend that challenged the "separated theology" of the day—a trend scholars have generally associated only with Europeans like de Lubac.

This connection with Jesuit spirituality opens up some potentially fruitful links between Dorothy Day and Latin American liberation theology—particularly that associated with Jesuit theologians. For instance, Matthew Ashley has identified the fundamental role that Ignatian spirituality played in shaping Ignacio Ellacuría's thinking.[89] For example, Ellacuría's notion of historicization was informed by his reading of the *Exercises*, a reading that centered around the Second Week's treatment of the historical Jesus, just as Lacouture's reading had centered around the "Principle and Foundation."[90] For Ellacuría, human history is the place where the will of God is encountered, and he suggests that the aim of the *Exercises* in general and the Second Week in particular is to bring one's life and "history" into greater conformity with the divine will through a more radical love for and imitation of Jesus's life and history.[91] As such, he wrote that, "in having the personal encounter with the will of God as their goal," the *Exercises* are "already a principle of historicization."[92] While this kind of "mysticism of the historical event" can be seen as a specific articulation of Ignatius's "practical mysticism," its goal of a "personal encounter with the will of God" in history suggests a desire to live out the concrete implications of one's supernatural final end. This was the spiritual commitment that was preached in the retreat and practiced by Day and the Catholic Worker.[93] Much more can be said about these links between Day and Ellacuría, but there is certainly a connection.

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89. J. Matthew Ashley, "Ignacio Ellacuría and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola," *Theological Studies*, 61 (Mar. 2000), 16–39.

90. Ashley, "Ignacio Ellacuría," pp. 30 and 38. Ashley suggests that "a theological interpretation of the *Exercises* will revolve, either implicitly or explicitly, around one particular part of the Exercises," for instance, around one particular Week or the "Principle and Foundation" or an accompanying sets of reflections such as the "Rules for Discerning Spirits" (p. 20).

91. Ashley, "Ignacio Ellacuría," p. 26. Ashley points to Ellacuría's discussion of the *Exercises* in "Lectura latinoamericana de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de san Ignacio," *Revista latinoamericana de teologia*, 23 (1991), 111–47.

92. Ellacuría, "Lectura," p. 113, trans. Ashley, quoted here from "Ignacio Ellacuría," p. 25.

93. For more on the idea of "mysticism in the historical event," see Ewert Cousins, "Franciscan Roots of Ignatian Meditation," in *Ignatian Spirituality in a Secular Age*, ed. George Schner, S.J. (Waterloo, Ont., 1984), pp. 51–64, here p. 60.

And when commenting on the role of Jesuit spirituality in his own life, Pope Francis has also spoken of his attraction to the "mystical movement" in Jesuit history, a movement he identifies with Lallemant and Surin.[94] And echoes of Lallemant's "school"—as well as Lacouture's retreat—can indeed be heard in the pope's call for Catholics to strip away their "homicidal attachment to worldliness" and "renounce" themselves.[95] For Pope Francis such "worldliness" is presented not as sinful in itself but rather as a something that leads "the holy middle class" away from the pursuit of holiness or "daily sanctity." Here, again, the "practical mysticism" of Ignatius can be clearly seen.

Conclusion

These connections between the Ignatian *Exercises* and Day's understanding of the retreat are important because the theological and historical context of Jesuit spirituality challenges not only the characterization of the retreat as "Jansenist" but also the marginalization of Day and others influenced by the retreat as perfectionists, sectarians, or—perhaps worst of all—as irrelevant. The retreat provided a theological foundation for Day's attempt to live out a more authentic form of the Christian life. Indeed, the practice of selective nonparticipation in American political, economic, or social institutions for which Day has been criticized—along with the continual discernment such selective nonparticipation required—did not stem from a wholesale rejection of these institutions or of American society and culture as necessarily sinful or "radically incompatible" with grace. Rather it emerged from a desire for a life that entailed much more than simply that which is not sinful. It grew out of a yearning to live what Hugo called the "higher way of Jesus."[96] Fighting in a just war or smoking cigarettes were not sinful *per se*, but neither were they seen as pathways to holiness. The desire for such holiness—Ellacuría's "personal encounter with the will of God"—is not Jansenist, and the theological vision that drives Dorothy Day's "Catholic radicalism" is not from the theological fringes; it is rather—as Hugo argued—Ignatian.

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94. Antonio Spadaro, S.J., "A Big Heart Open to Love," *America*, Sept. 30, 2013. Retrieved from http://americamagazine.org/pope-interview on Oct. 5, 2013.

95. This theme has been sounded in many of Pope Francis's speeches. For example, see his speech on Oct. 4, 2013 in Assisi.

96. Hugo, "Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors," p. 8.

Book Reviews

General and Miscellaneous

The Gnostic New Age: How a Countercultural Spirituality Revolutionized Religion from Antiquity to Today. By April D. DeConick. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2016. Pp. xii, 380. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-231-17076-5; $34.99 ebook ISBN 978-0-231-54204-3.)

In *The Gnostic New Age* April DeConick offers an interpretation of "Gnosticism" as a distinctive "countercultural spirituality" that has manifested itself in numerous incarnations from antiquity to the modern age. The book's eleven chapters include discussions of many specific historical figures, texts, or movements—e.g., the Greco–Egyptian Hermetic literature; so-called "Sethian" sources; Simon Magus; Naassenes; Ophians; Peratics; Justin "the Gnostic"; Valentinus and Valentinians; Manichaeans; "Jeuians" (from the *Books of Jeu*) and the *Pistis Sophia*; and Mandaeans. Each of these has been classified as "gnostic" by at least some scholars. DeConick's definition of *gnosticism* is surely among the most expansive, embracing not only some of the more familiar candidates mentioned above but others from Shirley MacLaine and modern New Agers, to Paul the Apostle and the Gospel of John. She considers gnosticism to be not a single social movement or religion but rather "an innovative religious identity that emerged in the first century CE when a number of religious people began to claim that they possessed a new kind of spiritual knowledge (*gnosis*)" (p. 9).

DeConick avers that gnosticism is "a form of spirituality that in ancient memory was associated with five ideal characteristics" (pp. 11–12): (1) direct experiential knowledge (*gnosis*) of a transcendent God; (2) unity with this God experienced in "ecstatic states"; (3) "an innate spiritual nature" in humans guaranteeing survival of the self after death, but also enabling restoration of "psychological and physical wellness" in this life; (4) countercultural "transgressive talk that set Gnostics at odds with conventional religions"; and (5) incorporation "into their religious discussions [of] everything but the kitchen sink" (Homer, Plato, magic, astrology, ancient brain science, fantastic cosmologies), but with the location of "spiritual authority in the individual's soul or spirit."

DeConick is a learned scholar with extensive knowledge of ancient and late-ancient traditions and experience in analyzing them. Her format, aimed at general readers, is not burdened with footnotes or constant citation of ancient or modern sources, even though specialists might be aware of DeConick's more meticulous arguments elsewhere in articles and monographic research. She certainly provides nonspecialists with much information about groups and writings that she counts as

"gnostic spirituality." Also, a distinctive feature is that each chapter discussing those examples is framed with a comparison to a motion picture or television series (*The Matrix*, *The Truman Show*, *Man of Steel*, *Star Trek*, etc.). Others have drawn similar comparisons, but DeConick puts hers to maximal use. If the analogies with the ancient materials are sometimes strained, the device does serve as an effective attention-getter. DeConick's style is accessible and employs jargon intended to connect with her audience—e.g., "dark lords" throughout for cosmic powers of various sorts; the sci-fi "star gate" (e.g., pp. 221–12) if sources mention "gates" controlled by such powers or other heavenly portals; and "sky trekking" for ascents into the supernal realms.

One feature that stands out, as compared with most conventional introductions to gnosticism, is DeConick's inclination to highlight functional rather than dysfunctional elements, as in her contention that "the Gnostics belong to one of the biggest stories of our species, the story of the human quest for health and wholeness" (p. 197). DeConick may oversell this angle in certain instances, and yet many movements and writings she discusses do, in fact, often reveal far more interest in and even optimism about life in the body than has usually been recognized.

However, DeConick's typology of gnostic spirituality is applied across such an array of data that analytical leverage seems reduced and awareness of diversities retreats into a cloud of rather vague mysticism. For example, she asserts that "Mani's metaphysics is Gnostic spirituality on steroids" (p. 313). Yet the crucial soteriological process entailing ritual digestion by the "elect" of food brought to them by the lay majority ("hearers") in Manichaean communities (pp. 314–15) is an awkward fit with DeConick's typology and her emphasis throughout the book on the centrality of individual ecstatic experience of unity with the transcendent God.

From her earlier publications, specialists might be aware of DeConick's speculative interpretations of various sources. But the often controversial character of these interpretations may not be transparent to general readers of *The Gnostic New Age*. Space allows mention of only one example: Paul's connection with supposedly "gnostic" themes (either in opposition or support) has been discussed for generations, as has his reputation as a mystic. But DeConick truly wants him to fit her model of a "transgressor" touting ecstatic experience of a transcendent God. She points to Paul's reference to his former life in Judaism as "shit" (*skubalon*) as "a transgressive move" (p. 118). According to DeConnick, Paul proclaimed that "God's law had never really been kept, because it was impossible to keep" (pp. 124–25), an assertion that may sound like some form of Reformation orthodoxy. But she then says Paul had surmised from his "personal encounter with God" on the Damascus road that "his ancestors must not have really known YHWH. YHWH wasn't the God of the Jews and the giver of the law of Moses, but the universal One God hidden in a distant heaven, largely unknown" until Jesus (p. 126). This would be less implausible if DeConick were indicating only how some later interpreters *read* Paul—Valentinians, or Marcion, for example.

Many will likely find enjoyment in reading this volume and can without question profit from the information it contains. But within its ambitiously sweeping representation of gnostic spirituality are hazards of which the unsuspecting are given little warning.

University of Washington, Seattle MICHAEL A. WILLIAMS

Making Martyrs East & West: Canonization in the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches. By Cathy Caridi. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2016. Pp. x, 200. $59.00. ISBN 978-0-87680-495-8.)

Cathy Caridi's study consists of four chapters on martyr-making in the East and the West. The first deals with the united church, the second with the Russian church from the Christianization in 988 up to our time, the third with the Catholic Church from the great schism, and the last chapter with a comparison of canonization processes in East and West.

Canonization of martyrs would at first glance seem to be a strictly historical theme, but it is quite the opposite; for example, the canonization of 2000 new martyrs in Russia in the beginning of this century shows the topicality of this phenomenon.

The study is asymmetric in construction; the Catholic Church is discussed and compared to the Russian Orthodox tradition and not to the Orthodox Church in general. The impression therefore gets somewhat one-sided, and some of the findings would certainly be different if the symmetry had been observed.

The study follows the procedure of canonization through history and notes that the Catholic practice is more formal and more centralized than the Russian one, the former resting on the authority of the pope. Caridi maintains, however, that many of the early martyrs have never been officially canonized. Scrutiny of different sorts of lists of saints (diptychs, saints' calendars) plays an important part in the study. There are many categories of saints defined in the book, but the difference between saints in general and martyrs is sometimes blurred. Caridi rightly notes that miracles are more important for canonization in Russia than in the [European?] Catholic Church, but is somewhat overstating the difference between the traditions. Also studied is the view of the incorruptibility of saints' dead bodies, which is very salient in the Russian context as a sign of holiness. Yet other themes dwelt on include the role of relics and the translation of them in the canonization process.

The most interesting finding in this study is the result of the scrupulous comparison of the criteria (or lack of criteria) for canonization in different times and different traditions, since there are so many different procedures through the ages. Sometimes it seems to be impossible to know if a martyr has existed at all.

The subject is huge and has been much studied. What is missing in *Making Martyrs* is a firm relation to earlier research, which is, however, known to the author, as can be seen by the extensive bibliography. Caridi uses primary sources

instead, which gives impressing results; but still more could have been obtained by bringing earlier research to the fore. Especially the chapter on the Russian church would have gained much if more recent studies had been considered. One issue that would have been interesting to include is that of decanonizations in the Russian Church, a topic of recent debate and investigation which is only touched on in *Making Martyrs*.

In the last pages Caridi lists the formidable problems it would raise to merge the lists of names in the Catholic and Russian Orthodox calendars. It is a sad reading but ought to be an ecumenical challenge.

The author calls herself "a legalistic Westerner," a characterization that is borne out in the book. Caridi is preoccupied with the need for a correct procedure of canonization and resolving which martyrs are the authentic ones. And a final remark: All these lives and deaths more or less outlined in the *vitae* bear witness to so much of human suffering and so much of Christian faith in East or West, in distant times or just a while ago.

Stockholm University PER-ARNE BODIN

The Jesuits & the Popes: A Historical Sketch of their Relationship. By John W. O'Malley, S.J. (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press. 2016. Pp. vi, 149, 19 images. $40.00. ISBN 978-0-91610-191-6.)

Anyone who enjoys flying a small airplane appreciates its unique perspective at an altitude of 5,000 feet. John O'Malley in his historical sketch *The Jesuits & the Popes* takes us to that level on a journey of almost 500 years. The view obviously sacrifices details one might see from a closer perspective, but its advantages are found in the trends and movements emerging within the gentle contours that develop over decades.

Following custom, O'Malley sets the context in the first chapter with an overview of the relationships between the papacy and other religious orders from the sixth to sixteenth centuries. This impressive tour in eleven pages indicates the key developments in religious life and the growing support received from the Holy See. It sets the stage for the arrival of the Jesuits among the clerks regular, a new form of religious. The second chapter identifies the central element of the Jesuit relationship to the papacy, the fourth vow, which enables a Jesuit to receive missions directly from the pope. Though rarely used, this vow recognizes "that the pope, as the universal bishop, ha[s] the breadth of vision best to deploy them" (p. 20). Almost from the beginning, however, the Superior General, with the vast intelligence coming from reports of Jesuits around the world, became a better source of information needed for their assignment.

As with all surveys, some points seek further development. O'Malley states that "the early Jesuits were influenced by [conciliarist tradition]" (p. 22), citing an

opinion given by the general's secretary and admonitor, Juan Polanco, "that a Pope such as Pius IV might be deposed for serious scandal" (p. 23). A look at *Monumenta Lainii* (Vol. VIII, p. 804), to which O'Malley refers, seems much more complicated. Polanco shows more concern about the reform of the papal curia than did Pius IV (whom he does not mention). Polanco does say, citing those who *favor* the authority of the Holy See, that a council "may be called" (alas the passive voice!), ending this section by noting that it would be better to work with the will of the pope. But O'Malley points out the crucial question in a way that invites others to examine it more closely.

St. Joseph's University Press has established an excellent reputation for publishing works on the Society of Jesus that are not only elegant in presentation but of high academic quality (the nineteen pages of illustrations are not only well chosen but beautifully reproduced). So it might be forgiven the caption that indicates Pope Francis as the first pope to "ever set foot on the property of an American Jesuit school" (p. 114). Pope John Paul II used the campus of Regis University in Denver to meet with President Bill Clinton during World Youth Day in 1993.

O'Malley also captures the major shifts between revolutions and reactions in the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. While he provides a thorough one-page list for further reading, the book went to press before publication of John McGreevy's *American Jesuits and the World* (Princeton, 2016), which explores the irony of Jesuit success in the liberal republic of the United States during the nineteenth century. *The Jesuits & the Popes* provides a fascinating and clear read while eliciting thought-provoking questions for further research. O'Malley has already earned his place among the premier historians of the Society of Jesus; this work continues to demonstrate how.

Pontifical Gregorian University MARK A. LEWIS, S.J.

The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges. Edited by Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 2016. Pp. viii, 299. $64.95 clothbound; $32.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-62616-286-0.)

This volume of essays could not be more timely for a political moment when many countries seem poised to resurrect nationalism. It offers "Lessons for Today" (p. 280) centered on the question: "Is the experience of Jesuits as global missionaries and educators for almost five centuries relevant to the challenges we face today . . . [in] an increasingly multipolar and interconnected world?" (p. vii). The answer is a resounding and inspiring yes. The seven eminent Jesuits and five senior scholars who convened four workshops to refine these essays have produced an impressively researched catalogue of how Jesuits have responded and contributed to the phenomenon of globalization over time. While the book features "Historical" prominently in the title and is organized chronologically into "Part I: Historical Perspectives" and "Part II: Contemporary Challenges," it shines most in addressing and

contextualizing current Jesuit initiatives to engage with the world. That said, it is a testament to the Jesuit "way of proceeding" that the contributors—Jesuit and otherwise—are hypercritical of Jesuit shortcomings in this endeavor.

Cumulatively, these essays highlight four globalizing projects associated with the Society: accommodation, education, interreligious dialogue, and social justice. In "The Jesuits in East Asia. . . ," M. Antoni Ucerler, S.J., describes the most famous historical examples of Jesuit accommodation or inculturation in Japan and China. There, Ucerler notes that Jesuit policy developed not simply thanks to Jesuit understandings but as a pragmatic response to pressures from Japanese and Christian interlocutors (p. 29). Aliocha Maldavsky, in "Jesuits in Ibero-America. . . ," surveys the variety of different Jesuit missions to Spanish and Portuguese America while stressing how Jesuits accommodated not only to indigenous societies but also to colonial political regimes that constrained Jesuit outreach (p. 103). In "Historical Perspectives on Jesuit Education. . . ," John O'Malley, S.J., argues that Jesuit colleges stand as a "corrective to the predominantly economic model" of globalization because they emphasized "more humane . . . working together for the common good" (p. 164). His proof of this is today's extensive network of Jesuit schools staffed by local personnel (p. 147), though he devotes the bulk of his essay to grounding the development of Jesuit schools in the early modern period and the Renaissance humanistic tradition. O'Malley is corroborated by Thomas Banchoff in "Jesuit Higher Education and the Global Common Good." Banchoff also stresses that what makes today's 150 Jesuit universities distinct from other globally-minded institutions is the international reach and extent of collaboration (pp. 253–54). In "The Jesuits…At Vatican II. . . ," David Hollenbach, S.J., notes how Superior General Pedro Arrupe followed up on Vatican II policies by stressing social justice as central to Jesuit mission (p. 176). Hollenbach singles out Jesuits—including Cameroonian Englebert Mveng (p. 177), Aloysius Pieris in Sri Lanka, and Michael Amaladoss in India (p. 179)—for promoting cross-cultural dialogue. Also flagging a Jesuit groundbreaker for social justice, Maria Clara Lucchetti Bingemer describes Ignacio Ellacuría, S.J., martyr and human-rights activist in El Salvador, who pioneered "a globalization that is not dehumanizing but instead attentive to . . . the pursuit of justice" (p. 189). John Joseph Puthemkalam, S.J., and Drew Rau offer a group exemplar founded to rectify the economic imbalances caused by globalization: Jesuits in Social Action (JESA) in South Asia (p. 214). Lastly, Peter Balleis takes us to a transnational organization and the internet, describing the work of the Jesuit Refugee Service (p. 231) and the Jesuit Commons: Higher Education at the Margins (pp. 233–34), which since 2007 has brought online education to refugees unable to otherwise access university courses.

Notwithstanding these increasingly intense projects of global engagement, the editors wisely caution readers against seeing globalization as linear progress or as "continuous [or] unidirectional" (p. 3). Four of the most interesting essays in the volume deal directly with backpeddling and setbacks in Jesuit globalizing endeavors. In "Jesuit Intellectual Practice in Early Modernity," Francis Clooney, S.J., shows how some of the most famed Jesuit accommodationists, including

Francis Xavier, Alessandro Valignano, Matteo Ricci, and Roberto Nobili, created a Jesuit apologetic against the Hindu and Buddhist ideas of rebirth, demonstrating the "limits . . . in understanding beliefs and ideas so deeply different from their own" (p. 50). In "Global Visions in Contestation," Daniel Madigan, S.J., likewise tracks the anti-Muslim attitudes of three prominent early modern Jesuits—Jerome Xavier and Bento de Góis in India and Tirso González de Santalla in Spain—lamenting that their global interactions "failed to break them out of a centuries-old and already rather stale and unproductive approach to Muslims and their faith" (p. 85). Sabine Pavone gives a thorough "History of Anti-Jesuitism," in which she isolates four strains of anti-Jesuit sentiment: political, ecclesiastical or intra-Church, intra-Jesuit, and Enlightenment anti-clerical (pp. 115–20). Along with John McGreevy, S.J., in his "Restored Jesuits," Pavone addresses an awkward transitional period for the Jesuits between their first centuries—often represented as a Golden Age—and their expulsion and ensuing re-establishment in the early nineteenth century. While McGreevy tries to show that some post-restoration Jesuits were "the most global citizens" of that era (p. 132), overall, his survey characterizes most "Restored Jesuits" as nationalist and conservative, not liberal and globalizing.

Happily, thanks in part to the leadership of (Jesuit) Pope Francis, who is mentioned in more than a third of the essays, this book suggests that the negatives from earlier periods have not carried over to today, which comes across as the next Jesuit Golden Age. While the editors have posed significant questions relating Jesuits to globalization in order to frame the volume (p. 6), overall the essays left this reader reflecting instead on what today's Jesuits (and those who study them) want the Society to be *now*. José Casanova summarizes those wishes best in the closing chapter, where he presents contemporary Jesuits as "again . . . globally visible and controversial" (p. 269), only this time not through "conversion and civilization," but rather through "accompanying the people at the margins . . . those who are being affected most negatively by contemporary processes of globalization" (p. 280). This book succeeds best as a compelling defense of this new, radical (if historically rooted) Jesuit leadership in global engagement.

Macalester College KARIN VÉLEZ

The Ministry of the Printed Word: Scholar-Priests of the Twentieth Century. Edited by John Broadley and Peter Phillips. (Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Radstock, Bath: Downside Abbey Press. 2016. Pp. 381. £35.00. ISBN 978-1-898-663782.)

This elegantly published and weighty (almost three pounds) book recounts the intellectual and spiritual contributions of eleven English scholar priests, one of whom became a bishop (Bernard Ward) and another a cardinal (Aidan Gasquet). Four were Jesuits (George Tyrrell, John Hungerford Pollen, Herbert Thurston, and Frederick Copleston); two were Benedictines (David Knowles and Christopher Butler, plus Gasquet). One was a parish priest (Adrian Fortescue), and two clerical scholars (Philip Hughes and Ronald Knox).

Each priest is given a separate and most readable chapter, with a general introduction by Broadley that is significantly entitled "The 'Eighth Sacrament' in the Life of a Priest." No Dominicans are mentioned, because Aidan Nicholas has recently published on the English Dominican scholars. The scholarly contributions of American, French, Australian, German, Dutch, or other clergy are not the focus of this book, though many of the priests mentioned did study in Rome, Louvain, Paris, Germany, or other places where there was a tradition of Catholic intelligence. The English Church in the Reformation survived because of Douai and other places of exile. In fact, both Stonyhurst and the Downside Abbey have connections to Belgium, something that comes up in several chapters.

The place of intelligence in the Church has suddenly become a lively issue under Pope Francis after the intense philosophical and theological reflections we became accustomed to under John Paul II and Benedict XVI. The tradition of the scholar-priest has often been at odds with the notion of a pastoral role among diocesan priests or an exclusively contemplative role among the religious orders.

The worthiness of a scholarly vocation was evident in the lives of all the men recorded in these pages. Their very existence was often the living refutation of the notion that Catholics were uneducated or uninformed about both temporal and ultimate things. Not every priest need be a scholar, of course, but every diocese and every religious order requires for its own good some men who are devoted to things intellectual. Revelation, after all, is also addressed to intelligence. Athens remains basic to the training of a priest.

In one sense, this book is dominated by historians. The English Catholic writers strove to identify and defend that earlier Catholic experience in Britain before the Reformation. This endeavor included writing the history of monasticism in the Middle Ages with a detailed exposition of what happened during the English Reformation, and with the later experience of the gradual restoration of freedom to Catholics in the nineteenth century. The abiding theme is that the essential continuity of Christianity is through the Catholic tradition, not through the Anglican establishment.

Many of these writers came into conflict with their bishops, their Orders, or even with the Holy See over issues of doctrine and religious discipline. It is not difficult to see the concern that bishops and superiors had in dealing with these unique intellectuals. This personal conflict is a recurring theme in many of these chapters. Each chapter gives background on the family and early education of the writer, how he found his vocation, his university training, his academic achievements, and his old age and death. There is a useful run-down of each man's papers and books. Usually we have an evaluation of the abiding interest in the man's works and critiques of them by other scholars.

This is a welcome book. Indirectly it is a warning about the danger of a mindless Church. I was particularly struck by this comment about Ronald Knox: "Knox paid his congregation the compliment of believing that they had minds, minds that

could be challenged and enlightened" (p. 195). This book is a monument to the importance of Catholic intelligence, not merely among learned scholar-priests.

Georgetown University (Emeritus) JAMES V. SCHALL, S.J.

ANCIENT

The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria. By Michael Peppard. [Synkrisis: Comparative Approaches to Early Christianity in Greco-Roman Culture.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2016. Pp. xii, 320; [8] pp. of plates. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-300-21399-7.)

Peppard offers, in his own words, "a fresh, rigorous, and plausible—albeit sometimes imaginative—historical reconstruction of the Christian community at Dura-Europos" (p. 43), whose building still counts as our earliest preserved church (in use around the middle of the third century). The book's chapters revisit the famous paintings of the baptistery in turn. Peppard wants his audience "to imagine early Christian initiation at the nexus of Bible, art, and ritual" (p. 211)—the subtitle that is applied heavily throughout (see pp. 30, 32, 37, 45, 84, 91, 108, 111, 202, 212; cf. p. 140). He warns against viewing the paintings as "allegorical treasures unlocked by one hermeneutical key—the right biblical text" (p. 31), appreciating that the term *biblical* can be seen as problematic since "a stable canon of the New Testament did not yet exist" (p. 31) and that the principal framework to interpret the paintings is their "ritual context": "We are not trying only to read the biblical *writing* on the walls; even more do we seek the liturgical *riting* on the walls" (p. 32). Throughout, Peppard puts forward "polysemic interpretations" (e.g., pp. 32, 42, 151, 194, 197).

The first painting to be discussed in chapter 2 is that of David slaying Goliath, often seen as somewhat out of place in the baptistery. Peppard argues that its appearance can not only be clarified but "perhaps even be expected" (p. 62), combining the ritual of anointment with "a militaristic visuality centered on the figure of David" (p. 84). Following an analysis of the shepherd and his flock above the font and of Jesus' miracles in chapter 3, the book's "heart" (p. 111, cf. p. 42) is chapter 4, which criticizes the traditional interpretation of the painting of the processing women as those visiting Jesus' empty tomb. Peppard supports the view postulated by Joseph Pijoan in *Art Bulletin*, 19 (1937), 592–95, and more recently by Dominic Serra in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 120 (2006), 67–78; cf. now also the argument made by Sanne Klaver in *Eastern Christian Art*, 9 (2012–13), 63–78, that they are in fact the virgins in the wedding procession from Matthew 25:1–13. The baptistery is then not so much a grave as a bridal chamber, although Peppard hastens to add that "the marriage motif dominates, but does not completely subordinate, the notions of death and resurrection at initiation" (p. 42). That the room could also be understood as a womb is put forward in chapter 5, which is presented as the book's "ambitious climax," where "an original, extensive survey of artistic depictions of the Annunciation in late ancient and Byzantine art" (p. 43) is added as an expansion to

what Peppard refers to as the "small gem of an article" (p. 28; cf. p. 159) by Serra (*o.c.*), in which the latter first proposed to interpret the painting of a woman at a well (traditionally viewed as the Samaritan woman) according to a commonly overlooked tradition preserved in the Protevangelium of James, namely, as the annunciation to the Virgin at a well. To Serra's brilliant hypothesis Peppard now adds visual comparanda. The book's conclusion analyzes the paradise imagery within the framework of the writings of Ephraem Syrus—who "never set foot in the house-church at Dura-Europos, but his hymns would have felt right at home" (p. 203)—and especially of the Odes of Solomon, said to reverberate strongly with the concepts present in the baptisterium (pp. 43, 218).

Notably absent from the bibliography is the substantial monograph by Ulrich Mell, *Christliche Hauskirche und Neues Testament: Die Ikonologie des Baptisteriums von Dura Europos und das Diatessaron Tatians* (Göttingen, 2010). Peppard's own argumentation, "inductive more than deductive, cumulative and associative more than classificatory and analytical" (p. 218) may not convince every reader on every single issue, but he certainly succeeds in making a major contribution "to rebalance the perspective of modern western viewers looking back after centuries of cross-centered Christianity" (p. 198) and to emphasize the fundamental place in Syria's early Christianity of both marriage and birth motifs.

Durham University TED KAIZER

Constantine and the Cities: Imperial Authority and Civic Politics. By Noel Lenski. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2016. Pp. ix, 404. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4777-0.)

The emperor Constantine continues to engender productive debate among historians of the later Roman Empire. Noel Lenski's outstanding new study will be required reading for scholars working on Constantine, late Roman imperial administration, civic identity in the provinces, and the rise of bishops as civic leaders in the fourth century.

In contrast to recent approaches that have downplayed the degree to which Christianity was the driving force behind Constantine's policies, Lenski returns to a more traditional view. What is distinctive about Lenski's approach, however, is his reliance on "secular" evidence, especially laws, to establish Constantine's Christian credentials.

The heart of Lenski's study is his analysis of a number of interactions between Constantine and the cities of his empire. He argues that Constantine usually preferred carrots to sticks, skillfully leveraging imperial resources to "push cities into actualizing his own conversion at the local level" (p. 179) while largely resisting the temptation to impose his will on recalcitrant subjects. In particular, he demonstrates how Constantine promoted Christianity by using "the tools of law and normative communication available to him by virtue of his office to effect changes in the landscape and culture of cities" (p. 281). Crucial to this approach is Lenski's

understanding of imperial power as constituted and mediated through language; in the dialogues between Constantine and his cities, each side was obliged to take into account the expectations of the other.

Such a model allows for complexity in both the messages Constantine disseminated and the responses they generated. Not only were there many different layers in the complex and evolving "archaeology of Constantine's public personality" (p. 47), but cities might engage with those messages selectively and in accordance with their own priorities. Thus Lenski is able to account for evidence that often has been used to question Constantine's commitment to Christianity. For example, Lenski argues that the famous rescript to Hispellum—by which Constantine permitted a city in central Italy to build a temple to himself and his family during the last years of his reign—exemplifies precisely the sort of compromise that was at the heart of Roman imperial governance, for the permission was paired with an important caveat, which Lenski interprets as a prohibition on blood sacrifice at the new temple. Constantine's response to Hispellum's petition was therefore consistent with both the traditional policy of emperors to favor the requests of supportive cities and his desire to chip away at traditional religious practices whenever possible (p. 127).

At the same time, Lenski is careful to avoid portraying Constantine as an all-powerful mastermind. To the contrary, he characterizes Constantine's open-handed conferral of powers, privileges, and patronage on the Church and its bishops as stemming from an almost naive exuberance; many of these measures had to be scaled back by his successors because they turned out to be excessive and unaffordable (p. 206). Moreover, Lenski illustrates the degree to which Constantine's ability to bend powerful bishops to his will was inherently limited; it was often Constantine who was being manipulated as rival bishops by turns enlisted his support, defied his authority, or used him to attack each other (p. 283).

In sum, Lenski's compelling interpretation of Constantine as both an energetic promoter of Christianity and a political pragmatist successfully unites two facets of this complex emperor that have often been regarded as contradictory. While ecclesiastical scholars may regret the lack of attention given to theological controversies, Lenski's study superbly elucidates Constantine's approach to ecclesiastical conflicts and his own understanding of his role as the first Christian emperor of Rome.

Willamette University ROBERT R. CHENAULT

The Greek Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. *Monastic Hagiography in the Late Fourth Century*. By Andrew Cain. [Oxford Early Christian Studies.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2016. Pp. xii, 329. $135.00. ISBN 978-0-19-875825-9.)

Greek hagiography displays two kinds of classics: texts much appreciated today for their literary merits and wealth of historical information, and texts that have never excited modern scholars but were favorite readings in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Although it benefited from a sound critical edition and anno-

tated French translation, both by André-Jean Festugière, the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (= *HM*), i.e., the "Inquiry on the Monks of Egypt," has waited long before reaping its fair share of attention. To a considerable extent, this has been achieved by the monograph under review, which redresses the balance on behalf of this composite and anonymously transmitted collection of monastic stories of the desert, that was produced in *c.* 400, a critical time in various respects and one that lent itself to literary innovation.

In the first five chapters, which make up a separate but coherent section of the book, the author primarily treats questions of literary identity, inspects and detects the literary echoes of the text, and offers a detailed discussion of its style. His declared intention is to go beyond past unfavorable judgments with regard to its quality and overall value, as well as to do justice to its particular identity. In labeling *HM* a literary hybrid, Cain duly takes into account its polychromatic literary character and limited dependence on previous sources, both obvious and not, one of which is the *vita Antonii*. Moreover, after a serious and in-depth consideration of its language and the rhetorical figures that adorn it, he deems *HM* a work of a learned and multi-talented monk. Chap. 5 offers an admirable literary analysis of the *HM*'s style and technique without leaving out the audience for which it was intended and the underlying purpose that dictated its writing.

Though some literary aspects emerge again in the next six chapters (6–12) of this book, their emphasis is on the historical and "cultural" function of this collection of monastic stories. First and foremost, by applying the literary device of storytelling and by indulging in dramatization, *HM* highlights pilgrimage as a commendable act of religious devotion that calls for imitators. By portraying its monastic heroes in fully biblicizing tones, its ambition may be far-reaching. Cain's consideration of *HM* as post-biblical "scripture," on the grounds that its heroes figure and function as prophets and apostles, cannot be accepted without much skepticism and reservation. To support this hypothesis more arguments should have been adduced from similar endeavors (e.g., Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca* or Theodoret's *Philotheos Historia*). Aside from that, the contention that *HM* occupies a unique position in the early monastic literary tradition is hardly convincing. The role of Egyptian ascetics in the intra-religious debates of the fourth century and their contribution to disseminating Christianity is an exaggeration not unique to *HM,* since this theme finds its first full attestation in the *vita Antonii*.

This exaggeration, typical of all late antique ecclesiastic and monastic authors who extolled saintly heroes, aims to blend "piety and propaganda." This is the title of the interesting chapter that concludes this monograph and that associates the spirituality permeating *HM* with the teachings of Evagrios of Pontos, the theoretician *par excellence* of ascetical life and experience. Once more in these final pages Andrew Cain shows off his mastery of Greek and Latin monastic literature as well as of secondary literature.

Now that the study of hagiography boasts several sound critical editions and translations into modern languages, it is crucial to proceed with monographs

devoted to works that shaped the development of this particular branch of literature and, beyond that, the thought-world of late antique and medieval society. Should this be undertaken by such well-read and thoughtful commentators as the present author, we have good reason to be optimistic.

Open University of Cyprus STEPHANOS EFTHYMIADIS

*La conversion de Gaza au christianisme: La Vie de S. Porphyre de Gaza par Marc le Diacre (*BHG *1570)*. Edited and translated by Anna Lampadaridi. [Subsidia hagiographica 95.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2016. Pp. vi, 292. €75.00. ISBN 978-2-87365-032-2.)

Porphyry became bishop of Gaza in the late fourth century. Because the cult of the local deity Marnas still dominated the city, initially he and his small congregation faced harassment. Porphyry sent Mark, one of his deacons, to Constantinople, where John Chrysostom helped to acquire an imperial letter ordering the closure of the temples at Gaza. A few years later Porphyry himself traveled to Constantinople. This time Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius, arranged to send imperial officials and soldiers to enforce a new edict, and she also contributed funds and marble columns for the construction of a church. After Porphyry's return, the great temple of Marnas was burned. Five years later Porphyry presided at the dedication of a new church, supposedly "the largest at that time," which was called the Eudoxiana after its imperial patron. He died in 420.

Porphyry's career seems to contribute so much to our understanding of the great religious and social upheavals in the later Roman Empire. His dealings with the imperial court illustrated the delicate balance between central administration and cities on the periphery. His increasing authority exemplified the rise of bishops as municipal powerbrokers. The replacement of a temple by a church encapsulated in miniature the transition from paganism to Christianity.

But is any of this factual? Because no other ancient text mentioned Porphyry, all information about his life is derived from a *Vita* in Greek attributed to Mark the Deacon. Scholars have long used the important edition (with a French translation) by Henri Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, published in 1930. In her excellent new volume Anna Lampadaridi offers a better edition of the Greek text (with another French translation), as well as an extensive commentary on philological, literary, and historical issues. In her introduction she considers again the fundamental concerns about the authenticity of the Greek *Vita*.

The author of the *Vita* introduced himself as a confidant who shared some of Porphyry's adventures. But the prologue of the *Vita* and other passages were directly borrowed from the *Historia religiosa* written by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the mid-440s, and some passages hinted at theological controversies among monks in Palestine during the mid-sixth century. One possibility is that the existing *Vita* was a redaction of an earlier memoir written by Mark the Deacon. Lampadaridi suggests instead that the *Vita* was closer to fiction, and that its purpose was to high-

light the disappearance of paganism. Rather than an eyewitness report about the bishop, the *Vita* was a retrospective validation of the emergence of Christianity, "un récit patriographique" that "nourished the memory" (p. 37) of the construction of the city's huge new church.

A related puzzle is the relationship between the Greek *Vita* and a Georgian *Vita*, edited by Paul Peeters (*AB* 59 [1941], with a Latin translation). Peeters argued that the Georgian *Vita* was a translation of an original version in Syriac; he also suggested that the Greek *Vita* had been based on a Syriac version. Other scholars have reversed the sequence by arguing that the Syriac version behind the Georgian *Vita* was instead a translation of an original Greek *Vita*. Since some names and episodes differed between the two *Vitae*, these arguments about priority have significant consequences. Lampadaridi now eliminates a Syriac version from the transmission and concludes that the Georgian *Vita*, despite the omissions and additions, had been translated directly from the Greek *Vita*.

Lampadaridi's stimulating introduction and commentary should revive interest in the Greek *Vita* as both a literary narrative and a possible historical source. Perhaps it will also inspire the publication of a complete translation of the *Vita* into English.

University of Michigan RAYMOND VAN DAM

MEDIEVAL

Popes and Jews: 1095–1291. By Rebecca Rist. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2016. Pp. xxi, 336. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-19-871798-0.)

Rebecca Rist has produced a valuable addition to current research on the relationship between the papacy and the Jews in the High Middle Ages (*Popes and Jews: 1095–1291*). Her previous publications have explored crusading, the medieval papacy, and papal-Jewish relations in narrower contexts; however, this time she delves deeply into the complexity of the relationship between the *papacy*, in particular, and the Jews, and the paradox of protection (particularly in Rome) and toleration, while also restricting Jewish life. The two-century period on which she focuses spanned a transformational era for European Jews of increasing suspicion, false accusations, and horrific persecution of individuals and whole communities. In exploring the papal-Jewish relationship, Rist builds on seminal works from the explosion of research by prominent scholars since the 1960s into Christian-Jewish relations in the Middle Ages. Scholars such as Kenneth Stow have written numerous articles and books exploring that relationship from the Jewish perspective. Rist's aim, as stated in the appendix, is "to re-focus . . . often neglected themes . . . with regard to specifically *papal*-Jewish relations" (p. 271). This volume seeks to offer a more comprehensive analysis of many aspects of that particular relationship through the use of an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

The chapters in this volume are each dedicated to different aspects of papal-Jewish interaction, including: papal protection of the Jews, the effect of the Crusades on the Jews, papal claims to authority over the Jews, the papacy and the Roman Jewish community, the Jews and money, and the impact of the crusades on Jews and Jewish communities; however, of special note are the sections devoted to Jewish ideas about the papacy, gleaned from numerous Hebrew sources. Using Hebrew, papal, and other Christian texts results in an examination of both perspectives in the same volume, and supplies a much more nuanced and complete picture. Rist's pragmatic analysis of events within their historical contexts leads to interesting perspectives and suggestions for papal motivations. Coming from a Jewish *and* Christian background, Rist strives to analyze and communicate both perspectives, which makes this study particularly worthwhile. She also explores the legal and theological underpinnings to treatment of the Jews within Christian society in specific situations, which suggests why individual popes' actions were not uniform. Her research reveals the truly limited protective power popes had, despite their attempts, particularly in the twelfth century in Rome; however, she also points out papal decisions that led to dreadful consequences for Jewish communities. Rist effectively sets each situation within its historical context, and rightly warns against "post-enlightenment distinctions" when exploring papal decrees (p. 4).

Popes and Jews, 1095–1291 will be valuable for university students and academics because of its extensive bibliography and because it addresses multiple aspects of the papal-Jewish relationship within a limited time frame and in the same volume. She clearly demonstrates her skill at utilizing a vast collection of sources to tell this multifaceted story. At times, however, perhaps because the same sources apply to different topics, some sections from different chapters seem repetitive, and perhaps could have been consolidated for a smoother read; nevertheless, managing such a mountain of detail reveals a mastery of the sources.

University of West Florida MARIE-THÉRÈSE CHAMPAGNE

Interpretation of Scripture: Practice. A Selection of Works of Hugh, Andrew, and Richard of St Victor, Peter Comestor, Robert of Melun, Maurice of Sully, and Leonius of Paris. Edited by Frans van Liere and Franklin T. Harkins. [Victorine Texts in Translation, Volume 6.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2015. Pp. 563; 1 color ill. €90.00. ISBN 978-2-503-55312-2.)

Following a preface by Hugh Feiss, acknowledgments from the editors, and the list of general abbreviations that precedes every volume of this series, the present publication opens with a "General Introduction" written by Frans van Liere and Franklin T. Harkins (pp. 25–50). As a whole, the authors and their writings, which have been chosen to illustrate what could be understood by exegetical "practice," have been arranged in seven thematic groups: "Literal Exegesis" (Hugh of St. Victor); "*Littera* and *Historia*" (Hugh, Richard, Andrew of St. Victor, as well as Peter Comestor); "The Spiritual Sense in Exegesis and Theology" (Richard of St. Victor); "From Exegesis to Theology" (Robert of Melun); "*Hebraica Veritas*, Jews,

and Judaizers" (Richard of St. Victor); "From Text to Sermon" (Richard of St. Victor, Maurice of Sully); and "Exegesis and Poetry" (Leonius of Paris). The volume has been provided with a general bibliography (pp. 497–522) and several indices (pp. 523–563: Holy Scripture, Ancient and Medieval Authors, Subject). The reader might be somewhat surprised when he discovers that every translated text has been provided with notes. This complementary readers' service has not been announced anywhere.

The present publication intends to continue the introduction to medieval Victorine culture, science, and theology by a choice of texts which is supposed to represent what one could nowadays call "exegetical practice." The series titled "Victorine Texts in Translation" has earned this reputation for its volumes already published. This new book is another striking example of the present-day high standing of North American study of the medieval French Victorine canons regular of Paris.

It is evident that, insofar as the Victorine intellectual work is to be considered as a kind of biblical interpretation, any selection of texts is difficult and always exposes itself to criticism. I congratulate the editors of this volume on their fine decisions, which have led to the present collection of medieval exegetical texts in English. In its first section the book opens with Hugh of St. Victor's *Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, while, in the following section, various pieces, excerpted from several authors, have been combined. Nevertheless, the editors' decision to open this second part with Hugh of St. Victor's prologue to his *Chronica* (that is, *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*) appears somewhat astonishing, because today everybody knows that Hugh composed the *Chronica* after having completed all his exegetical works, except the *Homilie in Ecclesiasten*. The *Chronica* preceded by only a couple of years the writing of the *De sacramentis*, and was perhaps even a preparation for it. Thus, putting the *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum* at the top of this section interprets the following texts more than it expounds what Hugh could have meant.

The section entitled "From text to sermon," where three sermons have been assembled, shows especially convincingly the Victorines' practical theology. Since the studies on Victorine preaching written by Jean Châtillon and Jean Longère, for instance, we know the canons' attachment to the *cura animarum*, in which, obviously, they engaged. The texts, chosen from within Richard of St. Victor and Maurice of Sully, demonstrate clearly that it was their love of the Church which moved them while expounding what Scripture intends to announce.

The translations that I was able to check seem to have been worked out very carefully. The English versions of what the authors have composed in Latin are readable and understandable.

As a general remark I would like to add that the "Introductions" seem to rely widely on what Beryl Smalley thought Victorine exegesis should have been. Meanwhile, however, thanks to international research, which has been conducted for about eighty years in a good number of European languages, especially in French

and in German, what has come to light more recently? There is no doubt that the Victorine foundation, in its origins, sought to reform the Christianity of its time on the basis of study and of religious re-ordering. Therefore, the Victorines and their friends pursued exegetical work as being preliminary to theology and because of their love of the Holy Scriptures.

Despite these minor defects, this book merits without any doubt to be recommended warmly to everybody who is interested in twelfth-century religious life and the culture of reform.

Hugo von Sankt Viktor-Institut, Frankfurt am Main RAINER BERNDT, S.J.

Gratian the Theologian. By John C. Wei. [Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, Volume 13.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2016. Pp. xviii, 353. $65.00. Hardcover. ISBN 978-0-8132-2803-7.)

One of the most significant texts of the twelfth century is Gratian's *Decretum*, or *Concordantia discordantium canonum*. Gratian has long been hailed as the "father" of medieval canon law, but, despite his importance, little is known about Gratian himself. The *Decretum* remains the only reliable source for Gratian's background, interests, and goals. Since Anders Winroth's discovery of a first recension, scholars have been able to explore more clearly what Gratian's intentions were in composing his text, what sources he did or did not use, and how his thought may have changed over time. These discoveries, however, have also opened other questions currently debated in the literature. John Wei's *Gratian the Theologian* sets out to reassess the theological content of the *Decretum* in the light of this first recension.

Wei's monograph is the culmination of work that he had begun in his dissertation under Winroth. Although Gratian was a gifted canonist, Wei lays out his engagement with controversial issues in contemporary theology, especially penance. He argues that Gratian composed only the first recension and that the second recension was the work of an unknown redactor. For this reason, Wei focuses his study on the first recension.

Wei provides a wide-ranging analysis of the role of theology in Gratian's thought. The first section of the book introduces Gratian, his text, and some questions about both that still confront scholars. Wei also provides an overview of Gratian's use of scripture and biblical exegesis. Although Gratian included a theoretical discussion of scripture and exegesis, Wei shows how he actually used scripture and the *glossa ordinaria* both to augment or modify positions contained in his canonical material and to structure certain portions of the *Decretum*. Gratian's familiarity with the *glossa ordinaria* is just one link between Gratian and School of Laon that Wei establishes throughout.

The second and main section concerns Gratian's *De penitentia*, a treatise on penance inserted into *Causa* 33. Wei provides the context for the treatise by sur-

veying the development of penance and significant twelfth-century debates regarding its theory and practice. His main argument is that Gratian composed the core of his treatise as a response to contemporary theological texts circulating in Italy. Whereas many previous scholars have claimed a link between Gratian and Abelard, Wei demonstrates instead an engagement with texts connected to the School of Laon, such as, among others, the treatise *Augustinus in libro vite* (of which Wei provides an edition in an appendix).

In the final section, Wei compares the first and second recensions on issues of sacramental and liturgical law and theology. He contends that Gratian was not particularly concerned with the sacraments (besides penance, which he treated in *De penitentia*, and marriage, which he likely did not consider a sacrament) in the first recension. Likewise, he was even more reticent to discuss liturgical law, the customary nature of which did not fit with Gratian's plan for his *Concordia* as an analytic textbook. Arguing from differences in formal sources and in apparent goals, Wei contends that a subsequent redactor added most of the texts relating to sacraments and liturgy, including an entire section, *De consecratione*, as a way of transforming this analytic textbook into a more comprehensive collection.

This book is certainly a must-read for specialists in the field of medieval canon law, but even nonspecialists will find much in it that is useful and enlightening. Specialists who have strong leanings one way or another on some of the questions surrounding Gratian and his text may come away with their existing notions intact. Wei presents a number of plausible arguments for the existence of two "Gratians" and a later dating for the *Decretum*, though at times he seems to assume these points rather than prove them. There is much here for nonspecialists, particularly those interested in penance, theology, or intellectual culture in the twelfth century. Wei presents excellent context for the issues he discusses and clearly guides readers through the *Decretum*. The extensive footnotes display his deep knowledge of both the *Decretum* and twelfth-century intellectual culture. In sum, *Gratian the Theologian* is a deeply researched book that will be valuable for any student of the twelfth century.

Loyola University Maryland BRANDON PARLOPIANO

The Making of Assisi: The Pope, the Franciscans, and the Painting of the Basilica. By Donal Cooper and Janet Robson. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 296 with 60 color illus. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-300-19571-2.)

Specialist scholars, interested students, and passionate readers alike will warmly welcome the publication of this handsomely illustrated, elegantly written, and excellently researched book. As the frescoes of Assisi are amongst the most important (and most studied) Italian artworks of all times, the risk of producing yet another monograph on the subject was extremely high. Cooper and Robson, however, take a fresh perspective, focusing on patronage and iconography and wisely leave aside the exhausted attribution debate over the authorship of the paintings.

The approach itself is not new: indeed it is openly indebted to the seminal studies of Alistair Smart and Gerhard Ruf (as well as to the more recent work of Chiara Frugoni), but the authors have added much that is new through their careful re-reading of the documents, by offering a fresher visual analysis of both individual scenes and their actual location within the Basilica, and by setting the art-historical discourse within the most recent debates on function and "meaning," as well as those on physical and intellectual contexts.

Starting from a convincing dating of the nave paintings to the period between May 1288 and May 1297, and from the demonstrable (and indeed well-demonstrated) fact that the murals are the work of a complex and variously articulated workshop which follow a single coherent programme of exceptional visual ambition and intellectual scope, one of the most significant contributions of this volume is the actual attempt to identify the minds that might have lain behind the conception and design of such a programme. This leads naturally on to a revision of traditional ideas about patronage and agency. The established view that Nicholas IV (1288–92), as the first Franciscan Pope, played a leading role not only in commissioning but also in shaping the programme is challenged by the observation that he never visited Assisi, coupled with the fact that the scheme was not only highly site-specific, but also evolved to some extent once work was under way. An analogous argument is used to test the role that might have been played by the Minister General, Matthew of Acquasparta (also traditionally seen as a key *impresario*), thus shifting attention from the Curia to the Franciscan community at Assisi, particularly to the Provincial Ministers of Umbria and to the Custodians of the Basilica. A subtle and intelligent prosopographical study of office-holders at the Sacro Convento brings to the foreground a number of friars who combined extensive administrative experience with sophisticated theological knowledge, presenting us with a cluster of the names of those who were more convincingly involved in giving shape to Nicholas IV's ambition than any ecclesiastic at the Curia. This research has the merit not only of making us think more broadly about the intellectual context within which the frescoes were conceived but also successfully refining our understanding of the pictorial programme as having been painted *for* Nicholas IV as much as having been commissioned by him.

There is insufficient space here to allow us to list all the numerous thought-provoking ideas and new insights offered by the authors – some will open up new avenues for research, others will provoke and/or require testing – but together they unquestionably contribute to make this a must-read book, and an indispensable reference for scholars and students for years to come.

University of Edinburgh CLAUDIA BOLGIA

María de Molina, Queen and Regent. Life and Rule in Castile-León, 1259–1321. By Paulette Lynn Pepin. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 2016. Pp. xxxii, 157. $80.00. ISBN 978-1-4985-0589-5.)

It is increasingly recognized how women played a key role in medieval societies. María de Molina is certainly one of the most remarkable queens from the Castilian medieval period, and a great example to get into medieval queenship. That is what Professor Paulette L. Pepin seeks to offer, as she finds that the importance of Queen María has not entailed an appropiate echo in contemporary scholarship, and she had lacked an English biography so far.

The author organizes the book not just following a chronological order, but observing the different roles Queen María played during the consecutive rules of her husband, her son, and her grandson, firstly as queen-consort, and secondly as dowager queen and regent. Chapter 1 explores her marriage with Sancho IV, focusing on their unsuccessful attemps to legitimize their union. The author gathers good information about this matter, and tries to explain the motivations for both of them to get married even in the most difficult circumstances. I would highlight as really positive Pepin's attempt to look for causes which would correspond to a medieval mentality and context, while she seeks to avoid romantic assumptions, sometimes found even in contemporary scholarship. The author also bears constantly in mind the wider European context in order to understand fully Castilian problems.

Chapter 2 focuses on María as queen-consort, co-ruling together with her husband. Here, Pepin mostly explores the Queen's intermediary tasks as well as her role as counselor, and proposes interesting comparison with other figures, such as biblical Esther or Vierge María. It would have been interesting to find some insight about these qualities in the context of the general stereotype of woman in medieval imagery, as they usually appear as intermediaries and counselors in the literature and historiography of the period.

Following mostly the *Chronicle of Ferdinand IV*, chapter 3 explores the difficulties the Queen faced to keep her son's power as king, with an interesting comparison between María and previous women who lived similar political circumstances (viz., Blanca of Castile and Berenguela). Nonetheless, the author focuses for a great part of this chapter on the 1295 *cortes*, which allows her to highlight the Queen's tenacious quest for support from the townsmen (her major allies), the clergy, and the unreliable nobility, a tenacity that her son was unable to maintain when he reached his age of majority.

Although chapter 4 is meant to focus on the reign of Alfonso XI, its first part enlightens us on the precedent conflict between Fernando IV and the Aragonese king. With respect to María's nine-year regency during the reign of her grandson Alfonso, Pepin compares the situation with her regency in the previous reign, and emphasises the significant part townsmen had gained in Castilian society.

As we observe, albeit the author endeavors to highlight María's role as queen, the book mostly explores Castilian political and social history. Therefore, we miss some more insight into the life of the queen apart from the major political facts of Castilian history. Besides, Professor Pepin does warn about the need of a critical evaluation of the historical reliability of medieval chronicles, but many of her assertions are based on these very sources, and, at the end, her book transmits much of their idealistic construction of the queen's image. We also miss some relevant Spanish bibliography, particularly the most recent editions of some of the main sources used in the book (*Crónica de Alfonso X*, edited by Manuel González Jiménez in 1999, and *Crónica de Sancho IV*, edited by Pablo Saracino in 2014). A more accurate editing of the Spanish citations found in the footnotes would also have been appreciated.

That having been said, Professor Pepin's book is an excellent medium to make María de Molina's political life more easily accessible to an English-speaking audience, showing a remarkable effort of translation of medieval Spanish sources, and written by someone who has been in a vivid closeness with the places Queen María visited and lived in.

Universidad de Sevilla CARMEN BENÍTEZ

The Register of Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester, 1478–1503. Edited by Janet H. Stevenson. [Canterbury and York Society, Volume 106.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2016. Pp. lviii, 365. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-907239-79-6.)

Despite recent diversification in its publications, the Canterbury and York Society remains best known for its editions and calendars of medieval English episcopal registers. This volume offers a careful and useful calendar of one such compilation, as the first from Chichester diocese to appear in this series (but not the first to be published).

Edward Story's episcopate, from 1478 to 1503, was not notably dramatic, and the bishop himself attracts little historiographical attention. His register, which survives in two volumes, is perhaps characteristic of the later pre-Reformation registers, revealing an administration which could function almost without requiring direct input from its formal head. In the contents list the full calendar—699 entries, extending over 239 pages—appears, somewhat unhelpfully, as a single entity: "'Text." It combines the entries from both manuscript volumes into one continuously-numbered sequence, without indicating the break between the two volumes (between nos. 403 and 404), or giving details of foliation (they are supplied in the third and fourth appendices, each offering a "concordance" linking the numbered entries to two separate runs of foliation for each volume—but giving dates only for the second).

The editor's introduction (pp. xvii–li) provides a brief biography of the bishop, followed by an extended thematic discussion of the register's contents. This is a valuable survey, essentially cherry-picking the material from the first original reg-

ister. (The second is not neglected, but its contents are little more than administrative routine and markers for resumés of clerical careers.) A further note (pp. liii–lvi) examines the original registers' physical structure and comments briefly on the organization of their contents.

The entries up to 402 (and ignoring 403, an institution intruded from 1506) break into two separate chronological series. Up to 313 the documents reflect a wide range of tasks and business, entered up primarily in chronological order (but not always so, and with some entries transcribing material from before Story's episcopate). This section defies general summary, with some very ordinary business (institutions and ordinations) mingling with details of visitations, taxation matters, and other miscellaneous material. How complete this record is cannot be judged. A series of ordination ceremonies begins at 314, in 1484, and runs through to December, 1502 (402). The entries from 404 onwards mainly record institutions and collations, again in chronological order. The run is incomplete: the earliest entry dates from 1481 (following on from the institutions in the first original volume), with further long gaps in 1487–90 and 1492–98. The first two appendices offer reconstructed itineraries. One traces the bishop's movements throughout his pontificate, drawing mainly on the register but integrating other material. The second extracts two sections from that itinerary to lay out the proposed visitation routes for 1478 and 1482, themselves outlined (and with more detail) in schedules calendared earlier in the volume (items 37 and 163).

Volumes like this are rarely read for fun. They are quarries, and this one definitely contains much worth digging for. For such purposes effective indices are essential, but challenging to compile to ensure utility. Here the index of names and places is necessarily extensive, and easily navigable (although it has some limitations when searching for people by starting from a place name, and retrieving regulars by order seems to be especially difficult). Organized under capacious general heads, the index of subjects is more challenging to work with, but does work with practice. That said, this is undeniably a job well done, for which the editor is to be heartily thanked, and a worthy and worthwhile addition to the CYS series.

University of Birmingham (Emeritus) R. N. SWANSON

EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN

Vives y Moro. La amistad en tiempos difíciles. By Enrique García Hernán. (Madrid: Cátedra Ediciones. 2016. Pp. 402. €20,99 paperback. ISBN 978-84-376-3605-4.)

There were many affinities between these two great intellectual figures of the Renaissance: their wide learning, their educational ideals, their holiness of life, but they were very different in temperament, as García Hernán notes on the opening page, the one, More, *alegre y entretenido* (cheerful and entertaining), the other *quejoso y sufridor* (querulous and long-suffering). They differed very much in civil status

as well, More a powerful statesman and a man of considerable wealth, Vives an outsider and a struggling scholar. For this reason I do not quite agree with the author's summation that they complemented each other in such a way that in Vives we find More and in More Vives. They shared an interest in the education of women, illustrated in More's letter to William Gonell, but this can hardly be compared with Vives' *Education of the Christian Woman*, the first systematic study to address the universal education of women and to recognize the equal intellectual capacity of women, even to say that women often surpass men in this respect. During his residence in Chelsea More demonstrated his concern for the poor, establishing a house for the sick and the aged, whereas Vives wrote a treatise on the relief of the poor to alleviate the urgent problems of poverty in Bruges, where he was living, which became a milestone in the history of social welfare.

More's good friend Erasmus first took notice of Vives in a letter to Juan de Parra, tutor of the young Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, in 1519 recommending him with lavish praise as a supervisor of his studies, and again soon afterwards he lauds the young humanist for his virtuoso performance against the logicians of Paris in his *In pseudodialecticos.* More was also impressed by Vives' exceptional skill in eloquence and philosophical debate and wrote a generous encomium of his own in a letter to Erasmus. Thus began the friendship with More, which was nurtured in the many trips of Vives to Oxford and his visits to More's home.

In speaking of Vives' works, García Hernán blithely attributes to Vives a very important document that relates the trial and execution of Thomas More, *Expositio fidelis de morte Thomae Mori,* a Latin translation of a French report of those tragic events. It is dated July 23, 1535, and was printed by Froben at Basel early in October of that year. The only proof of authorship provided to the reader is simply the content of the document, which is of course no proof at all. No attempt is made, for example, to analyze its style, that of an official report, far from the florid, reiterative Latin of Vives, which is often difficult to decipher. Few people have ever made this attribution, most recently Francisco Calero, who also makes the outlandish claim that Vives is the author of the famous Spanish picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes.* Yet García Hernán constantly quotes from this book to compare Vives to More. He also attributes two other books to Vives, one an *Apologia sive confutatio*, a defense of Catherine of Aragon, and a *Parasceve sive Adversus improborum quorundam temeritatem*, a defense of matrimony, both published in the fictitious city of Lunenberg.

The book is rather rambling and quotes freely from Vives and More without giving sources. It ends with a whimsical remark of More's when he was taking leave of a friend, "Goodbye, my horse is calling me."

East Carolina University CHARLES FANTAZZI

Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450–1650. By Carlos M. N. Eire. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2016. Pp. xx, 893. $40.00 ISBN 978-0-300-11192-7.)

This is a not very brief history of reformation. But as with that earlier work, *A Very Brief History of Eternity* (Princeton University Press, 2010), Eire has produced a volume with radiant prose sure to garner critical acclaim. He has constructed the book for an educated, nonspecialist audience, with minimal footnotes, focusing the seventy-three page bibliography wholly on twentieth century and later works in English. He may have intended the tome for an undergraduate audience of history majors. Slipping it into a backpack, however, will be no small feat. However, given the goals Eire set out, the girth and heft seem perfectly reasonable. Covering two hundred tumultuous years, Eire has generated four books in one. In the first, he treats the later medieval period as a prelude to 1517. In the second and third, he examines topics most expect to find in Reformation overviews: the emergence of Protestantism and the reform of Catholicism, respectively. In the volume's final section, he traces the effect of the reformations upon global civilization even beyond 1700.

Eire has delivered a picture of reformations informed by the central insight of historians working across the last two scholarly generations: portrayals of the past must reveal the vast human complexity found in the documents we study. Myths and stereotypes about the past that ostensibly identify the roots of what we love or loathe in the present obscure rather than illuminate history. It is long past time to expose such myths, plus the corrective human complexity. Such correctives are needed most where historical myths tenaciously endure, and where evidence of human complexity too often is ignored: in textbook literature and popular accounts for nonspecialist audiences. In this sense, Eire has delivered great history. He has depicted Luther and other famous reformers up front, in living color, exposed with both their glowing inclination toward theological brilliance, and their distasteful propensity toward vicious intolerance. Eire has not placed Luther, or any of the others, at the center of his narrative, however. There instead are multiple reformations, incomprehensible as individual events. Eire's Luther cannot be understood apart from both the German princes who took his side, and the Müntzerite radicals and Swiss Zwinglians who opposed him. Eire has presented the Catholic side of the story as unfolding in five discrete phases, affected not just by reaction to Luther and his sarcastic propagandists, but more so by the intellectual habits of Renaissance humanism that allowed numerous theological outcomes. When examining the British Isles, Eire argues that conflicting religious positions of various monarchs must be considered not just the cause of a wild devotional rollercoaster ride for subjects, but also the consequence of complex geopolitics.

And yet, Eire has described the age of reformations with terms sometimes evoking old stereotypes undermined by his eight-hundred-page barrage of details. While acknowledging that some medieval clerics and laity engaged in decidedly non-Christian practices such as magic, necromancy, and witchcraft, Eire nonetheless has insisted that one can still "speak of medieval piety and of the Church" in

generic, rather monolithic language (pp. 41–42). Falling back on a well-worn path, he considers conciliarist inability "to trump [medieval] political realities" of heresy and disfunctional authoritative structures a tragic failure (pp. 54–55). His paragraphs on Renaissance "privileging" of the past, as in Italy, where "urban life and commerce" allegedly "broke through the feudal order" and helped "make the Reformation possible," have a decidedly neo-Burckhardtian ring (pp. 66–67). Eire describes central Europeans in 1505—right down to the "rudest peasants"—as deeply infused with "unquestioned assumptions" about heaven, good works, and sin (p. 138). In these and other passages, he evokes nineteenth- and early twentieth-century concepts long under fire from medievalists and early modern scholars, particularly those who scoff at the idea of widespread Christian belief prior to the age of "confessionalization."

Many specialists will be gratified by Eire's nuanced consideration of subjects and actors too long cooped in historiographic pigeonholes. This will include scholars studying Spanish humanism and reform ideology. Students of Luther's theological rhetoric and the contexts in which it developed—like the twisted politics of indulgences—will be pleased. So will those whose investigations of radical reformers look beyond violence to the interesting spirituality and apocalypticism they promoted. So will historians aggravated by myth-driven analysis of the Society of Jesus, not to mention those committed to sophisticated study of early modern sacred spaces and the densely-layered piety expressed within them. Similarly, scholars of inquisition, witch-hunting, and demonology who consider the political, social, and economic circumstances lurking behind claims of diabolical intervention likely will find this overview highly satisfactory. Others, however, may not. Historians of political thought may chafe at Eire's discussion of Machiavelli, portrayed here as a one-trick pony, able to conceive of government only as the naked pursuit of power. Eire's claim that "humanist idealism had become but a dream by the 1530s" (p. 80) will rile those who eagerly concur that Christian humanism really began in Italy—with rediscovery of the insights of Greek church fathers—but who find love for such *fontes* among humanistic prelates long after the alleged terminus. Similarly, historians of early modern science may hear in Eire's claims about empirical science and its rivalrous clash with religion the echo of a stereotype to which they have long objected.

In the introduction, Eire said he would not identify the origin of modernity in the age of reformations, as so many historians have before. Instead, he has found in the reformations an age of contradictions, polarities, and paradoxes. He has found excesses of faith and an overabundance of doubt; new kinds of piety born and old kinds intensified; a push to insist that matter and spirit were less compatible, existing simultaneously with newly energized assertions about the sacrality of the here-and-now. At one point, Eire calls such contradictions "more than a dim reflection of us today" (p. 285). Still, he has not found the root of what he likes or loathes about the modern world, but simply the root of what is. In the process, he has made the human complexities of the reformations far more comprehensible. Bravo!

Bloomsburg University WILLIAM V. HUDON

Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540–1616: A Reader. Edited by Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, S.J.[Sources for the History of Jesuit Pedagogy, Volume 1.] (Boston: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2016. Pp. xxii, 346. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-997282-30-6.)

The editors of this volume hope it is the first in a series of volumes based on the *Monumenta paedagogica*, seven volumes in the *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu.* This book begins with a table of contents, a timetable of early Jesuit education up to 1613, a list of nine pictures, and ends with an excellent index.

The volume includes an excellent Introduction (pp. 1–33) and thirty documents, each a separate chapter. Each chapter has an introduction almost a page long, which provides readers with information about the topic and its author. The first seven chapters were written in Spanish, all by St. Ignatius of Loyola or his close associates from 1547 until his death in 1556. Thereafter twelve chapters were written in Latin and eleven in Italian. Three of the thirty chapters were written by Germans, one by a Frenchman, all the rest by Italians or Spaniards. Interestingly, after Loyola's death only one of these documents was written by the Jesuit Superior General, that by Claudio Acquaviva in 1613, twenty years later than any other of the thirty documents here published. Acquaviva insisted that Jesuits teaching philosophy should follow Aristotle and those teaching theology should follow Thomas Aquinas. That directive affected Jesuit schools well into the twentieth century.

The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 is *Inspirations*: its seven chapters deal with the first Jesuit colleges, 1541–1556. Two chapters are by Loyola, three by his secretary Juan Polanco. Part 2 is about *Administration*. It has nine chapters dealing with the early colleges in Italy. The first important college was at Messina in Sicily, where the Jesuits taught local students from ages roughly fourteen to twenty. The town government and benefactors paid for most of the expenses.

Three chapters deal with the prestigious Roman College. Rome was also the home of the German College, which had many Germans and Hungarians, but the majority were sons of wealthy Italians. Most students there were boarders and had to pay for their upkeep, unlike most Jesuit schools, which had free tuition. Here the Jesuits had to deal with often unruly students twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Chapter 14 looks at similar problems at the Roman College. Imposing discipline was not easy. Chapter 15 examines the plan and order of study at the Roman College, which in many respects was the model for Jesuit colleges through much of Europe. Part 2 closes with a chapter on the Roman Seminary, where the students resisted or ignored the rules of conduct; the Jesuit author of the chapter suggested that the Jesuits should simply leave the school or impose drastic measures on the students.

Part 3, *Formation*, is the shortest part and covers chapters 17 to 22. Chapters 17, 19, and 20 deal with humanistic studies and values. Chapter 18 deals with spiritual and academic progress. Chapters 21 and 22 deal with doctrinal content and uniformity of doctrine.

Part 4, *Teaching Practice*, is likely the most interesting for today's readers. Loyola himself wrote chapter 23, on teaching composition. Chapter 24 explains "How to teach children Latin and Greek." Then come chapters of literary studies, mathematics, Hebrew, teaching philosophy, and teaching theology.

I found this book interesting: there was good scholarship and immersion in topics and primary texts I had not thought about. The book was well organized. The main weakness was too much focus on Spain and Italy, too little on Germany and France.

Marquette University (Emeritus) JOHN PATRICK DONNELLY, S.J.

Das Konzil von Trient und die katholische Konfessionskultur (1563–2013). Wissenschaftliches Symposium aus Anlass des 450. Jahrestages des Abschlusses des Konzils von Trient, Freiburg i. Br. 18.–21. September 2013. Edited by Peter Walter and Günther Wassilowsky. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 163.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2016. Pp. x, 569. €69,00. ISBN 978-3-402-11587-9.)

This volume assembles over twenty contributions by German, Italian, Belgian, and Dutch historians to a conference held in 2013 in Freiburg im Breisgau in commemoration of the 450th anniversary of the closure of the Council of Trent. It investigates Trent as a "theological event" (part II) and as a *lieu de mémoire* (part I). It explores the latter before it gets down to the former, thus highlighting how different understandings of the event have always depended on the viewpoint and intention of the beholder. The emphasis and novelty of the volume lies in its attention to the changing significance of the council for ecclesiology, liturgy, theology, and pastoral care within a long-term process that shaped a new Catholic confessional culture over the past four centuries.

In many ways the volume itself may be seen as an expression of (German) Catholic culture as it stands today. It includes the homily by the archbishop of Freiburg, Robert Zollitsch, (pp. 31–36) that opened the conference in 2013, an essay by the president of the Pontifical Council for the Promotion of Christian Unity, Cardinal Kurt Koch (pp. 37–49) on Trent's importance for the current ecumenical dialogue, as well as a fully-fledged scholastic *disputatio* (pp. 487–518) between the eminent historians and antagonists Wolfgang Reinhard and Peter Hersche over the latter's concept of "Baroque Catholicism," which, as Hersche contends, was essentially anti-modern and has since in spats and intervals reversed anything that might have been modern about the allegedly austere Tridentine spirit. Hersche's fiddly periodization, attributing something "frühaufklärerisches" to the humanist-inspired Catholic reform movement, which, as he posits, by 1600 was smothered by the delaying and reactionary "anti-aufklärerisch" Baroque so that proper, modernizing reform only came about with the Catholic Enlightenment ca 1750 soon to be superseded again by Neo-Baroque in the nineteenth century (pp. 500–501), does not really convince this reader.

A while ago John O'Malley asked "what happened at the Council"; this volume shows that sometimes what happened was just as important as what was "remembered" to have happened. As Günther Wassilowski states in his masterful introduction (pp. 1–29), it is probably quite telling that Protestant confessional culture has relied on narratives of mythical founding individuals, whereas Catholicism has largely worked with a more collective, i.e., conciliar "event myth." Nonetheless, the reception of Trent, the theme of the fourth part of the volume, also depended on individual actors, and in particular on the two poles that marked Trent as an event—the papacy as a succession of popes, and the bishops.

Maria Teresa Fattori thus shows how Benedict XIV almost two centuries after the convocation of the Council still engaged with the Tridentine heritage in his *De Synodo diocesana* (pp. 417–59). He found a major source of inspiration in Carlo Borromeo, who emerges across many of the contributions as one of the most fertile figures to project and on which to project the alleged true meaning of Trent. Borromeo operated not only as an individual to condense the "Tridentine myth" for successive generations; the man himself and his networks, as Julia Zunckel (pp. 391–416) explores, also actively and consciously shaped the ways in which Trent was transmitted and received across the Alps, in the Swiss Cantons, and amongst some of his correspondents in the Holy Roman Empire. This rich volume allows the reader to follow how the willingness or need to remember Trent varied over time, also because the Catholic Church remained a broad church, in which interpretations of the Council could be used for diverging agendas (see part III on the Roman Curia and Trent), and not least to embarrass one's enemy from within or without.

University of Durham NICOLE REINHARDT

Elizabethan Espionage: Plotters and Spies in the Struggle between Catholicism and the Crown. By Patrick H. Martin. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company. 2016. Pp. x, 358. $49.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-4766-6255-8.)

Elizabeth Espionage: Plotters and Spies in the Struggle between Catholicism and the Crown aims to defend the Catholics of Elizabethan England from the charge of terrorism. Its main argument is that English Catholics were more the victims than the terrorists, during what Martin calls "the struggle over England's religious identity" during the late sixteenth century. He aims to showcase this by re-examining the activities of late Elizabethan spies in a search for their underlying motives, in contrast to much scholarly study which consistently portrays spies as nothing more than traitors.

Martin focuses especially on two spies who worked for opposite sides: George Gifford and William Sterrell. Martin portrays Gifford as an *agent provocateur* for the spymaster Francis Walsingham, while Sterrell secretly worked for the Earl of Worcester as a Catholic counter–spy. These two characters come alive in the pages of Martin's work, as he presents and examines primary evidence such as letters, notes, and trial transcripts. He delves into the complex world of the code words and aliases they chose, which clearly demonstrates the humor and intelligence of these

brave men. Their humanity is shown through Martin's examination of what he calls 'seepage': tiny slips of information or phrasing that shows the true author of various documents, and allows their movements and loyalties to be tracked despite constant misdirection.

The book is structured like a legal defense, complete with an eloquent opening statement in the preface, background information on the defendants in the opening chapters, and the careful presentation and analysis of evidence in the second half of the book. It is perhaps for this reason that a few arguments are not entirely supported by historical evidence: defenses, after all, are meant to convince and persuade, putting the defendant in the best light possible. The result is that the motivations of the defendant's enemies are often oversimplified: in this case, it can be seen in the portrayals of both Walsingham and the queen herself. Martin also assumes that Sterrell was affected by particular events that occurred during his childhood, although there is little evidence that he was even aware of them. It may be logical that a Catholic child would be affected by the brutal execution of Catholic priests, but it is still an assumption.

Thus, perhaps the greatest value of this work lies in this characterization. George Gifford and William Sterrell are forgotten men in current scholarship about the struggle for faith in Elizabethan England, but both deserve further study. Sterrell especially was so carefully placed at court, and had such important patrons during his long and fruitful career, that he could have easily been the sole focus of the book. Elizabethan espionage through his eyes exclusively, from the 1580s to the accession of James VI and I, would have tied together all the various strands of intrigue that make this book so fascinating, and provided a clear timeline.

Martin's defense of English Catholics effectively demonstrates how many of the alleged plots against the queen during this time were actually manufactured, or at least encouraged, by the Elizabethan government itself. Martin successfully unpacks the sources, taking nothing at face value, and uncovers new meaning in primary evidence. As he declares in the preface, he aims to show that the goal of Elizabethan Catholics was not to terrorize but to gain some measure of toleration. His portrayal of men such as Sterrell fulfils that goal with skill and style, showing that their ultimate goal was to support their fellow English Catholics, whether that meant supporting the queen or working around her.

University of York ANGELA RANSON

Rookwood Family Papers, 1606–1761. Edited by Francis Young. [Suffolk Record Society, Vol. LIX.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2016. Pp. lx, 115. $45.00; £25.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-080-4.)

The Rookwood family papers give a significant insight into the economic, social, and political lives of a substantial Catholic family in early modern England. In the access it gives to many of those papers, this edited collection will prove helpful to a wide range of scholars of early modern Catholicism.

As Francis Young's introduction to the volume points out, the Rookwoods of Coldham Hall in Stanningfield, Suffolk, were a remarkable family who managed to maintain their Catholicism in spite of contemporary penal legislation and an association with treason that started with Ambrose Rookwood's involvement with the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and was revived with his great-grandson's embroilment with an attempt on the king in 1696. On either side of these moments of political intrigue the family struggled and, through a combination of pleading, legal manoeuvring, and dedication to their religious practice, succeeded in maintaining their estate, religion, and position in local society with relatively little disruption. In the detail it gives of legal measures and estate matters this collection of papers will be of especial interest to those seeking to understand the practicalities of Catholic survival in this period. The collection also throws light on the local and domestic life of the family in the first half of the eighteenth century; this serves as a welcome encouragement to scholars to pursue the social and economic history of English Catholicism in this still under-studied period.

Of particular note are transcriptions of the 1737 inventory of the contents of Coldham Hall (document 31) and the list of English Catholic books and manuscripts in the library (document 32). The former is valuable as a presentation of both Catholic domestic devotional culture and of the use of domestic objects to display social status. The entries in the inventory are in some instances quite detailed, giving, in addition to the value of the objects, indications of how and where pictures were hung and framed, and of the materials, design, and location of purchase of some of the tableware and furniture recorded. Among these are a number of Japanned objects as well as fine china teaware, indicating engagement with the fashions and growing market for consumer objects in the first half of the eighteenth century. The substantial list of books recorded in the same year will also be of interest for historians of collecting, and Young's assignation of reference numbers to each book should greatly improve the ease with which scholars can use and refer to this collection as an example of Catholic reading practices. It should be noted that Young has transcribed only the names of volumes identifiable as English Catholic Books; there are nearly 1,400 more books and pamphlets listed in the original manuscript that cover themes such as contemporary politics, history, gardening, travel, and housekeeping which may be of interest to other scholars. Nevertheless, this transcription does a significant service to those researching Catholic reading practices and the book trade in this period.

In combination with Young's lively and detailed introduction to the family at the beginning of the volume, this collection of a large proportion of the papers pertaining to the Rookwoods over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a rich resource that should provide a helpful stimulus to further scholarship on English Catholicism in this period.

St John's College, University of Cambridge CARYS BROWN

Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early Modern Iberia. By Thomas O'Connor. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2016. Pp. xvi, 280. $79.99. ISBN 978-1-137-46589-4.)

Thomas O'Connor's last book can be considered the ideal continuation of a journey that began in 2008 with the publication of his *Irish Jansenists, 1600–1670*. Based on an impressive amount of European, Irish, and Mexican sources, this new book aims to provide a groundbreaking analysis of the activities and role played by the Irish migrants in Spain and in the Spanish colonies in America during the early modern period. By examining the three most influential and represented groups of Irish migrants—the clerics, the merchants, and the soldiers—within Spanish society, the author examines their thorny relations with the Spanish Inquisition.

In the first part of the book, O'Connor sets the agenda by providing a clear picture of how the various groups of Irish migrants in Spain fitted within the context of the Spanish society during the second half of the sixteenth century. This is a pivotal point, because the author clearly illustrates that the Spanish Inquisition was not a monolithic structure that adopted a dogmatic strategy. Indeed, by focusing on the Irish merchants, the author shows that the Inquisition had to deal with a series of different cases in which the political and religious loyalties of this particular migrants' community were often changing. Due to this the tribunal was forced to use a multilayered approach that took into account the shifting loyalties of the Irish migrants. The section on the sixteenth century also includes the Irish clergy. By drawing on the sources of the local tribunals, O'Connor shows how the Irish clerics who cooperated with the Inquisition played the dual role of interpreters and spies amid the migrants who arrived from the British Isles.

The second section explores the seventeenth century, when Irish migration to Spain considerably increased, and even stretched to the Spanish possessions in Central and South America. O'Connor demonstrates how, during this period, a certain number of Irish migrants sought to obtain a role in the Inquisition, a step that would facilitate their process of integration within Spanish society. Of particular interest is the chapter devoted to the inquisitorial processes that involved Irish migrants in Mexico. By focusing on the famous case study of William Lamport, O'Connor reveals the complex web of networks and patronage which existed behind the Irish migrants.

The last section of the book explores the Irish migration to Spain during the eighteenth century and how this phenomenon brought the Spanish Inquisition to elaborate once again a flexible strategy. O'Connor's analysis particularly focuses on the role played by the Irish merchants, and how this group was increasingly put under control by the Inquisition. This last section also includes a fascinating chapter on the female dimension of Irish migration. Using untapped sources in the inquisitorial records, O'Connor sheds new light on Irishwomen who were involved in cases of sexual offenses. What emerges from his analysis is the suggestion that Irishwomen played a crucial brokering role between the "host" society and the Irish migrant community.

In conclusion, O'Connor's book is an outstanding and extremely well-researched investigation that has contributed to a significant expansion of the historiography on the cultural, political, and religious links that existed between Ireland the Spanish monarchy. By fitting the Irish migration within the difficult and—most of the time—tricky context of the Spanish Inquisition's activities, the author illuminates an unexplored dimension of the Irish diaspora during the early modern period.

University of Notre Dame, Rome Center MATTEO BINASCO

An Academy at the Court of the Tsars: Greek Scholars and Jesuit Education in Early Modern Russia. By Nikolaos A. Chrissidis. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2016. Pp. xvi, 300. $55.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-87580-729-4.)

The title of this fine monograph may obscure for nonspecialists its subject's larger historical significance. No less than the origins of higher education in Russia, or college-level training in theology, philosophy, science, and the humanities, are being examined here. Put otherwise, the book recounts in detail the arrival in late seventeenth-century Russia of one major element of post-Renaissance, post-Reformation European high culture, a development that worked eventually to bring Russia, with often spectacular results, into the modern intellectual mainstream. It is a story that has its parallels in the contemporaneous efforts to bring early modern European learning and values to the eastern Mediterranean world, Asia, and the Americas, efforts that were often led by members of the Jesuit order.

Professor Chrissidis's book focuses on the work in Moscow between 1685 and 1694 of two Greek brothers, Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes, as their names are spelled here. Born on the Venetian-controlled Ionian Islands and educated in Italy, the brothers, now Orthodox monks with advanced education in classical Greek and Latin and the Jesuit-scholastic version of Aristotelianism, were invited by the Russian authorities to organize an academy in Moscow along the lines of similar institutions located all over Catholic Europe. In so doing, the brothers were plunged into the religious and political controversies raging in the Russian capital as the Muscovite tsardom assumed an ever more prominent role in Europe's political and economic life. The stakes were high, as Russia, the only independent state of Greek or Byzantine Orthodox heritage left in the world (following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople/Byzantium and the Balkans), was proving increasingly attractive to politicians, merchants, and missionaries of one sort or another arriving from western Europe, principally Britain, the Netherlands, and Germany. How were Russian rulers to orient themselves in this highly competitive environment? Toward the Turkish-dominated Greco-Orthodox commonwealth, as the Orthodox-populated lands of southeastern Europe are sometimes called, or toward the burgeoning mercantile states of the Latin and Protestant West? And how was Russia to modernize in military and related economic matters, and so preserve itself from its enemies (most notably Poland and more recently Sweden), without abandoning its traditional (we'd say, medieval), hard-won domestic culture?

Chrissidis does not entirely escape the religio-nationalist biases that informed the late seventeenth-century Muscovite and wider European debates amid which the Leichoudes brothers strove to educate, in the contemporary Jesuit manner, some 150 members of the Russian elite—many of whom went on to serve Peter the Great in his radical and wide-ranging program of cultural Europeanization (1690s–1725). Perhaps it was not possible to assume an entirely neutral "view from nowhere" in relating this history, given the issues in contention, then and for a long time afterward (even now). At any rate, he has provided in unprecedented detail an admirably readable account of the Leichoudes brothers' careers with respect particularly to their role in leading Moscow's Slavonic–Greek–Latin Academy during its early years. The Academy, which survived in much its original form until 1814, when it became an Orthodox seminary, was the first higher-educational institution ever founded in Russia, its graduates equipped by their training to play their part in the ongoing Westernization of eighteenth-century Russian elite culture.

Based on a truly impressive array of primary and secondary sources in several languages, Chrissidis's extensive notes and bibliography lack reference, among relevant works in English, only to G. M. Hamburg's splendid new volume, *Russia's Path toward Enlightenment: Faith, Politics, and Reason, 1500–1801* (Yale, 2016), which obviously appeared too late to be consulted.

University of Illinois (Emeritus) JAMES CRACRAFT

God in the Enlightenment. Edited by William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2016. Pp. xiv, 322. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-026708-7.)

The familiar image of the Enlightenment as an eighteenth-century movement to clear the way for secular liberal democracy by applying the acid of philosophical critique to the political and religious institutions of the Old Regime is alive and well. But for several decades it has come under increasing critical scrutiny, notably by historians working to delineate alternative, "religious" Enlightenments that afford religion a positive role in the genealogy of modernity.

This collection of essays, drawn from a 2012 conference at Ohio University and introduced by co-editor William J. Bulman, advances that critical project. Lamenting that none of the religious and other recent scholarly alternatives to the rigidly secularizing, philosophical Enlightenment has proven compelling enough to replace it as a point of reference in the "intractable and inappropriate" (p. 31) current debate about the role of religion in public life, Bulman proposes defining the Enlightenment so as to encompass all those alternatives while holding a mirror to the debate itself. His Enlightenment denotes those who deliberated about public religion by employing the sacred and secular philological and historiographical practices characteristic of Renaissance humanism. In response to the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they aimed to establish "order, stability, peace, and well-being" (p. 18), articulating their views from the perspective of "elite

secularity": a common recognition, enabled by an influx of reports about the world's religious diversity, that their proposals needed to be acceptable to "people of widely varying types and degrees of belief and unbelief" (p. 19). Familiar from Bulman's 2015 monograph *Anglican Enlightenment*, this Enlightenment is chronologically and ideologically extremely capacious. It begins in the mid-seventeenth century and can sustain a multitude of mutually exclusive epithets: tolerant and intolerant, authoritarian and democratic, liberal and conservative, pious and atheistic.

Bulman's model finds mixed support in the volume's twelve other essays. On the one hand, although few contributors explicitly put its key concepts, causal mechanisms, and chronological boundaries to the test, most offer original and provocative investigations of authors who bear its hallmarks: intellectual indebtedness to the Renaissance and Reformation, and philological or historiographical engagement in religious debate outside the confines of academic philosophy and theology. On the other hand, some contributors characterize Enlightenment itself in ways that implicitly diverge from Bulman's.

The least divergent are those who describe it neutrally, in terms of secular, rational, and philologically oriented discursive principles. Such principles, we learn, were increasingly adopted over the course of the eighteenth century by French *anti-philosophes* (Anton Matytsin); were employed in antiquarian, Christian-apologetic studies of Hinduism in ways that provided libertines with tools for attacking Christianity (Joan-Pau Rubiés); underlay the cultural-historical study of indigenous religion in seventeenth-century colonial Peru (Claudia Brosseder); and regulated seventeenth-century Dutch debates about biblical hermeneutics that eventually generated doubts, akin to those of Spinoza, about the Bible's divine authority (Jetze Touber).

Less in tune with Bulman's vision, and more noticeably at odds with one another, are the contributors who associate Enlightenment with a particular theological or political position. Some of these associations are familiar. In various essays, we find references to an Enlightenment project "to free religious expression from persecution" (p. 46) either by protecting individuals' religious liberty from state interference, in the tradition of Locke, or by subjecting religious claims to rigorous public critique, in the tradition of Hobbes (Justin Champion); to a congenital Enlightenment inability, inherited partly from the Reformation, to acknowledge the force of biblical testimony or conceive of a transcendent God (Brad S. Gregory); to an Enlightenment desire to reinstate primitive Christianity while rejecting Augustinian notions of original sin and predestination (Paul C. H. Lim); and to a variety of interconnected Enlightenments whose overarching qualities include a "declining sense of sin" (Dale K. Van Kley, p. 302). In other essays we find a somewhat less familiar Enlightenment, characterized by its meditations on the inscrutability of divine providence (Jonathan Sheehan), or by its acknowledgment of supernatural alongside natural causes of medical ailments (H. C. Erik Midelfort). We also find hints of skepticism about the usefulness of the category itself: a study of early links between vitalism and Spinozism that avoids mention of

Enlightenment per se (Sarah Ellenzweig), and an unmasking of the Enlightenment as a twentieth-century construct that projects a drift from the Calvinist God of wrath to the Victorian God of nature onto a more static and differentiated Anglican reality (J.C.D. Clark).

If the diversity of Enlightenments represented in this volume suggests a lack of consensus about how best to apply scholarship on the Enlightenment to ongoing debates about religion in public life, it also testifies to the unabating fruitfulness of the research agendas inspired by the imperative of doing so. Religious Enlightenment studies remains a field in full bloom.

Wellesley College SIMON GROTE

The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement. By Ulrich L. Lehner. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2016: Pp. vi, 257. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-023291-7.)

Of the making of "Enlightenments" there is no end, and it seems only fair that the Catholic Church should have its own niche patent, however much that association might have unsettled Voltaire and other leading *philosophes*. But, as Ulrich L. Lehner argues in his wide-ranging study, it is time to (re)state the exaggerated disconnection between *infâme* and *lumières* and show how, in many areas of its life, in its balance of faith and reason, in its work with state reformers, Catholicism partook of what most scholars would deem characteristics of the moderate Enlightenment. Professor Lehner is not the first historian to point this out. He treads in the steps of David Sorkin, Christopher M. S. Johns, Michael Printy, and others in making the case for a/the Catholic Enlightenment. What distinguishes his book is its global reach and its illumination of so many parts of the Church's life, witness, and worship.

In his first chapter, Lehner takes the reader on a worldwide tour of Catholic Enlighteners at work, specifying contexts as he proceeds and noting "national" variants such as the "Enlightenment in Tridentine mode," which he finds in Spain and Italy, and in such practitioners as Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Themes one might expect to be emphasized are here, including conciliarism, antipathy to the Jesuits, and the privileging of social utility and good works over mysticism, but less expected ones, too, such as the Church's interest in the latest healthcare trends (the endorsement of vaccination among them) and advocates of flexibility in marriage teaching and clerical celibacy. He considers the course of Catholic historical criticism of the Bible from Richard Simon to John Geddes, the alignment of so many clergy behind the temporal régimes that sponsored Febronianism in Germany and Regalism in Iberia, and the intellectual gifts of such defenders of enlightened Catholicism as Nicolas Bergier in France, the critic of Rousseau but the personal friend of Diderot. Lehner argues that religion was becoming "for many an intellectual exercise" (p. 25), but some of the evidence he himself presents in this chapter might count against him.

Having set the scene, he then looks at that very 'Enlightened' commitment to toleration in principle and practice evidenced by many Catholic intellectuals, clergy and lay. Jansenists in France would not be silenced though the Bourbon monarchy was slower to legalize toleration for non-Catholics than the Habsburgs. In a hyperbolic moment, Lehner hails Joseph II's 1781 Edicts as a "quantum leap into modernity" (p. 60), but it is Poland's short-lived Constitution of 1791 that contains the least restrictions on religious freedom. Then, in a compelling overview of Catholic women and the Enlightenment, he finds many talented women with progressive views and not afraid to articulate them, among them Josefa Amar, as well as the Benedictine Benito Feijóo, who were Spanish precursors of women's rights, and scientists like Laura Bassi and Maria Agnesi in Italy. Lehner makes a plausible case for seeing what he calls a second wave of Tridentine reforms in the first half of the eighteenth century as offering women more scope in the Church and more recognition by it, with clergy, for instance, being ready to make the case for wives having an equal share with their spouses in the moral education of the family.

Lehner next ranges on to the Catholic Enlightenment beyond Europe arguing that the Church was more appreciative of Amerindian culture than secular society. Among individuals featuring here are the Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavigero with pronounced anti-racist convictions on display in his four-volume history of ancient Mexico (he demonstrated that syphilis was a European import to the New World, not the other way round) and, in the post-Independence United States, John Carroll, its first Catholic prelate, one prepared to endorse even the democratic election of bishops. The fifth chapter, "Devils, Demons and the Divine," considers the Church's determination to free itself from charges that it was riddled with superstitious abuses, adducing in support Benedict XIV's emphasis on heroic virtue rather than the miraculous; a policing of exorcisms as seen in the Empress Maria-Theresa's outright prohibition of them in 1758, and an overriding preference for careful liturgical presentation that centred on the Mass as laid out in Muratori's *Regulated Devotion* (1747). These emphases are further treated in "Saints and Sinners," where Lehner points to the new appreciation of virtuous holiness and makes a timely plea that eighteenth-century Catholic saints "deserve an adequate place in the cultural history of the century" (p. 179). This chapter reads somewhat as if the leftovers from the remainder of his survey have been dropped here with St. Aloysius Liguori and the Passionists, the beggar-saint Benedict Labre, deacon François de Pâris and Jansenist miracles, and the martyr nuns of Compiègne (1794), all bunched up with each other. The volume closes with a comprehensive final chapter examining attitudes to slaves, servants, and savages across the Catholic world. The record on slavery is ambiguous, but this was a Church that produced an Henri Grégoire, perhaps the supreme exemplar of an "enlightened Catholic," reactions to whose ministry to this day suggest the potential divisiveness of possessing those attitudes.

For, as Professor Lehner honestly admits (p. 216), the Catholic Enlightenment failed as a popular movement. Its proponents, gifted and well-intentioned though they were, seldom gave the appearance of empathizing with the observant laity, but rather sought to "put them right" on a range of behaviors and opinions.

Nevertheless, this expression of "Enlightenment" fully merits Ulrich Lehner's recovery. He writes well and has combed a vast amount of material in several languages, and it is a sign of his book's vitality that he is occasionally unconvincing. Thus his claim that the Church was in "an intellectual ghetto" post–1789 (p. 3) is excessively Manichean. Similarly, that there was minimal resistance to "enlighteners" pre–1789 (p. 11) lies open to question. There were different currents, varied emphases within Catholic Enlightenment, no one agreed international agenda and, as the pontificate of Pius VI (1775–99) suggested, there were several "enlighteners" within the curia itself. He is too keen to squeeze snugly his Enlighteners into some telelogical connection to Vatican Council II, and shepherd all signs of progress in eighteenth-century Catholicism into his "Enlightenment" enclosure. One detects, too, a slight tension between his "Global Movement" and his subscription to Pocockian multiple enlightenments." These are points for further debate that do not reduce the value of Lehner's effort here and in other publications to keep the "Catholic Enlightenment" before us, and helpfully to see it in relation to the intentions of the Trent Fathers: "a prolongation of the Tridentine reform" (p. 152).

University of Leicester NIGEL ASTON

Catholicism, Identity and Politics in the Age of Enlightenment: The Life and Career of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, 1745–1810. By Alexander Lock. [Studies in Modern British Religious History, Volume 34.] (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press. 2016. Pp. x, 270. £60.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-132-0.)

Alexander Lock's *Catholicism, Identity and Politics in the Age of Enlightenment* is a study of one particular English Catholic—Sir Thomas Gascoigne (1745–1810)—and how he can be seen as an example of the intersections of the Enlightenment and English Catholicism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lock, the Curator of Modern Historical Manuscripts at the British Library, makes interesting contributions in this work to two important areas of recent historiography—the construction and manifestation of English Catholicism at a time during which the penal laws were still in place and of a distinct English national identity. It is an attractive book with a wonderful bibliography. In some ways, it serves as a complementary study to Gabriel Glickman's *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745* (2009); while Glickman covered the period of the perceived Jacobite threat, Lock focuses on the later eighteenth century when English Catholics were slowly making inroads into elite social and political circles.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section (chapters 1 and 2) deals with Gascoigne's years abroad, through which he received a liberal education and took Grand Tours during which he met with different European heads of state. This is the most interesting and powerful section of the book, and Lock places his argument—about how the Enlightenment influenced English Catholic thought and behavior—within the work of earlier scholars, such as J. C. H. Aveling, Joseph Chinnici, and the aforementioned Glickman. However, while Lock

makes sure to explain what he means by liberal, he does not fully explain what he means by Enlightenment; it seems as though he equates the two—liberal and Enlightenment—which is problematic considering the demonstrated diversities of the Enlightenment. Lock also argues that Gascoigne's experiences with fellow English travelers on the Grand Tour highlight how equating an English identity with anti-Catholicism can be very misleading. This is good stuff and is an important contribution to English national identity studies, simultaneously being framed within and challenging earlier studies by scholars such as J. C. D. Clark, Linda Colley, and Colin Haydon.

In the book's second section (chapter 3), Lock moves on to explaining how Gascoigne settled in England and abjured his faith publicly in order to gain a seat as an MP. According to Lock, this was the deal that Gascoigne was willing to make—becoming Anglican to make other things possible, though remaining at heart and in sympathies Catholic. This is a convincing portrait of Gascoigne. But, it begs the question: how representative was Gascoigne as an English Catholic? Locke's answer to this question is not fully convincing as he argues throughout that Gascoigne was an exceptional figure, given his upbringing and foreign education and his subsequent political, economic, and social position, but then contending that any answer to "typicality" is elusive. Nevertheless, scholars with an interest in how well biographies—or "life histories"—can serve to deepen a broader historical narrative will find Lock's argument in his introduction thought-provoking.

In the last section (chapters 4 and 5), Lock provides an analysis of Gascoigne as a successful manager of his estate, whose ideas regarding estate management were shaped by the liberal education that he had received. This section should prove of interest to economic historians as Lock presents Gascoigne in contrast to the leading view of Anglican gentry who left direct management of their estates to others; in contrast, Gascoigne was forced to be different because of penal law obstacles and restrictions.

Ultimately, Lock's work is a welcome addition to studies on English Catholic history and English national identity. The book's great strength is in depicting how the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century was an important time in which some English Catholics were finding greater avenues for fuller social and political participation; in the case of Gascoigne, this meant the willingness to make personal accommodations for a greater political and social role, even if it meant publicly though not privately abjuring his faith.

MacMurray College CHRISTOPHER STRANGEMAN

Bach's Major Vocal Works: Music, Drama, Liturgy. By Markus Rathey. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2016. Pp. xi, 234. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-21720-9.)

Markus Rathey (Yale University) offers the nonspecialist a short yet instructive guide to the major vocal works of Johann Sebastian Bach. He devotes chapters

to the *Christmas Oratorio*, *St. John Passion*, *St. Matthew Passion*, and *B Minor Mass* as well as the lesser-studied *Magnificat* and oratorios for Easter and Ascension. Bach composed all of these as cantor of the St. Thomas School and city music director in Leipzig, a post he took up in 1723 and held until his death in 1750. The shorter cantatas, which Bach also composed and regularly performed during these years, receive only occasional mention.

Rathey makes insightful remarks and offers fresh perspectives, even if the book never attempts to be comprehensive or groundbreaking. For that, readers can already turn to a wealth of literature, including Rathey's newest monograph, *Bach's Christmas Oratorio: Music, Theology, Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Instead, *Bach's Major Vocal Works*, having started as pre-concert lectures and program notes, remains a work for general audiences. The author calls his chapters "introductions" for music lovers to read before going to a performance or listening to a recording (p. 4). He presupposes only a limited knowledge of both music and liturgy. Musical examples are relatively simple, and technical terms appear in a glossary at the end. Because each chapter stands alone, readers will inevitably encounter redundancies: chapters on the oratorios or passions each recount the same basic background information.

A few basic themes link all chapters. Rathey outlines each work's role in the eighteenth-century Lutheran liturgy. He also stresses the emotional content and contrast—what he labels as operatic drama—within each work. The most prominent of these emotions is love. Going against the stereotype of Bach as a craftsman of abstract counterpoint, Rathey shows that the composer consistently wrote numerous love duets in response to his texts. Perhaps the book's finest insights concern the music's devotional aims. Rathey compares contemporary Lutheran devotional literature with Bach's librettos and music. Seventeenth-century imagery representing dialogue between Christ and the believer corresponds with an echo-aria from the *Christmas Oratorio*. Likewise, a passion meditation published in 1724 encourages the believer to reflect on the biblical narrative through meditative texts and hymns. Rathey succinctly shows how Bach's passions do the same, combining or juxtaposing both communal and individual responses to the story.

At several points, readers would benefit from a wider look at the sacred repertoire Bach knew and performed, for without knowledge of eighteenth-century musical conventions in church music, readers might too easily conclude that Bach made many of his musical decisions primarily on personal and theological grounds. The Central-European mass repertoire that Bach knew suggests otherwise. It is filled, for instance, with love-like solos or duets for movements like the *Christe eleison*. Bach's decision to set his *Christe* from the *B Minor Mass* in a similar style suggests that he simply followed this convention. The result might still end up having the theological significance that Rathey ascribes it (p. 173), but Bach's special role as exegete of his text seems more doubtful. Overall, however, the book is free from the more speculative and esoteric readings of Bach's music. Rather than delving into hidden symbolism or proportions, for example, Rathey's points are humane,

sensible, and well grounded in eighteenth-century Lutheran theology and devotional practice. As a result, his book makes an excellent starting point for learning not just how Bach's music is put together but what it might have meant to eighteenth-century audiences.

Hillsdale College DEREK STAUFF

LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

Theology and the University in Nineteenth-Century Germany. By Zachary Purvis. [Oxford Theology and Religion Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2016. Pp. xi, 271. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-19-878338-1.)

This carefully researched book analyzes the origins and trajectory of the genre of "theological encyclopedia" as it was articulated by several key German-Protestant university professors between the 1790s and the middle of the nineteenth century. Written in an engaging, clear manner, the book examines classic early-modern rationales for the scholarly (*wissenschaftlich*) character of university theology, especially its proper methods and parameters, and the various ways in which German Protestant theologians organized its diverse subfields into a unified whole. Nothing seems left untouched here: published texts, faculty manuals, manuscripts, lecture notes, correspondence, records of publishing houses. The book thus provides an excellent overview for how theology developed as a "science" (*Wissenschaft*) in nineteenth-century German Protestant universities, and it offers many insights into a period of theological education ("the seedtime of the modern world") that continues to impact contemporary understandings of theology and theological education.

The first part concentrates on the initial attempts at writing/lecturing in this genre, which occurred at the universities of Halle and Göttingen in the late eighteenth century, when the explosion of knowledge and the rise of skeptical positions about pre–Enlightenment church-oriented theology necessitated a careful response by university theologians. By the beginning of the nineteenth century a course on "theological encyclopedia and methodology" was viewed as an integral element in the theological curriculum of all German universities. Students needed to know what theology was, how it should be organized and unified, and how its subject matter related to other forms of knowledge in the university.

The second and larger part of the book examines the revolutionary proposal of F. D. E. Schleiermacher, who sought to articulate a covenant of peace between theology and the other sciences at the University of Berlin. Purvis does a great job of providing interesting details about the genesis of Schleiermacher's "Brief Outline for the Study of Theology" and its historical setting at the time of that university's founding in 1810. Especially informative are Purvis' observations about the tensions and agreements between the famous Berliner's rationale (with its threefold pattern of philosophical theology, historical theology, and practical theology) and those of earlier thinkers, particularly F. W. J. von Schelling.

The final part focuses on important developments after the death of Schleiermacher. One chapter examines the post–Hegelians (e.g., Karl Rosenkranz, Philipp Marheineke) and another the truly monumental textbook by Karl R. Hagenbach ("the Preceptor of Modern Germany"). The latter's "mediating" approach, largely shaped by Schleiermacher's concerns but returning to the traditional fourfold pattern (biblical exegesis, church history, systematic theology, and practical theology), would serve as the basic introduction to the discipline for a majority of German theology students, and also many American seminarians, well into the twentieth century. Nevertheless, with the rise of modern "religious studies" and in view of the growing challenges to the place of "church theology" in German universities, the genre of theological encyclopedia underwent decline toward the end of the nineteenth century. (Purvis could have noted that in the second half of the twentieth century a few German Protestants (e.g., Gerhard Ebeling and Wolfhart Pannenberg) attempted something akin to theological encyclopedia, and given that an American Protestant has also recently written a similar textbook, the genre may not yet be extinct.)

While other studies, especially by Germans, have traversed this same territory—ground that Purvis knows well—he does so with his eye constantly on the institutional location in which these theologians carried out their reflections. That focus is his main contribution. Two weaknesses, however, mar the book. First, while the author makes passing reference to a few German Catholic theologians (e.g., Ignaz von Döllinger), he offers no extended examination of the principal developments in German Catholic faculties. Such an analysis would have helped to clarify the similarities and differences between these two types of institutional theology. (The book's title is thus misleading.) Second, while Purvis briefly refers to J. C. K. von Hofmann and the University of Erlangen, he does not give much attention to the shape of theological encyclopedia that developed there, despite the fact that its unique form was quite influential in the large Bavarian Lutheran Church for many decades. Finally, a very minor note: there are some typos that appear in the text (e.g., "Greifswald" is misspelled throughout the book).

Valparaiso University MATTHEW BECKER

San Pio X: Papa riformatore di fronte alle sfide del nuovo secolo. Atti della Giornata di Studi in occasione del centenario della morte di San Pio X (1914-2014), Città del Vaticano, 12 giugno 2014. Edited by Roberto Regoli. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche: Atti e documenti, Vol. 41.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2016. Pp. 385. €28.00. ISBN 978-88-209-9782-3.)

The volume offers some valuable contributions. Gianpaolo Romanato, "Pio X: Bilancio e prospettive," who for decades has been engaged in biographical study of Giovanni Sarto, goes on to explain the fortunes and misfortunes of his fame, conducting extensive research on the historiography of the papacy, although with predominant attention to that in Italian. He also outlines Pius X's reform initiatives.

Carlo Pioppi underlines the spiritual dimension, next to the pastoral dimension ("Principi e orientamenti pastorali di San Pio X," pp. 34–35). Definitely Pius X was

convinced that "restoration in Christ"—the goal of his pontificate—could have been realized with a more fervent spirituality of the clergy and Catholic laity, nourished by references to post-Tridentine piety and Eucharistic-centered religiosity (pp. 32–33). But in Pius X's thought the restoration of faith had a major social significance: the encyclical *Iucunda sane* (1904), referred to by Pioppi to detect the spiritual dimension, in another passage reaffirmed the absolute necessity of having recourse to the Catholic Church in order to obtain peace and even happiness in life, and restated "the absolute necessity of a perfect harmony between the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil," with the second one that must serves the first.

Mirosław Lenart ("Il cardinale Jan Puzyna. Un discusso protagonista del conclave del 1903 alla luce della documentazione polacca") presents a first survey of the Archbishop of Krakow, Jan Puzyna, in reference to local archives and Polish literature. At the conclave Puzyna presented the Austro-Hungarian emperor's veto for the election of Rampolla, paving the way for Sarto. Lenart, in his important contribution, provides a critical edition of the description of the conclave written by Puzyna, then cleared almost completely in the final version, already published by J. Urban. For Lenart, Puzyna used his veto to prevent a result that would have harmed the Church and that for some time Austria-Hungary and part of the cardinals linked to it intended to avert.

Regoli delineates "La diplomazia di Pio X nel contesto internazionale del primo Novecento" through a comparison of two new curial reports on the political situation presented to Pius X and Benedict XV at the beginning of their respective pontificates. From the documented essay, which focuses on Europe, there emerge the weight of the confessional perspective, the traditional emphasis on the relationship with the royal dynasties in relations with states, the problematic novelty of nationalisms—in the 1914 document—in the context of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, the political interpretations of the events in France and Germany, and the absence of references to Italy.

Claus Arnold investigates "Pio e il modernismo" through the interactions between the pope and the Roman Curia: from the first condemnation of Alfred Loisy in 1903, prompted by Pius X, through the long preparation of the decree of the Holy Office, *Lamentabili sane exitu*, then the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* (1907), and finally the anti-modernist oath, *motu proprio*, *Sacrorum antistitum* (1910). Arnold shows how the papal initiatives for a severe condemnation of the modernists met, on one hand, the support of cardinals and consultors of ultra-conservative theological positions, and on the other hand, the resistance of other prelates more aware of the consequences of censorship, which would have resulted in a number of new dogmatic propositions.

Philippe-Joseph Jacquin ("Pio X e l'Oriente") is mostly concerned with blurring the judgment on Sarto's attitude toward Eastern Christianity, but it is clear that his pontificate, after the season of Leo XIII's openings, was characterized by a markedly Roman Catholic ecclesiological orientation.

Patrick Valdrini ("Pio X e l'elaborazione del *Codex Iuris Canonici*") states that Sarto autonomously decided to start coding, in order to arrive at a clear and systematic re-organization of the canonical legislation: a "modern" objective, similar to that pursued by several states in the nineteenth century, which, however, was based on the juridical ecclesiology. Thus, Pius X would have liked that the Codex contained a part of *ius publicum externum*, to reaffirm the freedom of the Church against the states.

Michele Luigi De Palma ("I seminari regionali: un'invenzione antimodernista?") mentions the "southern ecclesial question" and the regional seminaries, following briefly the developments of the Apulian regional seminary, established in 1908.

Juan Miguel Ferrer Grenesche traces Pius X's responses in the liturgy, in relation to access to the sacrament of the Eucharist, to the restoration of Gregorian chant, and to the reform of the book of Psalms and of the Breviary. The author examines them appropriately, seeking to identify the origins and also recording the anticipations of Sarto, before his papacy.

Mario Sensi's essay ("La comunione ai bambini: implicazione sull'ordine dei sacramenti dell'iniziazione cristiana") summarizes the developments of the catechumenate in the tradition of the Western church from antiquity to the present. In that context, Pius X's eucharistic reform, expressed by the decree *Quam singulari* (1910), which lowered the age of access to the Eucharist, was a "Eucharistic revolution": a judgment of Romanato that Sensi sums up, noting the innovation and problems caused by that decision.

A relevant critical point has been noticed in several essays of the present volume: the reading of the Modernist crisis. The fundamental problem is not detected, namely, the clash between theology (often mistaken by the protagonists for "faith" *tout court*) and science, that marks the entire modern history and was radicalized by Pius's condemnation in September, 1907, with heavy consequences on the subsequent development of the Church. Modernism is instead understood as a problem of disciplining orthodoxy, functional to the realization of Pius X's centralized ecclesiological model (Romanato, p. 24) and anti-Modernism as the outcome of a theology devoid of references to the historical dimension and marked by a juridical ecclesiology (see Pioppi, pp. 41–42, 47). However, appropriately Arnold emphasizes the "giant" dimension of the issue of modernism/anti-modernism and points out that the matter had a significant role for Pius X, from the beginning of his pontificate (p. 86).

Part of the volume seems to be dominated by the concern to assert the "modernity" and the reformist attitude of Pius X. This matter appears in the balanced introduction of the curator, Roberto Regoli—"Pius X's pontificate was really modern"—in reference to his "choice to disengage the Church from high-level politics" (p. 11). But Regoli also defines Pius X as "an 'anti-modern' pope

[who] pushes the Church to enter into modernity" (p. 11). In Ferrer Grenesche's essay, for example, the perspective of reform is apparent right in the title—"La riforma di Pio X e la liturgia: «sa vivere bene, chi sa pregare bene». Un papa riformatore all'inizio di un nuovo secolo" ["Pius X's reform and the liturgy: 'He knows how to live well, who knows how to pray well'. A reformer pope at the beginning of a new century"]—even though the conclusion mentions his "pastoral and spiritual guideline of Catholic restoration" (p. 164).

The collection repeatedly affirms that the most significant aspect of Pius X's papacy was "the reform of the Church" (Romanato, p. 20). In fact Pius X undertook crucial reforms as part of an overall plan for the restoration of Christian society, in order to bring individuals and nations to the Catholic faith, as he clearly stated in his 1903 encyclical *E supremi apostolatus*: against the modern evolution of Western societies—their gradual assertion of state secularism and religious pluralism—Pius X proposed a hierocratic societal model, reserving to the Catholic Church the definition of moral values for civil society.

University of Venice GIOVANNI VIAN

Gandhi and the Popes: From Pius XI to Francis. By Peter Gonsalves. [Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, Vol. 160.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition. 2016. Pp. xv, 244. $72.95. ISBN 978-3-631-65789-8.)

The book consists of three sections, each focusing on a particular aspect of the personal and ideational intercourse between Mahatma Gandhi and seven Popes from Pius XI to Francis. Section A has a chapter on Gandhi's short visit to Rome on his way home from the second Round Table Conference in December, 1931, followed by an illustration of tributes and comments on Gandhi offered by the Popes (except Francis) on various occasions. Section B addresses certain similarities between Pope Francis and Mahatma Gandhi, two leaders whom the author sees as heralds of world-changing revolutions. The comparison covers various dimensions, from "non-verbal communication strategies" and "prophetic-symbolic actions" to ideas on religion and faith, and adherence to a life of poverty and service. Section C deals with the nature and extent of the influence of Christ on Gandhi and of Gandhi on Pope Francis. This is done, on one hand, by perusing Gandhi's views on topics such as Christ's divinity, the Sermon on the Mount, and Christian proselytization, and on the other, by identifying a 'Gandhian element' in the reformed Jesuit spirit which deeply influenced Bergoglio's experience as a member of the Church. The author concludes that it would be impossible to deny this two-way influence, although the ways of transmission may not always be traceable.

The account of Gandhi's visit to Rome in chapter 1 deserves special consideration. The author has had access to hitherto untapped sources in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano which shed new light on the real reasons for Pius XI's "not being able" to grant the Mahatma an audience. These documents confirm what could have only been supposed until now, namely that the Vatican did not intend to ruin

the existing cordial relations with Britain at a crucial point in the political evolution of India. The analysis is accompanied by a reconstruction of other aspects of Gandhi's visit to Italy, such as his preparatory conversations with Romain Rolland, the 'official' welcome extended by the Fascist government, the meeting with Mussolini, and the controversial interview published in the *Giornale d'Italia*. This part is commendable for its richness in details, although one does not find any substantial addition to already available information.

The main theme of the book is, however, the many-sided interaction between Mahatma Gandhi and Christianity. The author proposes an original interpretation through his study of leadership and communication in the context of inter-religious dialogue. The enquiry might be further developed by placing the pope's views of Gandhi against the backdrop of the great variety of attitudes in the Catholic world toward Gandhi, and generally toward India, as testified by a sizable amount of publications during the twentieth century.

On the negative side, certain assumptions seem to betray a limited familiarity with recent historical research on India. For instance, on page xi the author presents a simplistic view of "India's surge for independence" as a "nonviolent revolution involving more than 300 million people under the leadership of a single individual" (i.e., Mahatma Gandhi), thereby denying the multidimensional character of the social and political movements in colonial India. On page 80 we read that the caste system and untouchability are "3500 years old," which would be hard to prove. Other sweeping statements may make a historian uncomfortable, for instance, the author's assertion that within the British Empire, "forty-four nations were born in 37 years after India's independence in contrast to only eleven nations in approximately 360 years before it" (p. 87, fn. 3). This seems to superimpose modern ideas of 'nation' and 'independence' on political cultures which were very distant in time and space.

The narrative would have gained from a more thorough editing, as several passages in the main text are repeated *verbatim* in the footnotes. Apart from these problematic aspects, the book can be appreciated as a lively and detailed introduction to Indo-Christian intercultural exchange.

Sapienza University of Rome MARIO PRAYER

Pie XI: Un Pape contre le Nazisme? L'encyclique Mit brennender Sorge *(14 mars 1937).* Edited by Fabrice Bouthillon and Marie Levant. Actes du colloque international de Brest, 4–6 Juin 2015. [Collection Nouvelles Ouvertures.] (Brest, France: Editions dialogues. 2016. Pp. x, 452. €28,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-369-45.)

Pope Pius XI (Achille Ratti), who reigned from 1922 to 1939, has not been intensively studied, even though the files in the Vatican Archives for his pontificate were opened several years ago. This is in contrast to the heated debates about the wartime policies of his successor, Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli), whose papers are still not open for research. We should therefore be grateful to a group of French scholars,

based at the University of Western Brittany, for organizing this conference in June, 2015. Their focus is on the most sensational event in the latter part of Pius XI's reign, namely the publication of the papal encyclical, *Mit brennender Sorge*, which was smuggled into Germany, secretly printed and distributed to every Catholic parish, and read out at High Mass on Palm Sunday, 1937. The twenty papers printed in this volume, two of which are in English, explore the origins, scope, and impact of this forceful encyclical. As well a French translation is printed in full.

This spectacular challenge to the Nazi regime was, however, a political failure. The reasons are clear. The majority of German Catholics supported Hitler in all but his religious policies. They approved of his anti-communism and were silent about the persecution of the Jews. In the following year, they welcomed the seizure of Austria and the Sudetenland. Millions of Catholics enlisted in Hitler's armies, and eagerly fought against the Soviet Union. There was never any attempt to build up a Catholic resistance movement. For their part, the Nazi leaders also recognized the value of an expedient silence. The Reich Concordat remained in place. Diplomatic relations with the Vatican were never broken off, and the nuncio remained in Berlin.

Subsequent developments in the Vatican were marked by impatient frustration. The encyclical was, however, noted in the rest of Europe, as described in six later chapters in this book.. In Germany, the Gestapo quickly confiscated all copies they could find. In France and Britain, the denunciations of Nazi ideology were applauded, and the regime's anti-Catholic measures of persecution were deplored. In Franco's Spain and Mussolini's Italy, however, the need for Germany's political and military support led to a cool reception of the Vatican's initiative. The pope's later speeches became more and more apocalyptic. In the following year, he charged three Jesuit priests, an American, a German, and a Frenchman, with the task of drawing up a new encyclical, which was designed to spell out clearly the errors of Nazi racism. This document was allegedly ready for signature when Pius XI died in early February, 1939. But his successor, Pius XII, believed that such an anti-German demonstration was inopportune, and ordered all exiting copies to be destroyed. No similar defiant gesture or public protest was ever issued. The question mark in this book's title would therefore appear to be justified.

University of British Columbia (Emeritus) JOHN S.CONWAY

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN

From Mother to Son: The Selected Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation to Claude Martin. Translated with introduction and notes by Mary Dunn. [American Academy of Religion: Religions in Translation.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2014. Pp. xii, 237. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-938657-4.)

There is a wealth of scholarship treating the seventeenth-century mystic and founder of the Ursuline mission in Quebec, Marie de l'Incarnation. Within this corpus, much of it francophone, Mary Dunn's translation of selected letters by the mission's superior stands out on two levels: first, in its clear and important goal of

bringing alive the early French history in the New World for an English-speaking public; second, the collection is remarkable for its personal rather than hagiographic treatment of this monumental figure of New France. Indeed, Dunn's focus is the thirty-year exchange between a mother who abandoned her son at the age of eleven to enter the religious life and the man he has become.

In any epistolary collection, the editor's introduction is paramount in providing a context through which the ensuing correspondence should be understood. Dunn's introductory section offers an excellent framework for comprehension. In it, she creates a coherent, well-researched, and intellectually solid prism through which to understand these letters. For Dunn, Marie's writings are important on several levels. They reveal "much about the early history of New France," construct "an early modern anthropology of the Amerindian," and trace "the spiritual itinerary of one of the most celebrated mystics of the seventeenth century" (p. 32). Beyond these elements, however, it is crucial to attempt a deeper understanding of this figure through the "window Marie's letters provide into the distinctive relationship between an absent mother and her abandoned son. . ." (p. 32).

The pitfalls of such an approach are many. One could easily fall into an anachronistic vision which would superimpose our contemporary, ideally fusional mother/son relationship upon seventeenth-century France. It would be facile to judge the mother as we think she should be, rather than in her early-modern subjectivity. Dunn deftly avoids such simplification through a complex discussion of parental roles at the time while simultaneously allowing for sentimentality between mother and son. The reader learns much from this edition about the history of New France, but is also drawn in by a fascinating family journey. Indeed, we follow the relationship between Claude and his mother from one of absent parent and abandoned son, to spiritual advisor and young man entering the Benedictine order, and finally to a reversal of roles with Marie seeking spiritual and material aid from her quite influential ordained progeny. Thus, in 1640, soon after her arrival in New France, we see Marie admonishing her son from afar: "It is time that you know yourself. You are old enough for that. You were helped mightily during your schooldays—now it's up to you to push yourself" (p. 41). As the relationship progresses, it becomes one of a more spiritual and less filial bond, such as in 1653 when she rejoices, "I render very humble thanks to His Goodness for the attraction that he is giving you for the mystical life" (p. 121). Finally, as equals, Marie addresses her religious offspring in 1667, asking him to pray for her eternal peace: "[. . .] our good God moved me to do so, in order to have recourse to you for the security of my soul's affairs" (p. 199).

The maternal relationship's evolution is fascinatingly drawn upon the backdrop of the rigors of colonial life, a personal spiritual voyage, and the history of seventeenth-century mysticism. In the midst of these captivating details, the reader at times shares the author's frustration with the editorial history of Marie's correspondence, as the letters were anthologized and heavily edited by Claude himself. The distance between the modern reader and Marie's original words is thereby

increased. This fact notwithstanding, Dunn has made an important contribution to English-language scholarship on New France with this collection.

American School of Paris BRIAN BRAZEAU

Fordham: A History of the Jesuit University of New York: 1841–2003. By Thomas J. Shelley. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2016. Pp. xii, 524. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-8232-7151-1.)

Monsignor Thomas Shelley's *Fordham: A History of the Jesuit University of New York* stands out from a short list of other books about the university for its concentration on the members of the Society of Jesus. It was a small group of Jesuits who answered the call of New York Archbishop John Hughes in 1846, soon after his 1841 founding of a small college and seminary at Rose Hill in the Bronx, not yet part of New York City. It was then called St. John's College. Hughes was fighting anti-Catholicism in the public schools and worked assiduously to expand Catholic education. He wanted a college, but was not able to manage it, so an agreement was made to bring in a group of French Jesuits ready to leave their prior post in Kentucky.

Shelley, a professor emeritus who taught church history at Fordham, relies heavily on two firsthand accounts, a book by alumnus Thomas Gaffney Taaffe, S.J., and another by Thomas Gannon, S.J., president of Fordham during its most influential years in the 1930s and 40s. Many additional Catholic and Jesuit letters and publications are cited. The author traces the slow growth of the college in the 1800s and the vast expansion that began at the dawn of the twentieth century, when the college became a university and was renamed Fordham after the manor to which it had been born, at the time part of Westchester.

Amid all the milestones are details about the Jesuit college presidents and their accomplishments, but not as much as one might like about the personalities, some of whom were dynamic and fascinating. The same goes for the most influential alumni; many are listed, but not characterized. Little is written about the students, generations of young men who learned the classics and humanities under relatively strict and conservative leadership—until the turbulent 60s. (Women entered via their own college in 1964 until the undergraduate programs merged in the 70s.) The author writes in detail about the various buildings as they rose, one by one, and the rigid coursework taught by his predecessors, that relied heavily on Greek, Latin, philosophy, and "letters," in the vernacular of the earlier eras, and the always important student presence at Mass and prayers.

There are tangents, as an entire chapter dedicated to the founding of another Jesuit college, the relatively short-lived College of St. Francis Xavier in Manhattan. The history ends at the start of the tenure of the current Fordham president, the Reverend Joseph McShane, S.J., who is the author's cousin.

Those interested in Catholic education, Jesuit history, and, of course, Fordham University will take to this 500-page tome. Alumni and former faculty and staff will enjoy the journey from past to present, but will have to wade through a great deal of detail without the characterizations that would have brightened the work. It is decidedly and expectedly pro-Catholic and includes a good deal of Irish-American history.

DJC Communications DEBRA CARUSO MARRONE

Pure Heart: The Faith of a Father and Son in the War for a More Perfect Union. By William F. Quigley, Jr. [Civil War in the North.] (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press. 2016. Pp. xxix, 381. $39.95. ISBN 978-1-60635-286-1.)

This book grew out of a providential rescue of archival materials that author William Quigley and several colleagues recovered from a flooded basement "some twenty years ago" at the preparatory school in Massachusetts where Quigley still teaches. In them, Quigley found a scrapbook and correspondence between two prominent Philadelphians from the Civil War era—one, the Reverend Benjamin Dorr who was the rector at the prestigious Christ Church, and the other, his son Captain William White Dorr, of the celebrated 121st Pennsylvania Volunteers, who fought with the Army of the Potomac in many of its key battles before dying while advancing on a rebel line at Spotsylvania Court House in 1864. In reading the letters between father and son, and doing necessary research to place them in historical context, Quigley discovered a story larger than that of the faith and fealty of father and son, divided by distance during the war but bound together by their relentless Episcopalian beliefs and love for the Union.

In Quigley's telling, the remarkable aspect of the story that emerges is not so much the relationship between father and son but the way(s) that the Reverend Dorr worked to keep a divided congregation together. Christ Church prided itself as being "the nation's church" for its history as the church where George Washington and other Founding Fathers worshipped, and sought to be a vital center of Christian and civic unity as the nation divided over slavery and then fought a civil war. In his sermons and his ministry, Dorr pointed to the obligations of a common history though at the same time abjuring any millennialist conceits of America as God's chosen people. He emphasized duty, humility, and charity rather than excess and zeal in his calls for Union and unity, but the self-interests of church members kept pulling the church apart. The church was home to some of Philadelphia's most prominent Democrats and Republicans and one of America's largest slaveholders and one of the city's most determined abolitionists, and church members were deeply involved and even implicated in all the great issues of the day, such as arguments over federal power in wartime, the prosecution of the war, civil liberties and dissent, conscription, and especially emancipation and the recruitment of black troops. The vituperative politics of the streets regularly entered the church, much to the worry of Dorr and the disruption of the congregation. The church survived the war, but was partly remade by it as Dorr's stead-

fast support for the Lincoln administration made the church, like the city, more Republican in interest and attachment.

Although Quigley pitches his book as the story of a father and son becoming more united in their Christian and political beliefs, in part because the son's experience in war moved the father toward more vigorous support for the Union war effort, *Pure Heart*'s real value is what it reveals about the place of the church in the city and the ways the war affected the city. Quigley often loses the Dorrs in his deep description of historical context, but that emphasis on context offers instructive insights on city politics and the intellectual and social worlds that informed Democratic and Republican interests and actions. More particularly, though he does not acknowledge it, Quigley's work also follows several recent studies of churches during the war in looking beyond denominational concerns generally to investigate particular churches and thereby to discover how and why those occupying the pulpits and pews within individual congregations were often pitted against one another. At Christ Church, as almost everywhere, there was no escaping the war, whatever the preferences of denominational leaders wanting to do so. And no pure hearts changed that there or elsewhere.

St. Joseph's University RANDALL M. MILLER

The Shamrock and the Cross: Irish American Novelists Shape American Catholicism. By Eileen P. Sullivan. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.2016. Pp. xii, 361. $30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-04152-6.)

This book studies popular fiction written by and for Irish Catholic immigrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. To illustrate, Sullivan analyzes the works of the seven most important Irish Catholic novelists writing between 1850 and 1873: Fathers John Roddan, John Boyce, and Hugh Quigley; and professional writers Mary Anne Sadlier, Charles James Cannon, Peter McCorry, and John McElgun. Their selection is based on the frequency of citations, serializations, and reviews in Catholic and American literature publications past and present, as well as their recognition by Charles Fanning in his seminal literary histories, *Exiles of Erin* and *The Irish Voice in America*. These novels are a repository of information about the values and experiences of post-Famine Irish immigrants; the novels were popular because the authors created characters their readers could relate to in stories recounting why they left, how they found employment, and how they viewed gender roles, all folded within conversion narratives. Most significantly, Sullivan discovered that these writers fell into the American Catholic—as opposed to American Irish—tradition of encouraging readers to view themselves as Irish Catholics and thus establish an identity both within and apart from American society. Indeed, Sullivan argues that this body of fiction "suggests some of the reasons why the Church was able to gain its prominent place" in America (p. 6).

The book is divided into an introduction, ten chapters, and conclusion covering the origins of American Catholic fiction, memories of the past, anti-Catholi-

cism, religious liberty, anti-Protestant novels, church as family, the maternal priest, women's roles, economic success, and American politics. Within each chapter, Sullivan details each author's contributions to its theme. This approach has pros and cons. On the positive side, readers are likely to learn more about the authors and their various influences than in previous literary histories; on the negative, this methodology necessitates some degree of repetition since—apart from Mary Anne Sadlier's prodigious output of sixty novels over the course of her career—each man produced a relatively limited oeuvre.

But overall, this study is a valuable contribution to scholarship on Irish American literature. These foundational novels establish themes which can be traced across subsequent decades. Charles Pise's *Father Rowland* takes the form of a Q&A between a priest and women considering conversion—an exchange echoed in Mary McCarthy's *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood* (1957), although with negative results. Charles James Cannon's *Oran, the Outcast* satirizes the aspirations of the nouveau riche, an approach Kathleen Thompson Norris drew on during her work as editor of the San Francisco *Call* and *Examiner* in the early twentieth century, and which re-emerges in Joyce Carol Oates's *Expensive People* (1968). Mary Anne Sadlier's *Old and New* and John McElgun's *Annie Reilly* warn new immigrants against worshipping material goods at the expense of their religion, a tendency satirized in Caitlin Macy's *Spoiled* (2009). Likewise, Sadlier's *The Blakes and the Flanigans* and Peter McCorry's *Mount Benedict* anti-Catholic exposés are appropriated by Macy in *The Fundamentals of Play* (2000). Finally, these nineteenth-century authors' pleas to embrace the Church anticipate Irish American women writers' post–9/11 religious devolution. As Erin McGraw's *The Good Life* (2004), Alice McDermott's *After This* (2006), and Lisa Carey's *Every Visible Thing* (2006) demonstrate, calls for a return to the Church are cyclical, if not universal.

University of Missouri–St. Louis SALLY BARR EBEST

Creating Flannery O'Connor: Her Critics, Her Publishers, Her Readers. By Daniel Moran. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016. Pp. ix, 253. $39.95. ISBN 978-9-8203-4954-1.)

In *Creating Flannery O'Connor*, Daniel Moran early offers the nuance of his book's subject: not O'Connor's literary reputation—why she matters—but the *creation* of her reputation, or how she mattered and to whom (p. 9). Admittedly, the scope of this investigation is ambitious, for Moran does not confine himself to O'Connor's *oeuvre* in its inspiration and creation; rather, he endeavors to seat O'Connor's cultural and literary legacy within a complex matrix of how the "author's work, personality, and even image are marketed, packaged, presented, adapted, and received" (p. 2).

O'Connor's reputation, he reminds, can be understood not simply as a phenomenon resulting from her talent alone but also "as the result of a network of events, chance occurrences, personal relationships, media adaptations, cultural

institutions, and websites" (p. 8). Moran is most deft at articulating this matrix as a trajectory. Throughout the work, he assembles "the history of [O'Connor's] critical reception and literary identity" (p. 3) in such a way that we might cast our gaze forward and backward at once. We muse with Moran over the diverse factors that created (and continue to create) O'Connor's literary legacy, while observing how that legacy shapes our assumptions as we read O'Connor's past artistic accomplishments in the present.

Through a dexterous mining of vast and diverse sources, Moran demonstrates his caveat-cum-thesis that O'Connor's place in the American literary pantheon was not a *fait accompli*. He begins by pairing her fiction with its critical reception. Here *Wise Blood* stands as prime exemplar, as its first two releases—ten years apart—allow open space wherein Moran tussles with sources ranging from critical reviews to cover designs. Later chapters expand this open space further still, illuminating the growth of "the increasingly widening lens through which O'Connor's fiction was being viewed" (p. 100). Along the way, Moran details the subtle ironies of her literary ascendency, noting with some satisfaction when critics posthumously praise O'Connor for the very things they castigated her for during her lifetime.

Moran commands an extraordinary volume of critical reviews, spanning a remarkable historical scope. What impresses the reader even more is his selection of sources beyond the literary critical establishment. To tell his creation narrative, he includes, alongside the published criticism, interviews and letters to the editor, press releases and publication notices, personal correspondence and perm requests, thank-you notes and fan mail, award speeches and civic proclamations, actor interviews and film trailers. The work on Robert Giroux's editorial advocacy in chapter 4 is an especially valuable contribution, allowing the reader to see how the marketing, perming, reprinting, anthologizing, and even posthumous publication of O'Connor was a consciously curated literary legacy. Further, his exploration of the radical democratization of criticism in online forums and "social reading sites" (p. 164) breaks new ground in O'Connor studies.

Though the content of O'Connor's Catholic faith is not probed in great detail (readers eager for this treatment can find excellent works by Ralph C. Wood, Susan Srigley, Paul Elie, and Farrell O'Gorman, among others), Moran devotes the entirety of chapter 2 to detailing how her audience (readers as well as critics) became capable of understanding its significance. Moran thus weighs in on the critical divide over the relationship between O'Connor's (more explicitly theological) nonfiction writings to her fiction in a new way through his portrait of O'Connor as an incontrovertibly "Catholic writer," whether or not her faith may be taken as the interpretive key to the meaning of her work.

Throughout this handsome monograph Moran charts a course, giving us "signposts" (p. 49) to mark not only the evolving understanding of O'Connor's genius but also the active "building of her literary reputation" (p. 43). Happily, he also minds the places along the way where current acclaim has "straighten[ed] the road her reputation has traveled and fill[ed] in the potholes" (p. 197). Moran's

work assures that we shall not be so forgetful, mistaking present status for unquestioned fact.

Thus this book is, as much as anything, about memory, where Moran's reconstruction re-members the shaping and reshaping of the story we tell of O'Connor, one of America's greatest and most celebrated Christian writers. In Moran's fine book, the stability of texts is not at stake; rather, we observe the shifts in our changing perceptions, culture, and reading habits.

Creating Flannery O'Connor does not simply present a history of criticism but instead instructs us in how to read that history. Moran does not purport to teach us how to read O'Connor but how to read her readers—how to understand her reception, her audience, and her reputation. With his aid, we come to know not only O'Connor but ourselves for the first time.

Baylor University JORDAN ROWAN FANNIN

Alexandre Vachon: The Scholars' Cleric and the Clerics' Scholar. By André N. Vachon. (Ottawa: Petra Books. 2016. Pp. iv, 398. $28.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-927032-39-8.)

As an undergraduate at the University of Ottawa I passed by the Pavillion Vachon many times without ever knowing the fascinating story of Archbishop Alexandre Vachon, the chemist and priest after whom it was named. Originally written in French in 2009, André Vachon's tribute to his distant relative is the most comprehensive biography ever written on any bishop of the 170 year old Archdiocese of Ottawa. Vachon, the writer, is not a professional historian, nor does he follow the format of most biographies in this genre. The text is a labor of love, and the author has skillfully and energetically mined numerous archival deposits, local newspapers, personal journals, and family collections to produce this thorough chronicle of Alexandre Vachon's life and work.

Alexandre Vachon was born in 1885 in the small rural community of Down River, in the parish of St. Raymond, just outside of Quebec City. He was the thirteenth child of Jean Alexandre Vachon and Mary Davidson, an anglophone of Scots-Irish descent who converted to Catholicism upon her marriage to Vachon. This "mixed" marriage may have been one of the most important foundations of young Alexandre's life; he spoke English as a first language, but with his surname and rapid acquisition of French as a second language, he became an important linguistic and cultural bridge between Canada's "four solitudes of his life time: English-French-Protestant-Roman Catholic. What is remarkable throughout his career as a scientist, scholar, cleric, and public servant was how he easily moved through the linguistic and cultural divides of his country, and won the confidence of politicians, clerics, and scientists from across Canada's ethno-religious spectrum.

Vachon's numerous public and private commitments and the pace at which he lived his life was simply dizzying. Trained in theology and chemistry, he taught

chemistry, mineralogy, and geology at Laval University beginning in 1912, and quickly became an advocate for more French Canadian youth to engage in science. He founded biological field stations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and was actively engaged in Canadian and international scientific associations. In the process he upgraded his qualifications by attending summer schools at MIT and Harvard, though he never became a doctor of chemistry. Vachon held numerous prestigious appointments within the Church, Laval University, national scientific councils, and international scientific congresses. He crisscrossed the continent and traveled to Europe numerous times to attend meetings, address conferences, make public speeches in both English and French, and visit his siblings and nieces and nephews who lived across North America. Andre Vachon documents each of Vachon's responsibilities in detail, every trip, every speech, every family visit, every balancing act undertaken by the future bishop. It is little wonder that Bishop Vachon suffered from lengthy bouts of illness and chronic fatigue.

Vachon's appointment as Archbishop of Ottawa, in 1940, marked a resumption of his numerous church responsibilities, globetrotting, and his exhausting pace. There are times when the biography itself appears to be more of a travelogue and detailed itinerary than an analysis of the salient features of Vachon's career. The author might have elected to use case studies from the bishop's life to combine many themes, instead of a high paced narrative of Vachon's activities. The Marian Congress of 1947, a pinnacle in Vachon's career, is a case in point. In this congress dedicated to Mary, Queen of Peace, the author could have interwoven themes of the bishop's deep Marian piety, his ability to harness the energies of both French- and English-speaking Catholics in a historically fractured diocese, the Church's frontal assault on international communism through Mary, and the growing rapprochement of Protestant and Catholic Canadians as embodied by ministerial and civil co-operation with the event. It should also have been pointed out by the author that the debt incurred by the Congress may have helped to cripple Vachon's subsequent projects like the diocesan seminary. Episodes like these could brilliantly speak much about Vachon, without reducing his activities to an expansion of his activities calendar.

Nevertheless, the book is a necessary resource for anyone studying the engagement of the Church with modernity and a life well-lived. Vachon died, in 1953, as he lived—a fatal heart attack at Dallas airport, just having travelled across Latin America and the Caribbean as a prelude to his attendance at the Eucharistic Congress in Sydney, Australia.

University of Toronto MARK G. MCGOWAN

God Wills It: Presidents and the Political Use of Religion. By David O'Connell. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. 2015. Pp. xxxii, 319. $69.95. ISBN 978-1-4128-5486-3.)

David O'Connell finds that American presidents in the postwar era, from Dwight Eisenhower through George W. Bush, used religious rhetoric in two ways.

This first is *communitarian*, roughly the language and tropes of civil religion, which is intended to "help bring the American people closer together" (p. xiii). The second use of religious rhetoric is what the author calls *coalitional*, when a president aspires "to persuade just enough people with his words in order to achieve his political objective" (p. xiii). The first use unites; the second divides.

O'Connell is more interested in the second use of presidential rhetoric: coalitional. He devises criteria to determine when a president employs coalitional rhetoric and even more elaborate criteria to ascertain the success of those efforts, including polling data and the editorial comments of four newspapers: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. At the outset, O'Connell telegraphs his conclusions: For all postwar presidents, from Eisenhower to the second Bush, coalitional religious rhetoric was ineffective as a political tool.

Having dispatched with suspense, the author proceeds to analyze the policy aims and rhetorical strategies of postwar presidents, although he does so with some creative couplings. He opens by pairing Eisenhower's appeals for appropriations for foreign aid and Ronald Reagan's demands for increased defense spending. O'Connell characterizes Eisenhower's appeal as a *jeremiad*, and of Reagan he notes the paradox "that a man so concerned about the onset of Armageddon would at the same time be so committed to providing the supplies that might make it happen" (p. 54). Still, the author argues, all the talk about atheistic communism and the "evil empire" yielded no discernible results. As Marlin Fitzwater remarked, "Reagan would go out on the stump, draw huge throngs, and convert no one at all" (p. 78).

The Bushes, father and son, fared no better in their respective efforts to rally support for wars in the Persian Gulf. George H. W. Bush shamelessly used Billy Graham as a prop (albeit a willing prop), and he did attempt to justify the invasion using the arguments of a just war, although the Society of Christian Ethics voted overwhelmingly that the invasion was not justified. O'Connell fails to point out that, although George W. Bush frequently used the phrase "war on evil," he made no attempt to invoke just-war arguments.

Jimmy Carter, the most pious of postwar presidents, receives his own chapter, one that focuses on his "Crisis of Confidence" speech—often called the "malaise" speech, although the word appears nowhere in the text. "There is no other speech quite like this in the history of American politics," O'Connell writes (p. 148). Although initial response to the speech was positive, it did not wear well, especially when Carter soon thereafter demanded the resignations of cabinet officials, creating a sense of upheaval and chaos in his administration.

Both John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson invoked religious language in their support for civil rights and racial equality, but that rhetoric, O'Connell argues, had no discernible effect. Gerald Ford and Bill Clinton employed the language of sin, confession, and redemption, but the author claims that "there is strong reason to believe their choice of words actually made matters worse for each man" (p. 205).

Absent in this survey is Richard Nixon. That is a defensible omission, perhaps, but Nixon used Graham as a prop far more than any other president, and H. Larry Ingle's book on Nixon's faith is conspicuously absent from the bibliography.

O'Connell concludes that although presidents resort to religious rhetoric in times of political crisis, it provides precious little political benefit. Part of the reason, he suggests, is that "the force of religious rhetoric has become weaker over time as the religious foundations of American society have begun to crumble" (p. 277). Perhaps so, but Nixon may indeed be central; the farther we are removed from Watergate, the less religion figures into our political rhetoric.

Dartmouth College RANDALL BALMER

Defenders of the Unborn: The Pro-life Movement before Roe v. Wade. By Daniel K. Williams. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2016. Pp. xiv, 365. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-19-939164-6.)

Daniel Williams positions his political and intellectual history of the pro-life movement as a corrective to a dominant narrative that there was no organized opposition to elective abortion prior to the *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973. Williams's treatment does not evidence that he is deeply read in the history of gender and sexuality that usually serves as background for work on these issues. Nonetheless, he rightly and convincingly argues that historians of abortion and reproductive politics in the U.S. have not paid significant attention to the activists who resisted legalization. As a result, the book will be important to historians working to achieve a full understanding of the ongoing legislative controversies over elective abortion.

Williams locates the roots of the pro-life movement in Catholic New Deal liberalism of the 1930s and 1940s, but his work moves quickly to the 1960s and efforts to liberalize access to therapeutic abortions and eventually to legalize elective abortion. The reform effort of the early 1960s drew energy from the 1959 model legislation drafted by the American Law Institute, Romper Room host Sherri Chessen Finkbine's highly publicized pursuit of an abortion upon learning of a fetal deformity with her pregnancy, and activist Alan Guttmacher's rise to the leadership of Planned Parenthood in 1962 and his establishment of the Committee for Humane Abortion Law in 1964. Pro-life Catholics were caught somewhat off-guard by these events.

In pushing back against the initial state efforts at liberalization, rather than arguing from particular natural-law principles, the pro-life activists concentrated on the fetus's inalienable right to life, pointing to Declaration of Independence, and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Williams argues that this rhetorical base sustained the movement in ways that purely religious justifications could not—a strategic move that Catholics used with other issues, such as opposing state sterilization statutes. Williams also offers an intriguing

section on the powerful use of fetal imagery within the movement's print and media strategy.

In 1968, Father James McHugh of the National Council of Catholic Bishop's Family Life Bureau moved to form a separate national organization: the National Right to Life Committee. Given the separate status of NRLC, eventually the organization was able to draw in a coalition of liberals and progressives, some significant Lutherans and Methodists, who viewed anti-abortion work as part of their larger commitment to human rights, including anti-poverty work, opposition to the war in Vietnam, and to the death penalty. Williams wants to see a deeply ecumenical movement, but it is difficult to discern whether he has found the Protestant activists who are the exception to the rule or whether there was truly a broad-based Christian coalition.

The legal and cultural tide truly began to turn against the pro-life position in 1965 with the establishment of the Constitutional "right to privacy" in *Griswald v. Connecticut* birth control decision. The decision set up a pitched battle to balance the interest in fetal rights with women's rights. Second-wave feminists argued that reproductive rights were essential to respecting the women's human rights, and that argument worked against the privileging of fetal rights. These conflicts played out at the state level, with sixteen states successfully liberalizing their abortion laws in the late 1960s, and with the pro-life advocates successfully opposing twenty-five measures in 1971. The *Roe* decision established as settled law that a woman's right to privacy included the right to an abortion, pushing the state's interest in fetal rights out to the point of viability. The decision and the political realignment on abortion rights after *Roe* resulted in shift of the movement to allegiance with the Republican Party after 1980.

George Mason University SHARON M. LEON

Black Elk: The Life of an American Visionary. By Joe Jackson. (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux. 2016. Pp. xxii, 600. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-374-25330-1.)

This biography addresses the life of a Lakota (Sioux) holy man who gained admirers worldwide through John Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1972). His fuller identity was revealed in *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (1993) and *Nicholas Black Elk: Medicine Man, Missionary, Mystic* (2009). Jackson's primary focus is on the same period that Neihardt addressed. He devotes 347 pages to the man's first twenty-five years, while giving just 118 pages to his last sixty. Both factual and fictional in its portrayal of the holy man, this work is rich in speculation—with Jackson even proposing the name of a never-before-identified soldier that Black Elk may have killed at the battle of Little Bighorn.

Historical events are fleshed out—providing context at times but also lengthening the work unnecessarily. This is not a criticism of the author's laudatory desire to inform but rather of his editor's having allowed so much to be reported, e.g., six pages describing John Neihardt's life! The dust jacket itself gives pause to readers

when two of its four testimonials are in praise of another book penned by the author (a fiction writer of some renown).

Although countless assertions are made without documentation, this authorial style might appeal to nonspecialists. However, one needs to be wary of drawing conclusions about Black Elk since numerous flaws appear throughout the text—as shown in the sampling that follows: identification of Tekakwitha as "Mohican" instead of Mohawk (p. 15); reference to Lakota spirit-entities as "gods" (pp. 16, 426–27, 484); acceptance of Black Elk's fictional "lament" as fact (pp. 16, 426–27); reference to men as "braves" (pp. 154, 327), to women as "squaws" (pp. 323, 339), and to babies as "papooses" (p. 136)—terms not used in scholarly literature; misidentification of Fort Peck as Fort "Peak" (pp. 174ff); uncritical acceptance of oral traditions that are debatable or demonstrably false (pp. 272, 321, 338, 397, with all opinions given equal weight); racialization of "Lakota men" as "exotic, mysterious, sensual" (p. 272); citation of the Great Sioux "Reservation" (the proper reference) as the Great Sioux "Reserve" (p. 280); failure to attribute Red Cloud's well-known quotation (p. 281); reference to Louis "Gall" when the name is "Goll" (pp. 286ff, 580)—an important matter since there was a contemporary Lakota named "Gall" and a priest named "Gall" (pp. 461ff); erroneous placement of Bernard Fagan on the reservation in the 1930s (p. 356); a reference to interfaith dialogue "ecumenicism" where it should be "ecumenism" (p. 364); inaccurate dates for Red Cloud's war, which took place in 1866–68 (not 1865–68, as a photo notes); an assertion that Black Elk continued his traditional healing practice when evidence says the opposite (pp. 364, 366ff); ignorance of the fact that a Jesuit "provincial" (not the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions) deploys Jesuit priests (p. 370); citation of the Book of Revelation as the Book of "Revelations" (p. 373); a claim that Black Elk identified himself with the Bible's Paul, along with the proposal that this association was, and is, widespread (pp. 381ff); etc.

The Catholic Church appointed a postulator in 2017 to investigate the holy man's cause for canonization as a saint, but Jackson's work will not contribute to this process. His Black Elk is more associated with the oft-heard trope that Lakota elders resisted embracing a Christian identity. Jackson's Black Elk is not a devout Catholic but is, rather, the die-hard traditionalist portrayed by John and Hilda Neihardt. It is their portrayal that Jackson adopts uncritically—echoing all the stereotypes that they espoused—of Indians, Black Elk, settlers, soldiers, and the Native encounter with Christianity.

Jackson commendably provides much information related to the holy man and his people. Unfortunately, the net result is a one-dimensional misrepresentation of Black Elk's experience. The holy man's religious identity has been a contentious topic, and the author casts his lot with the position advanced in *Black Elk Speaks*. That is, Neihardt's work became a classic; and when its shortcomings were noted, Hilda authored works that sought to perpetuate her father's popular version of the holy man. Jackson's biography well represents this longstanding (but inaccurate) tradition.

Wheeling Jesuit University MICHAEL F. STELTENKAMP, S.J.

Notes and Comments

Causes of Saints

At a consistory held on April 20, 2017, Pope Francis obtained the consent of the cardinals for the canonization of sibling shepherds Francisco de Jesus Marto (1908–19) and Jacinta de Jesus Marto (1910–20) in a ceremony that took place in Fatima on May 13, 2017. Consent was also given for the canonizations on October 15, 2017, of the Brazilian priests Andrea Soveral (1572–1645) and Ambrogio Francesco Ferro, the layman Mateus Moreira, and twenty-seven companions massacred for the faith in 1645 by Dutch and indigenous Calvinists; of the converted "Child Martyrs of Tlaxcala," Cristóbal (1514/15–27), killed for his faith by his pagan father, and Antonio and Juan (both 1516/17–29), killed for desecrating pagan idols; of the Capuchin priest Angelo Acri (born Luca Falcone, 1669–1739), famous for preaching peace in southern Italy; and of the Spanish Piarist priest Faustino Míguez de González (1831–1925), who founded the Calasanctius Institute of the Daughter of the Divine Shepherdess for the education of women.

On May 4, 2017, Pope Francis authorized the Congregation for the Causes of Saints to promulgate decrees acknowledging miracles attributed to these venerable servants of God: the American Francis Solano (baptized Bernard) Casey, O.F.M. Cap. (1870–1957); Mother Mary of the Immaculate Conception (born Adèle de Batz de Trenquelléon, 1789–1828), foundress of the Daughters of Mary Immaculate; the German Clara Fey (1815–94), foundress of the Institute of the Sisters of the Poor Jesus; and the Argentine Catalina de Maria (born Josefa Saturnina Rodriguez, 1823–96), foundress of the Congregation of the Handmaids of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. He also acknowledged the martyrdom of Luciano Botovasoa, lay member of the Third Order of St. Francis, who was killed in hatred of the faith in Vohipeno, Madagascar, on April 17, 1947. In addition, the pope recognized the heroic virtues of Cardinal Elia dalla Costa (1872–1961), archbishop of Florence; Cardinal François-Xavier Nguyên Van Thuân (1928–2002), the coadjutor archbishop of Saigon, who was imprisoned by the Communists for thirteen years, eight of which he spent in solitary confinement; Giovanna Meneghini (1868–1918), foundress of the Congregation of the Ursuline Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary; Vincenzina Cusmano (1826–94), first Superior General of the Congregation of the Servant Sisters of the Poor; Alessandro Nottegar (1943–86), lay founder of the Regina Pacis Community; Edvige Carboni (1880–1952), a lay member of the Third Order of St. Francis, mystic, and stigmatic; and Maria Guadalupe Ortiz de Landázuri y Fernández de Heredia (1916–75), lay member of Opus Dei and of the Personal Prelature of the Holy Cross.

PALEOGRAPHY

The Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library in Chicago, in collaboration with St. Louis University and the University of Toronto, have launched a website dedicated to French Renaissance paleography and plan to develop a similar one for Italian paleography. To help develop and improve these websites, please contact paleography@newberry.org.

With the collaboration of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the University of Notre Dame Rome Gateway, the American Academy in Rome is offering a course in Latin paleography and codicology taught by Dr. David T. Gura, January 8–19, 2018. The application deadline is May 30, 2017. For more information, please visit http://aarome.org/apply/winter-programs/paleography-codicology or contact the program director at latin.paleography@aarome.org.

CONFERENCES

On March 22–25, 2017, the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum e.V., the Arbeitsberich mittlere und neuere Kirchengeschichte der Universität Freiburg, and the Katholische Akademie der Erzdiözese Freiburg sponsored a conference "Glaube(n) im Disput: Altgläubige Kontroversisten des Reformationszeitalters in neuerer Forschung" at the Katholische Akademie in Freiburg im Breisgau. Over twenty scholars from Germany, Switzerland, and the United States presented papers under the headings: "Klärungen zum Phänomen der 'controversia'," "Kontexte der Kontroverstheologie," "Erste Konturierungen," and "Transformationen." For more information, visit www.katholische-akademie-freiburg.de.

On May 4–5, 2017, a consortium of organizations, mostly in Bologna, sponsored a conference held at the Palazzo d'Accursio, titled "Seminario di alti studi Paolo Prodi: 1517. Le università e la Riforma." Seven scholars offered personal tributes to the memory of Paolo Prodi, which preceded fourteen papers delivered by speakers from Belgium, England, France, Italy, and Spain that traced the reaction of universities and academies across Europe to the Protestant Reformation.

On May 18–19, 2017, a conference entitled "Dorsale cattolica e dorsale alpine nel lungo Cinquecento, tra poteri politici e Controriforma" took place at the Università degli Studi di Milano. Fifteen scholars from Italy, Switzerland, and France presented papers in panels with the themes: "La Dorsale Occidentale. Le istituzioni locali cattoliche: vescovi e abazie," "La 'Frontiera del Milanesado' area confederale," "La 'Frontiera del Milanesado' area Grigiona e i 'Bastioni' contro l'eresia." For more information, please contact the Accademia San Carlo at asc@ambrosiana.it.

On May 29–30, 2017, the Accademia Ambrosiana: Classe di Slavistica held a *Dies Academicus* on the theme "La Riforma Protestante nei Paesi Slavi" in the Sala E. R. Galbiati of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana with eleven speakers exploring the

spread of Protestantism to Bohemia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Romania, Slovenia, and the Ukraine. For more information, please contact segreteria.slavistica@ambrosiana.it.

On May 31–June 1, 2017, the Canadian Catholic Historical Association held its 84th Annual Conference at Ryerson University in Toronto. John T. McGreevy delivered the keynote address, titled "American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism." More than twenty speakers presented papers in seven sessions dedicated to such themes as "19th Century Catholics Fighting for a Place in British America," "Clothing Catholic Women in the 20th Century," "Catholic Education in Atlantic Canada," "Creative Tension: North American Women Religious," "New Directions in Canadian Catholicism: 20th Century and Beyond," "Book Launch: *Conscience of a Nation: A History of the Jesuits in English Canada, 1842–2013*," and "Book Launch: *Jubilee: 50 Years of Solidarity—The Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace*." For more information, please contact Peter Baltutis at peter.baltutis@stmu.ca.

On June 22–24, 2017, in order to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, bishop of Würzburg (1574–1617), the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum e.V., the Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsverein, and the Universität Würzburg will sponsor a conference at the Archiv und Bibliothek des Bistums Würzburg on the theme "Ideal und Praxis: Bischöfe und Bischofsamt im Heiligen Römischen Reich, 1570–1620." About twenty scholars from German universities will speak on the following topics: "Bischofsideale—Ideale Bischöfe?" "Zwischen Politik und geistlichen Auftrag," "Konfessionelle Konflikt- und Gemengelagen," "Bischöfe zwischen Kunst und Kommerz," and "Der Fürst in der Kirche—Kirche der Fürsten?" For more information, contact Jutta Lingstädt at jutta.lingstaedt@mail.uni-wuerzburg.de or wdgv@bistum-wuerzburg.de, or Christoph Moos at corpus.catholicorum@theol.uni-freiburg.de.

On September 14–16, 2017, the Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Early Modern Conversions project at McGill University's Institute for the Public Life of Arts and Ideas will sponsor a conference titled "The Politics of Conversion: Martin Luther to Muhammad Ali." For more information, please contact renaissance@newberry.org.

On November 27–29, 2017, the École française de Rome will sponsor an international colloquy on the theme "*In partibus fidelium*: Missions du Levant et connaissance de l'Orient chrétien (XIX^{e}–XXI^{e}). For more information, please contact Vittorio Berti at vittorio.berti@unipd.it or Marie Levant at levant@fscire.it.

On March 8–10, 2018, the New College Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Studies will take place in Sarasota, Florida. Proposals for papers (abstracts) should be emailed to http://www.newcollegeconference.org/cfp by September 2017. For further information, contact info@newcollegeconference.org.

PERSONALS

On April 1, 2017, Professor Emeritus Paul F. Grendler of the University of Toronto received the Paul Oskar Kristeller Lifetime Achievement Award from the Renaissance Society of America at its annual meeting in Chicago.

PUBLICATIONS

An international conference of conciliar history on the theme "Konzil und Fürst" was held in Vienna on September 18–21, 2014. The papers read on those days have been published in the recently issued Heft 1–2 for 2014 (Jahrgang 46) of the *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*. The contents follow: Thomas Prügl, "Tagungsbericht" (pp. 1–8); Richard Price, "Fact and Fiction, Emperor and Council, in the Coptic Acts of Ephesus" (pp. 9–26); Alberto Ferreiro, "*Sanctissimus idem princeps sic venerandum concilium adloquitur dicens:* King Reccared's Discourses at the Third Council of Toledo (589)" (pp. 27–52); Agostino Marchetto, "Concili e potere secolare nelle Decretali Pseudo Isidoriane" (pp. 53–80); Ansgar Frenken, "Römischer König und Kurfürsten auf den spätmittelalterlichen Generalkonzilien. Stellung, Einflussnahme und Bedeutung der führenden politischen Kräfte des Reiches auf den Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel" (pp. 81–104); Johannes Helmrath, "Das Reich, seine Fürsten und das Basler Konzil" (pp. 105–38); Heribert Müller, "Das französische Krone und die Reformkonzilien im späten Mittelalter" (pp. 139–56); Elke Faber, "Initiator, Partner, Risikofaktor. Der polnische König und die Synoden des Gnesener Metropoliten 1447–1643" (pp. 157–90); Nelson H. Minnich, "Teutonic Knights and Poland at the Fifth Lateran Council" (pp. 191–224); Michaela Morys, "Das Tridentinum in der Auseinandersetzung um König Heinrich IV. von Frankreich" (pp. 225–38); Peter Tusor, "The National Council and the Habsburg State Power in Hungary in the year of the Peace of Westphalia" (pp. 239–58); Carlo Pioppi, "Politica e religione nell'Europa mediterranea tra '800 e '900. La prospettiva dei concili provinciali italiani e spagnoli" (pp. 259–92); Klaus Schatz, "'Conciliation' zwischen 'Societas christiana' und 'Trennung von Kirche und Staat'. Liberaler Katholizismus und Staatsintervention auf dem 1. Vatikanum" (pp. 293–300); András Fejérdy, "*Duas inter summas potestates.* Konzil in josephinischem Kontext: Die ungarische Nationalsynode vom Jahre 1822 und die Wiener Regierung" (pp. 303–18); Tamás Tóth and Zsófia Bárány, "Ungarische Bischöfe auf dem politischen Spielfeld in der Revolutionszeit 1848–1849: Annullierte Nationalsynode(n) und annullierte Bischofsernennungen" (pp. 319–38); and Tibor Klestenitz, "Zum Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat in Ungarn im Spiegel der ungarischen Diözesansynoden in der Zwischenkriegszeit" (pp. 339–54).

In its fourth issue for 2016 (Volume 96), *Church History & Religious Culture* presents six articles on Erasmus: "Erasmus and the Novum Instrumentum," by R. Ward Holder (pp. 491–97); "Erasmus the Theologian," by Greta Grace Kroeker (pp. 498–515); "Erasmus Openeth the Way Before Luther," by David M. Whitford (pp. 516–40); "The Mimetic Paraphrase," by Reinier Leushuis (pp. 541–64); "St. Jerome's Exegetical Authority in Erasmus of Rotterdam's Annotations on the

New Testament," by Hilmar M. Pabel (pp. 565–94); and "Erasmus's Biblical Project," by Henk Nellen and Jan Bloemendal (pp. 595–635).

A "Special Issue" of *Art History* (Volume 40, number 2 [April 2017]) is devoted to "Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe." Following an introduction by Bridget Heal (pp. 246–55) are eight contributions: Lyndal Roper and Jennifer Spinks, "Karlstadt's *Wagen*: The First Visual Propaganda for the Reformation" (pp. 256–85); Mitchell B. Merback, "'Between these Two Kingdoms': Exile, Election, and Godly Law in Sebald Beham's *Moses and Aaron*" (pp. 286–311); Shira Brisman, "The Unassembled Grammar of the Drawing in the Era of Reform" (pp. 312–35); Andrew Morrall, "The Family at Table: Protestant Identity, Self-Representation and the Limits of the Visual in Seventeenth-Century Zurich" (pp. 336–57); Bridget Heal, "Lutheran Baroque: The Afterlife of a Reformation Altarpiece" (pp. 358–79); Amy Knight Powell, "Images (Not) Made by Chance" (pp. 380–403); Christine Göttler, "The Art of Solitude: Environments of Prayer at the Bavarian Court of Wilhelm V" (pp. 404–29); and Mia M. Mochizuki, "The Reliquary Reformed" (pp. 430–49). Joseph Leo Koerner has contributed an "Afterword" (pp. 450–55).

"Missionary Encounters in the Atlantic World" are studied in five articles published in 2017 as Volume 21, numbers 1–2, of the *Journal of Early Modern History.* The "Introduction" by Katharine Gerbner and Karin Vélez (pp. 1–7) is followed by "Willy-Nilly Baptisms and Chichimeca Freedoms: Missionary Disputes, Indigenous Desires and the 1695 O'odham Revolt" by Brandon Bayne (pp. 9–37); "A Moravian Mission and the Origins of Evangelical Protestantism among Slaves in the Carolina Lowcountry" by Aaron Spencer Fogleman (pp. 38–63); "Cannibal Theologies in Colonial Portuguese America (1549–1759)" by M. Kittiya Lee (pp. 64–90); "Les Guerrières de Dieu in the French Ursuline Missionary Archives" by Heidi Keller-Lapp (pp. 91–115); and "A New Model of Christian Interaction with the Jews: The Institutum Judaicum and Missions to the Jews in the Atlantic World" by Yaakov Ariel (pp. 116–36).

The Innes Review, the "journal covering the part played by the Catholic Church in Scottish History," has devoted its second issue of Volume 67 (November 2016) to "Biography and James VI's Scotland," beginning with an introduction by Amy Blakeway (pp. 83–92). There follow four articles: "Not just a lawyer: Thomas Craig and humanist Edinburgh" by David McOmish (pp. 93–106); "The life of Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay" by Ross Crawford (pp. 107–37); "Sir William Keith of Delny: courtier, ambassador and agent of noble power" by Miles Kerr-Peterson (pp. 138–58); and "Religious tolerance and intolerance in Jacobean Scotland: the case of Archibald Hegate revisited" by Paul Goatman (pp. 159–81).

David Endres, the editor of *U.S. Catholic Historian*, chose five articles on Catholics and racial justice for the 2017 winter issue (Volume 35, Number 1): Suzanne Krebsbach, "James Spencer and the Colored Catholic Congress Movement" (pp. 1–21); Cornelia F. Sexauer, "Beyond 'equality through segregation':

Charles F. Vatterott, Jr., and Post–World War II Efforts for Interracial Justice and Equality in St. Louis, Missouri" (pp. 23–47); Paul T. Murray, "'We belong to the wider world': The Young Christian Students and the Civil Rights Movement" (pp. 49–80); Kevin Ryan, "'My children feel rejected by their Church': Managed Integration in St. Philip Neri Parish, Chicago" (pp. 81–97); and Kim R. Harris, "Sister Thea Bowman: Liturgical Justice Through Black Sacred Song" (pp. 99–124).

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General and Miscellaneous

La metodología histórica al servicio de la causa de santidad. Eutimio Sastre Santos. *Anthologica Annua*, 59 (2012), 11–252.

Historia de la iglesia en Galicia: un estado de la cuestión. José Antonio Vázquez Vilanova. *Compostellanum*, LX (1–4, 2016), 529–73.

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Marcello Fogolino e la pala francescana di Camposampiero. Giovanni Baldissin Molli. *Il Santo*, LVI (1–2, 2016), 115–33.

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The Meaning of "Quaker History." Jeffrey Dudiak. *Quaker History*, 106 (Spring 2017), 1–21.

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Wandering Wombs, Inspired Intellects: Christian Religious Travel in Late Antiquity. Rebecca Stephens Falcasantos. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 25 (Spring 2017), 88–117.

The *life of Senzius of Blera* and episcopal appropriation of monastic cults in early medieval Tuscany. Nicholas Everett. *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, LXIX (July–Dec. 2015), 315–34.

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MEDIEVAL

El diaconisado y las diaconisas en los textos litúrgicos medievales de la Iglesia Católica en Occidente. Una nota en torno a un estudio de José-Juan Fresnillo. Manuel Guerra Gómez. *Burgense*, 57 (1, 2016), 207–29.

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When Did the Legend of the Last Emperor Originate? A New Look at the Textual Relationship between the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* and the *Tiburtine Sibyl.* Christopher Bonura. *Viator*, 47 (3, 2016), 47–100.

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Adomnán, two saints, and the paschal controversy. Gilbert Márkus. *Innes Review*, 68 (May, 2017), 1–18.

Quand disparut le monastère féminin du Der? L'éphémère communauté monastique champenoise de Puellemontier (dernier quart du VII^{e} siècle). Patrick Corbet. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 102 (July–Dec. 2016), 241–56.

Bede's *Martyrologium* and the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Frederick M. Biggs. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 134 (Dec. 2016), 241–78.

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