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Saint Geneviève and the Anointing of the Sick

THOMAS M. IZBICKI*

By the twelfth century anointing of the sick, the sacrament of Extreme Unction, was tied to penance and was the province of priests. Nonetheless, the Scholastics treated the past role of holy persons not ordained to the priesthood as healers, who anointed with oil. The example they treated most often was that of Saint Geneviève of Paris. The theologians concluded that prayers of saints might be more effective than those of a priest in physical healing, but any anointing they did was not sacramental, neither forgiving venial sins nor abolishing "remnants of sin" to prepare the soul for the afterlife.

Keynotes: Ministry to the sick, healing, anointing, Extreme Unction, St. Geneviève of Paris, Miracle of the Burning Ones, Ergotism, Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, three main scholastics

Christian ministry to the sick has a long history. Only gradually did it become the province of the ordained clergy. Reminders exist of an earlier involvement in this ministry of lay persons and saints who were not ordained, who anointed the sick.[1] When the Scholastics systematized the seven sacraments, they presented arguments for clerical ministry to those in danger of death, but they felt obliged to confront evidence of healing prac-

* Dr. Izbicki is Humanities Librarian Emeritus at Rutgers University.

1. The canonists eventually reserved ministry to the sick to parish priests and (with their permission) deacons; see Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge, 2015), 202. However, a canon attributed the seventh-century Council of Reims said that women and lay men had been permitted to carry communion to the sick; see *Decretum Gratiani*, ed. Emil Friedberg (Corpus Juris Canonici 1; Leipzig, 1922), col. 1323: De consecratione Distinction 2 c. 29, "Peruenit ad notitiam nostram, quod quidam presbiteri in tantum paruipendant diuina misteria, ut laico aut feminae sacrum corpus Domini tradant ad deferendum infirmis. . . ."

ticed by the saints by anointing, distinguishing it from sacramental ministry, although both types of healing involved divine action through the person anointing. Their arguments about healing by holy persons as possibly sacramental, advanced to be refuted, will be documented below. They dealt especially with the healings effected by saints like Geneviève of Paris, whose ability to cure the sick or possessed was tied to acts of anointing but also to holiness of life.[2] Although a formal role for lay persons had long ceased in practice, the Scholastics found it necessary to distinguish the use of blessed oils by saints in healing from the sacramental anointing of the dangerously ill by priests. That rite became known as Extreme Unction in authoritative texts like the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. One important factor distinguishing saintly healing from Extreme Unction was the close relationship of the sacrament to penance, healing souls of sin even when bodies were dying.

Anointing of the sick has been a part of Christianity since biblical times. Anointing by the apostles was mentioned in Mark's gospel [Mk. 6:13]:

> They cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many who were sick and cured them.[3]

A more detailed text about anointing the sick in found in the Epistle of James [Js. 5:13–15]:

> Are any among you sick? They should call for the elders of the church and have them pray over them, anointing them with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith will save the sick man, and the Lord will raise him up; and if he has committed sins, he will be forgiven.[4]

This text, which was highlighted by Peter Lombard when discussing the origins of the sacraments, ties physical healing to the forgiveness of sins, a connection which shaped the sacrament of Extreme Unction.[5] Both pas-

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2. The Penitential of Cummean complicated matters by conflating the intercession of the saints with the ministry to the sick described in the Epistle of James; see *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "Libri poenitentiales: and Selections from Related Documents*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer (New York, 1938), 100.

3. Andrew Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick: A Theological and Canonical Study* (Langham, MD, 1993), 61–62. These texts are quoted from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. The Council of Trent cited this text as proof that Christ established the sacrament; see Charles W. Gusmer, *And You Visited Me: Sacramental Ministry to the Sick and Dying* (New York, 1989), 6–7.

4. The Vulgate Latin reads, "Infirmatur quis in vobis? Inducat presbyteros ecclesiae, et orent super eum . . . ungentes cum oleo in nomine Domini. . . ."

5. *The Sentences*, trans. Giulio Silano, vol. 4 (Toronto, 2007–10), 136. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 1–11, 91–92. Oil of the sick was more readily distinguished from chrism than from the oil of catechumens; see ibid, 94–96.

sages fit into a larger Judeo-Christian context of anointing with oil for healing and consecration.

For centuries anointing was used to address many ailments, including those which threatened death. Beginning in the third century, we know that oil was consecrated by bishops for anointing by clergy and lay persons, even by the sick themselves. There is evidence of lay anointing from Italy, Gaul and Visigothic Spain in liturgical texts from several centuries. The evidence also includes a letter of Pope Innocent I, reflecting Roman usage, which mentions anointing by the laity.[6] However, there was increasing sentiment, noted by the Venerable Bede, for anointing by priests. An important step dates from Merovingian times when Caesarius of Arles employed the Epistle of James to compose a "specifically clerical" rite of anointing, connecting it with penance. The Carolingian reformers and their successors concluded that sacramental anointing was a spiritual rite, connected to penance and that priests were the proper ministers. Recipients of the sacrament should be those in danger of death, who needed to be cleansed of spiritual stains. An additional factor was a fear that the ailing lay person might turn to magic, even using sacred things, in attempts to heal themselves. These sentiments were reflected in the decrees of Carolingian councils, including those held in the German and Italian lands possessed by Charlemagne, which required anointing by priests.[7] The rite used for visiting the sick which prevailed in the West was originated at Cluny and spread via the Roman pontifical. It coupled anointing with penance, viaticum and prayers, preparing the dying for the transition from earthly life to the afterlife.[8]

The movement toward clerical administration also required greater responsibility from these ministers. Disciplinary canons of councils con-

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6. Michael G. Lawler, *Symbol Sacrament: A Contemporary Sacramental Theology* (Omaha, 1995), 162–63; Gusmer, *And You Visited Me*, 23. On blessings of oil, see Antoine Chavasse, *Études sur l'onctione des infirmes dans l'église du III^e^ au XI^e^ siècle*, vol. 1 (Doctoral thesis, Lyon, 1942), 29–89.

7. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 17–29, 161–66; Lawler, *Symbol Sacrament*, pp. 163–64; Frederick Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieva Europe* (Ithaca, 1996), 50–51. On the fear of magic using sacred things; see Philippe Rouillard, "The Anointing of the Sick in the West," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 4, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN, 1997), 171–90 at 172; Thomas M. Izbicki, "*Manus temeraria*: Custody of the Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law", in: *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Esztergom, 3–8 August 2008*, ed. Peter Erdö and Sz. Anzel Szuromi (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C; Vatican City, 2010), 539–52.

8. Rouillard, "The Anointing of the Sick in the West," 176–77. This rite, which required a priest, was systematized in the ritual issued by Paul V in 1614.

demned clergy who charged for the rite of anointing (simony) or failed to perform it, allowing a parishioner to die without spiritual comfort. Thus, the rite was well on its way to being called the Last Anointing, Extreme Unction, which became its universal name by the twelfth century in the West. Because of this connection of the rite with mortality, there was a continuing concern among the clergy that the ailing faithful dreaded asking for anointing from fear of imminent death.[9]

Theological connections of sin to illness tied anointing to the sacrament of penance, until it became more a spiritual than a physical healing rite.[10] Ultimately, theologians, including Peter Abelard and Hugh of Saint Victor, concluded that unction had a twofold end, primarily cleansing the soul but secondarily possible healing of the body. This conclusion strengthened the belief that a priest or bishop was the proper minister of unction administered to those in danger of death.[11] The connection of unction to penance helps explain the practice of anointing the five senses, the feet and the loins, the means of sin.[12] Some medieval theologians regarded extreme unction, like confirmation, as originating with Christ but not promulgated fully until after the Holy Spirit was manifested at Pentecost.[13] The Scholastics differed on the spiritual effect of Extreme Unction. The Franciscans and the canon lawyers regarded it as removing venial sins, but the Dominicans said it removed "remnants of sin" (*reliquiae peccati*). Nonetheless, physical healing remained a desired effect of the rite.[14] The Scholastics by the thirteenth century had raised theoretical questions whether anointing by a truly holy person might be more effective than that by a sinful member of the clergy and whether a saint, even if not ordained, could administer the sacrament of anointing.

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9. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 38–42. A capitulary of Charlemagne forbade letting the sick die without anointing, reconciliation and viaticum; see *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 389.

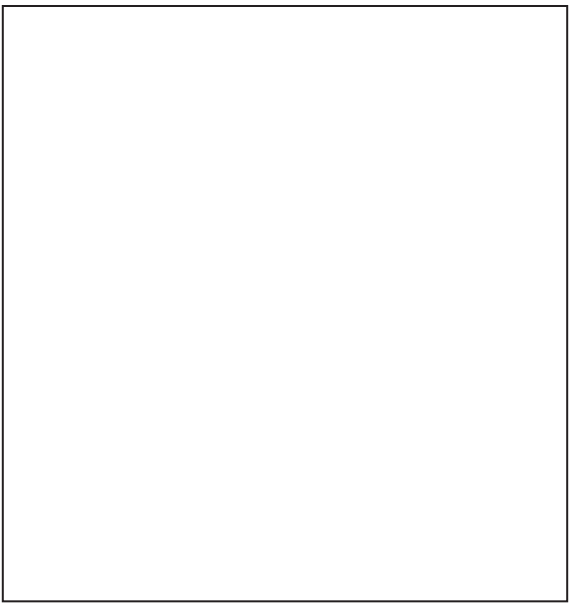
10. This connection was drawn in the early Church; see Gonzalo Florez, *Penitencia y unción de los enfermos* (Madrid, 1993), 317–23; José Luis Larrabe, *La iglesia y el sacramento de la unción de los enfermos* (Salamanca, 1974), 14-19, 25–30.

11. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 43–44, 48–49, 63–64, 72, 167–0; Bernhard Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick* (New York, 1964).

12. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 102–104, 106. The most common form of this rite in the Middle Ages begins with the eyes, using the words, "Per istam sanctam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam parcat tibi dominus quicquid oculorum uicio deliquisti. . ."; see, for example, Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 75, fol. 104vb.

13. See, for example, Dionysius Carthusianus, *Divi Dionysii Carthvsiani in sententiarum Librvm IIII. Comentarii Locuoletissimi*. . . (Venice, 1584), 310B.

14. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 67–68; Larrabe, *La iglesia y el sacramento de la unción de los enfermos*, 54–72.



File: Extreme Unction (1485) Rogier Van der Weyden (Wikimedia Commons)

Geneviève or Genovefa has long been revered as the patron saint of Paris with her major feast on January 3. She is best known for having saved the city from Attila the Hun in the year 451 AD. Geneviève also was a well-known healer and exorcist. For example, she anointed and exorcised three married women, as an early hagiographer reports:

> She entered into each of the matron's houses with a prayer and blessed them and anointed them with oil, cleansing them of their troublesome demons.

An aid in her work was holy oil blessed by the bishop of Paris. Geneviève's was so assertive, showing her authority through prayers, processions, healings, and collection of revenues, that Lisa Bitel has described it as "bishop-like," so like a clerical role that it is reported to have antagonized some. Moreover, her vessel of oil was reputed to have been refilled miraculously when it was found empty during the bishop's absence:

> For the bishop who should bless the oil for her had gone away. She lay down on the ground begging help from heaven with her sacred prayers in delivering the afflicted ones. As she arose from her prayers, the vessel in her hand filled itself with oil.

Once the saint was dead, the vessel was retained as a relic. As the hagiographer says, drawing on his own observation:

> And three times six years after her death, I myself saw the vessel with the oil which had materialized by her prayers and I decided to write the story of her life.[15]

Other *vitae* added stories about Geneviève related to oils. One recorded the expulsion by the saint of a demon from a flask of oil bought by a woman from a merchant. Perhaps more important for Geneviève's cult was the report that a lamp burned endlessly before her tomb. The oil from that lamp was believed to be useful in effecting cures. Both of these stories would enter into later hagiographic texts.[16]

Geneviève's healing role, especially her practice of anointing, entered theological discourse beginning in the mid thirteenth century. Her cult had endured in Paris, where she was invoked for deliverance from floods and excessive rain.[17] Geneviève also was venerated as a healer, receiving *ex voto* offerings from those she helped.[18] The saint may have come to the attention of the university's masters through liturgy, hagiographic readings, or festal sermons.[19]

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15. *Acta sanctorum* for January 3, accessed online on December 17, 137–53, esp. 142–43, 725 (addenda). The longest early text of the saint's *vita* is translated in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages,* ed. Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg (Durham, NC, 1992), 17–37 at 34-36; Lisa M. Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genovefa of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe* (Oxford, 2009), 58, 63, 70–71.

16. *Acta sanctorum* for January 3, 147, 149. On oil of the lamp, see Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 14–15. This effusion of oil places resembles the miracles of the *myroblytes*, saints whose tombs gushed miraculous oil; see Sylvia Elizabeth Mullins, "Myroblytes: Miraculous Oil in Medieval Europe," Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 2017.

17. For a sermon crediting the saint with saving Paris from floods, see *Catalogus codicum hagiographicum Latinorum antiquorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi ediderunt hagiographi Bollandiani*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1893), 275. On Geneviève as protector against floods, see Moshe Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden, 1998), 29–46, 54, 56–58, 86–87, 90, 145–49, 217–19. One invocation of the saint's aid against flood is dated to 1206.

18. Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints*, 95, esp. Figure 4.1, 195–97, 213–20. Among those who offered an *ex voto* was Erasmus, who was healed of a fever; see Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris*, 26–27, 69, 103.

19. See the sermon by Stephen of Tournai on the theme *Sapientia vincit maliciam* (Sap. 7:30) in Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit des Mittelalters 1150–1350*, vol. 5 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43/5; Münster, 1974), 510. By the early fifteenth century there were brief miracle plays in French focused on Geneviève; see Edward J. Gallagher, "Civic Patroness and Moral Guide: The Role of the Eponymous Heroine in the Miracles de Sainte

The feast of the saint which most likely drew attention of her healing power was not the major one in January. Nor was the commemoration of the translation of Geneviève a likely occasion, whether celebrated separately or being added to the feast of Saints Simon and Jude as a commemoration. However, a third feast with a focus on healing had been added on November 26. The feast of the miracle of the "Burning Ones" (*miraculum ardentium*) recalled an outbreak of ergotism in Paris during the reign of King Louis VII (1129 AD). The ending of the outbreak was attributed to Geneviève after supplications were offered in the cathedral of Notre Dame in the presence of her relics.[20] A collect for the saint's feast, found in a late fifteenth century missal, invokes her in the context of enjoying both spiritual and physical health by her merits and intervention.[21] The portraits of the saint ordinarily depicted her with a long candle, sometimes with an angel lighting it while a demon tries to extinguish it.[22] In a few cases, however, an illumination shows a procession with Geneviève's relics to invoke her against floods or ergotism, the latter invocation being made on the feast of the *miraculum ardentium*.[23]

Geneviève's January feast and the commemoration of the translation of her relics in October were mentioned at least as early as the mid ninth-century martyrology of Usuard.[24] She also was mentioned in the *vitae* of Saint Germain of Auxerre, who, together with Lupus of Troyes, led Geneviève to embrace a religious life.[25] More to our point, a life of Geneviève from the twelfth or thirteenth century repeated stories of the

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Geneviève (c. 1429) from MS 1131 from the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris", *Studia Neophilologica* 80 (2008), 30–42.

20. *Acta sanctorum* for January 3, 137–38. For the place of these feasts on liturgical calendars of Paris, see, e.g., Bibliothèque National de France, MS Latin 1052, fol. 1^{r}, 5^{v}–6^{r}, accessed via Gallica, http://gallica.bnf.fr, October 17, 2016; Roger S. Weick, *The Medieval Calendar: Locating Time in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2017), 37–70 at 38, 40, 44.

21. *Missale Parisiense* (Paris, 1497), fol. XXva, "Beate genouefe uirginis domine deus gloriosis meritis adiuuemur et eius sacro interuentu corporis et anime sanitate gaudentes gratia cooperante saluemur," http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k991398b/f556.image, accessed on August 29, 2017.

22. This iconography has been checked the Index of Christian Art, ArtSTOR and Google Images.

23. See the website of the Bibliothèque Saint Geneviève, http://www-bsg.univ-paris1.fr/procession-de-la-chasse-de-sainte-genevieve-origines-et-causes, accessed on October 19, 2016.

24. *Martyrologium Usuardi* in *Acta sanctorum* for June 3, 8, accessed online on December 17, 2016, "*Tertia Nonarumque dies celebrat Genovefam*." For a mention of the translation of her relics, see the *Auctaria* for October 19 in ibid, 633–44.

25. *Acta sanctorum* for July 31, 211–12, 216, accessed online on December 17, 2016.

saint's effecting cures with oil; and it retold the story that the lamp burning at her tomb yielded an oil useful in cures.[26]

The older stories about the saint came together with her healing of ergotism in thirteenth and fourteenth century vernacular hagiography. The saint's healing role appears in a life of the saint in French verse. The miracle of the Burning Ones was included in that text, saying that the epidemic was eased as soon as Geneviève's relics were carried into Notre Dame.[27] Some other miracles in this life reflect the older traditions. In one story, Geneviève anoints and cures a child with multiple disabilities.[28] Another combines the healing of a female servant possessed by devils with the miraculous refilling of the saint's ampule of oil.[29] An inversion of this story has the saint drive devils out of a vessel of oil a maid servant had bought from a merchant.[30] This connection of Saint Geneviève with miraculous oil continued in the vernacular. In the verse text, the lamp before the saint's tomb never runs out of oil, which has healing properties.[31] Versions of these stories appeared in French prose lives of the saint.[32] A sixteenth-century edition of Usuard's martyrology added the *miraculum ardentium* and its liturgical commemoration to mention of the earlier feasts.[33]

Saint Geneviève's role as a healer became part of the medieval theology of the sacraments through the twelfth-century *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and its commentators. The belief that there were seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation, penance, the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, holy orders and matrimony—had become canonical with the *Sentences*, which provided a systematic collection of key theological, especially patristic texts for study.[34] By the thirteenth century, commenting on the *Sentences* was *de rigueur* for students of theology at the University of Paris, many of these lectures circulating as written commentaries or compiled questions on the meaning of the texts.[35] These Paris-trained theologians regarded priests as

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26. *Acta sanctorum* for January 3, 152.

27. Lennart Bohm, *La vie de Sainte Geneviève: Poème religieux* (Uppsala, 1955), 199–200.

28. Bohm, *La vie de Sainte Geneviève*, 178–79.

29. Bohm, *La vie de Sainte Geneviève*, 184–85.

30. Bohm, *La vie de Sainte Geneviève*, 176–77.

31. Bohm, *La vie de Sainte Geneviève*, 188–89.

32. Anders Bengtsson, *La vie de sainte Geneviève: Cinq versions en prose des XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles* (Stockholm, 2006), 37–38, 42, 44, 73, 80, 82, 105–06. The miracle of the burning ones appears in ibid, 85.

33. *Acta sanctorum* for January 3, 137.

34. *The Sentences*, trans. Silano, vol. 4, 3–233.

35. Gillian R. Evans and Philipp W. Rosemann, *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Current Research*, 3 volumes (Leiden, 2002–10). Rosemann, *Peter*

the usual ministers of the sacraments, able to absolve penitents and consecrate the Eucharist, anoint the sick. A wedding couple administered the sacrament of matrimony to one another, but they were instructed to do so in the presence of their priest.[36] Bishops confirmed the newly baptized and ordained priests. Certain of these rites, baptism, confirmation and holy orders were believed to impose a character on the soul. The imposition of a character by confirmation and orders required a bishop, but the theologians allowed an exception to the rule about the clergy as the usual ministers of the sacraments for baptism in an emergency. In such cases, any lay person, male or female, could act if no priest was present, using whatever water was available, with their acts imposing a character upon the soul. (At least one theologian believed that Christ consecrated all waters for baptismal use by contact with his body when John the Baptist baptized him in the River Jordan [Matt. 3:13-17].[37]) Performance of the rite was allowed to the laity when a newly born child was in danger of dying without that essential, saving sacrament. Even then a priest was expected to determine whether the rite had been administered correctly, even possibly in an abbreviated form and in the vernacular, performing a conditional baptism when a defect in the original rite made this necessary.[38]

This near clerical monopoly on sacramental functions was treated, among other places, in discussions of Extreme Unction. Peter Lombard had treated the sacrament briefly in Distinction 23 of Book IV of the *Sentences*.[39] In typical Scholastic fashion, commentators on the *Sentences* posed arguments pro and con about a statement before moving on to an explication of doctrine and replies to rejected arguments. They did exactly that

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Lombard (Oxford, 2004). Antoninus of Florence granted that someone in danger of a violent death or infirm might confess to a lay person but that this was not necessary. Moreover, if that person survived, confession to a priest was still necessary; see *Tractatus de instructione seu directione simplicium confessorum* (Cologne: Zell, 1469), fol. S2^{v}.

36. See, for example, the *Praecepta antiqua* of Rouen in Mansi 23.383, "Et hoc tamen non fiat sine praesentia Sacerdotis." Local steps were made to prevent clandestine marriages without banns even before the Council of Trent acted against those unions; see Charles Donahue, "Thoughts on Diocesan Statutes: England and France, 1200–1500," in *Canon Law, Religion and Politics: Liber amicorum Robert Somerville*, ed. Uta-Renata Blumenthal, Anders Winroth and Peter Landau (Washington, DC, 2012), 253–71 at 259–62, 265–70.

37. Richard of Middleton, *Scriptum super quarto sententiarum* (Venice, 1489), sig. n 4^{r}a, "ad hoc vt fit huius sacramenti materia. quam ordinationem Christus instituit suo facto. ad cuiusmodi similitudinem dicitur aquas consecrasse quando fuit baptizatus. eo quod illo facto aquam ordinauit ad hoc vt esset materia sacramenti baptismatis."

38. Thomas M. Izbicki, "Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John Wei (forthcoming).

39. *The Sentences*, trans. Silano, 136–38. Florez, *Penitencia y unción de los enfermos*, 334.

when discussing the questions who was the proper minister of this last sacrament. They concluded uniformly, despite the theoretical objections they raised, that an ordained priest was the proper minister, while a bishop was supposed to consecrate the holy oils.[40] Although anointing by lay person had long ago ceased, this issue of sacramental ministry was serious enough to be treated methodically by more than one theologian. In addition, ministry to the sick by religious was prohibited in canon law. A decree of the First Lateran Council (1122 AD) forbade abbots and monks from visiting the sick and anointing them. Coupled with the council's prohibition of celebrating public masses and imposing penances, it is likely that monks had been ministering to the faithful in ways the secular clergy believed were theirs alone.[41] This canon entered Gratian's *Decretum*, as the canon *Interdicimus* [C. 16 q. 1 c. 10].[42]

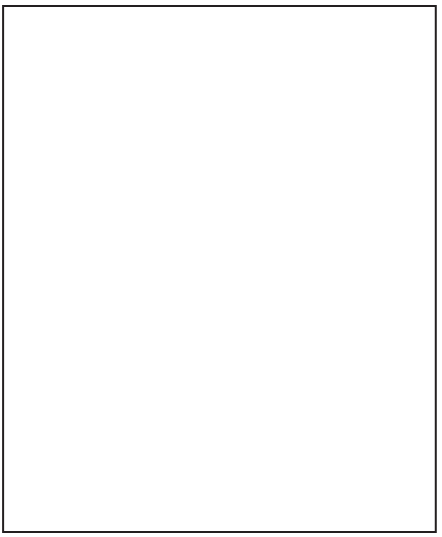
Among the theoretical objections presented by theologians to the priestly role in the administration of Extreme Unction, the anointing role of Geneviève was treated most often. With Geneviève, the Parisian commentators intended to explain away not just the healing role of a saint as not sacramental, but the fact that she was a woman and thus not eligible for priestly orders.[43] Although this objection was no longer of practical importance, it allowed theologians to defend the priestly role in the administration of Extreme Unction. Who was the very first commentator on the *Sentences* to mention Saint Geneviève is unclear. Nor can we be certain on which source Parisian theologians might have been drawing when they mentioned her. Those writers who referred to the saint's role in anointing the sick were members of the orders of friars. Among them were three towering figures in medieval theology, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas,

40. *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge G. Gracia and Thomas B. Noone (London, 2003); *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Arthur S. McGrade (Cambridge, 2003).

41. *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, vol. 2, pt. 1, ed. Alberto Melloni and Davide Dainese (Turnhout, Belgium, 2013), 93 (c. 16), "Interdicimus abbatibus et monachis publicas poetitentias dare, infirmos visitare et unctiones facere et misssas publicas cantare." Anne J. Duggan, "Conciliar Law 1123–1215: The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, DC, 2008), 318–66 at 326.

42. *Corpus Juris Canonici*, 1.763. The Ordinary Gloss on this text emphasized the role of bishops over that of parish priests in rites forbidden to monks; see *Decretum divi Gratiani* (Lyon: Ioannes Pidaeius, 1553), 721–22.

43. For a look at the history of the exclusion of women from holy orders, see Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2008).



Tomb of Saint Geneviève in Eglise Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in Paris (Wikimedia Commons)

and Bonaventure. They employed the case of Geneviève to buttress their teachings by distinguishing spiritual healing as the primary function of Extreme Unction from physical healing, the secondary purpose of the sacrament, which might be affected by miracles.

Albertus may have been the first to cite Geneviève's anointings in discussions of Extreme Unction when commenting on the *Sentences*, but he did not deal with her in this context directly as a lay minister of the sacrament. Instead this Dominican pointed out in his commentary, in order to reply to the argument, that Geneviève had used an oil which was "sanctified and blessed" to help the sick, a reference to the oil blessed by the bishop of Paris mentioned in her legend, as evidence that she had administered the sacrament of Extreme Unction by helping body and soul. This argument maintained that the various anointings done by Christians, especially by saints, muddled the distinction between other acts of anointing and Extreme Unction.[44] In his reply to that argument, Albertus said

44. Albertus Magnus, *Scriptum super quartum sententiarum* (Basel, 1506), sig. aaa [7]^{v}a, "Adhuc vnctiones multe leguntur facte a sanctis sicut de beata Genovefa legitur quod vnxit oleo infirmos santificato et benedicto et conualuerunt in corpore et anima: ergo videtur quod illa fuit vnctio extrema."

Geneviève's anointings for healing and those by other saints had to be distinguished properly from certain other rites, the anointing of catechumens or of priests and kings, not because of illness but to strengthen them.[45]

Albertus also presented an argument that there was no proper form of Extreme Unction because Geneviève and the saints of Egypt blessed their own oil for use in curing the sick.[46] Albertus did not at first answer this argument in its entirety. Instead he argued that a specific form was needed to grant grace, just as was true of the other sacraments.[47] Eventually, however, he did reply that the anointings done by saints were not necessarily spiritually effective. They did not remove "the remnants of sins" (*reliquiae peccatorum*) as a sacrament did. Moreover, these acts derived their effects from the "devotion and sanctity of the one who blessed" the oil. However, more was needed than blessed oil, a correct form of administration was essential to effect Extreme Unction, and such a form was not used by a saint like Geneviève.[48] Thus these saints had not administered a sacrament.

It was not, however, the only such objection Albertus raised. In his tract on the sacraments, the friar brought forward the example of Saint Columba, an Irish abbot but not a bishop, who distributed an oil he had consecrated. Albertus replied by distinguishing between anointing with Columba's oil and the sacrament of Extreme Unction, administered with olive oil consecrated by a bishop.[49]

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45. Albertus Magnus, *Scriptum super quartum . . . super quartum sententiarum*, sig. aaa [7]^{v}b, "Ad hoc quod obijcitur de vnctione sanctorum sicut sancta genouefe et aliorum quorundam in uitas patrum per hoc autem quod additur ad alleuiationem vtriusque infirmitatis etc. distinguitur ab vnctionibus puerorum in cathecismo vnctionibus aliorum qui vnguntur non propter infirmitatem sed vt fortes sint ad opera." Albertus, in another argument, references the anointing of priests and kings; see ibid sig. aaa [7]^{v}a.

46. Albertus Magnus, *Scriptum super quartum . . . super quartum sententiarum*, sig aaa [8]^{v}a, "Secunda autem ex hoc quod Genouefa et sancti patres in Egypto miserunt oleum a se benedictum ad vngendum infirmos et sanabantur. Inde sic vnctio sanctorum non requirit formam aliam quam sanctificationem materie: ergo nec vnctio extrema."

47. Albertus Magnus, *Scriptum super quartum . . . super quartum sententiarum*, sig. aaa [8]^{v}a.

48. Albertus Magnus, *Scriptum super quartum . . . super quartum sententiarum*, sig. [1]^{r}a, "Ad illud quod dicendum quod vnctiones sanctorum non certitudinaliter consequuntur suum effectum nec sunt ad purgandas reliquias peccatorum: ideo falsum est quod substantialis actus huius sacramenti idem sit cuum actu vnctionis que causatur ex deuotione et sanctitate benedicentis: et ideo alia forma requirit hoc sacramentum quam materie benedictionem." Albertus added an argument that any healing was not the effect of blessing the material, the oil, although the proper form required a disposition created by the blessing of the oil.

49. Albertus Magnus, *De sacramentis*, ed. Albert Ohlmeyer, in *Opera omnia* 26 (Münster, 1958), 133–34.

Bonaventure, a Franciscan and a younger contemporary of Albertus, raised the question of Geneviève's ability to anoint and heal when commenting on Book IV of the *Sentences*. This text discusses the sacramental role of lay persons in general, saying, for the sake of argument, that they could act when no priest was available. Bonaventure added an argument that Geneviève had been able to anoint and heal. This, he argued in order to refute it, meant that holy persons could administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction.[50] Bonaventure said, in reply, that the devotion of a holy lay person might make up for the absence of a priest in physical healing. Addressing the role of Geneviève, he said that, just as some might absolve by his or her merits and others *ex officio*, holy persons accomplishing by their merits what others, priests, did *ex officio*, this was to be understood about anointing.[51] This argument allowed Bonaventure to give the saint her due respect while allowing priests to remain the only true ministers of the sacrament proper.

A more direct argument about the proper minister of Extreme Unction was offered by Thomas Aquinas, who had studied with Albertus in Paris. His commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences* includes, at Distinction 23, a question: Whether a lay person could confer this sacrament? The Angelic Doctor presented two theoretical arguments in favor of the proposition. The first was that the sacrament of Extreme Unction was efficacious through prayer (*ex oratione*). The prayer of a lay person could be as acceptable to God as that of a priest in this context. The second argument was more historical. The Desert Fathers of Egypt had sent oil to the sick, and the recipients of this gift were cured. He added the following:

> And similarly, it is said of Blessed Geneviève that she anointed the sick with oil.

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50. Bonaventura, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi:* vol. 4: *In quartum librum sententiarum* in *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae . . . Opera Omnia*, vol. 4 (Quaracchi, 1889), 596, "5. Item, quod ita *debet esse*, videtur: quia illud est Sacramentum eorum qui sunt in extremo mortis articulo; sed talibus frequenter non potest subveniri per sacerdotem: ergo videtur, quod saltem per laicum eis subveniri possit. 6. Item, hoc ostenditur *exemplo*, quia legitur in legenda sancta Genovefae, quod ipsa inungebat oleo infirmos et curabat eos; ergo videtur, quod hoc saltem spectat ad viros sanctos."

51. Bonaventura, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum*, 597, "5. Ad illud quod obicitur de extremo mortis articulo, dicendum, quod devotio potest supplere absentiam sacerdotis; et ideo non est necesse omnibus committi, maxime cum sacerdos satis de facili potest adesse, nisi absit propter negligentiam infirmi. 6. Ad illud quod obicitur de sancta Genovefa, dicendum, quod, sicut supra habitum est, quod quidam absolvunt *merito*, quidam *ex officio*; sic intelligendum est in proposito. Unde sicut ad solos sacerdotes pertinet absolvere, tamen viri sancti frequenter impetrant vitae merito quod aliis faciunt ex officio; sic in unctione intelligendum est."

Thomas expected his readers to know that this anointing physically cured the sick. The contrary argument was that Extreme Unction was involved in the forgiveness of sins, a power which lay persons lacked.[52] Thomas backed this argument, when replying to the question about administering Extreme Unction, that hierarchic acts like this were received by the laity but not administered by them. He allowed only one exception, baptism by a lay person in a case of necessity (*in casu necessitatis*). Everyone had the "faculty" of spiritual regeneration to use in an emergency. His reply to the first argument on behalf of the laity that it was based on a distinction between private and public prayer. A priest might not be as worthy as a lay person in private prayer, but his public prayer was offered "in the person of the whole church" (*in persona totius Ecclesiae*). No lay person could offer such public prayers. The second argument was dismissed because these anointings were not sacramental. They were effective on account of the devotion of the recipients and the merits of those who anointed or sent oil for anointing. However, any healing achieved "by the grace of healing" was not the result of sacramental grace.[53]

Thomas died while still composing the third part of his *Summa theologiae*, which stops in the midst of the discussion of penance. At some time after the saint's death, a *Supplement* was added to the *Summa*, drawing texts from his commentary on the *Sentences*. The discussion of the proper minister for Extreme Unction appears in question 31 of this *Supplement*. The argument that Saint Geneviève and other holy lay persons "procured the effects of bodily health, through the grace of healing (1 Cor. 12:9)" is repeated verbatim at that location.[54]

A Dominican contemporary of Saint Thomas, Petrus de Tarantasio, the future Pope Innocent V, tackled the same issues in the light of the pre-

52. S. Tommaso d'Aquino, *Commento alle sentenze di Pietro Lombardo e testo integrale di Pietro Lombardo, Libro quarto: Distinzioni 14–23, La Penitenza, l'Unzione degli infermi*, trans. Roberto Coggi (Bologna, 1996), 982, "2. Praeterea, de quibusdam patribus in aegypto legitur, quod oleum ad infirmos transmittebant et sanabuntur, et similiter dicitur de beata Genovefa quod oleo infirmos ungebant. . . . Sed laici non habent potestatem dimittendi peccata." The translation above is mine.

53. Tommaso d'Aquino, *Commento alle sentenze*, 984, "Ad secundum dicendum, quod illae unctiones non errant sacramentales, sed ex quadam devotione recipientium talem unctionem, et meritis ungentium vel oleum mittentium consequebatur effectus sanitatis corporalis per gratiam sanitatum, non per gratiam sacramentalem."

54. The Latin appears in the Leonine edition of the *Summa*; see *Supplementum tertiae partis* in *Opera omnia* 12 (Rome, 1906), 58B–59A. For the English translation, see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, vol. 5 (Notre Dame, IN, 1981), 2661–62.

vious writings by Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure.[55] His commentary on the *Sentences* too raised the question whether a good lay person could administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction. Petrus also left room for examples of physical healing by holy women, especially the anointings done by Saint Geneviève, before moving to answer his own arguments.[56] The friar replied with the distinction, also used by Aquinas, between the worthy prayer of a private lay person and the public role of a priest. Citing the healing role of Geneviève, the friar distinguished between the sacrament administered by a priest and "miraculous healing" by a saint.[57]

This argument about Saint Geneviève appeared in a slightly different form in the commentary on the *Sentences* by Petrus de Palude, a fourteenth-century Dominican. Petrus asked whether a priest, meaning a simple priest and not a bishop, was the minister of Extreme Unction. Among the points he raised was that Saint Geneviève healed the sick with oil she sent to them although she, as a holy woman, was not capable of receiving holy orders.[58] This commentary argued that not even the pope could grant the ability to administer the sacrament to anyone not a priest.[59] The only sacrament a lay person could administer, however, was baptism, which imposes its character on the soul.[60]

Richard of Middleton, a Franciscan who commented on the *Sentences* late in the thirteenth century, also addressed the healing role of Saint Geneviève. Here too we find the argument that the prayer of a private

55. Kent Emery Jr., "The 'Sentences' Abbreviation of William de Rothwell", *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 51 (1984), 69–135 at 79.

56. *Innocentii Qvinti Pontificis maximi . . . in IV Libros Sententiarum commentaria*, 4 vols. (Toulouse, 1649-52; Ridegwood, NJ, 1964), vol. 4, 254A, "Ad primum sic proceditur, Videtur quòd possit conferri ab alio, quàm à presbytero. 1. Quia huius sacramenti efficacia in oratione consistit: sed efficacior est oratio boni laici, quàm mali presbyteri: ergo magis debet à bono laico, quàm malo presbytero conferri. 2. De sancta Genouefa legitur quod oleo infirmos inungebat & sanabuntur: ergo etiam à mulieribus sanctis hoc sacramentum potest tradi."

57. loc. cit., "Ad 1. de oratione. Resp. oratio quaedam est priuata, quaedam publica, quae sit quasi in persona Ecclesiae. Prima plus valet in bono laico: secunda plus in malo presbytero: quia competit ei ex officio, licet non ex vitae merito. Ad 2. de sancta Genouefa. Resp. inunctio illa non erat sacramentalis, sed miraculosa." The abbreviation of this commentary by William de Rothwell simply says priests, but not lay persons, are ministers of the sacraments; see *Excerptum super quatuor libros sententiarum*, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 686, fol. 122^{v}a.

58. Petrus de Palude, *Scriptum in quartum sententiarum* (Venice, 1493), fol. 121^{r}a, "Et videtur quod sic quia sancta Genovefa oleo sancto misso ad infirmos sanabat eosque ratione sexus non erat capax ordinis quamvis sancta. . . ."

59. loc.cit., "nec papa posset committere non sacerdoti iniungere. . . ."

60. loc.cit., "Tertia conclusio est quod laicus in nulla necessitate potest quia solum sacramentum quod est necessitate vt baptismus potest ministrare et nullum aliud."

person might be better than that of a bad priest. The prayers accompanying anointing were in the deprecative or begging mode, making the effect more dependent on the worth of the person praying, including a good lay person.[61] Like other theologians, Richard, after raising the question of administration of the sacrament by a woman, replied that no lay person, not even a saint like Geneviève, could perform most of the sacraments.[62] The friar also argued that a priest's prayers were more efficacious in administering a sacrament because they were offered on behalf of the whole Church with its collective merits. In addition, Extreme Unction was a penitential sacrament, and the administration of the sacrament was a priest's function "since penance is public."[63]

Richard of Middleton's discussion of Geneviève was transmitted widely in England via a fourteenth-century pastoral manual, the *Pupilla oculi*. Although it was loosely based on the *Oculus sacerdotis* of William of Pagula, its author, Johannes de Burgo, added theological content derived from writers like Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Richard of Middleton. Discussing Extreme Unction, Johannes, following Scotus, said that the reference to presbyters anointing a sick person and offering prayers in the Epistle of James showed that the sacrament's minister had to be a priest. Administration by a lay person would have no effect, just as nothing would happen if a member of the laity attempted to consecrate the Eucharist.[64] The *Pupilla* then adds, citing Richard, that what is read of

61. Richard of Middleton, *Scriptum super quarto sententiarum*, sig. n 3^{v}b: "[S]ecundo queritur vtrum possit conferri a non presbytero. Et videtur quod sic. quia melior est oratio boni laici quam mali sacerdotis. Sed hoc sacramentum efficaciam habet ex oratione. Unde forma eius est deprecatiua. ergo magis potest conferri a bono laico quam a sacerdote minus bono."

62. Richard of Middleton, *Scriptum super quarto sententiarum*, sig. n 3^{v}b–4^{r}a, "Respondeo quod hoc sacramentum conferri non potest a non presbyteris. Soli enim presbyteri propter sacrorum ecclesiasticorum dignitatem constitute sunt administratores eorum. Unde illud quod legitur de sancta Genouefa quod oleo vngebat infirmos et sanabuntur miraculum fuit non sacramentale."

63. Richard of Middleton, *Scriptum super quarto sententiarum*, sig. n 4^{r}a, "Ad primum in oppositum dicendum quod quamuis priuata oratio sacerdotis minus boni non sit ita efficax sicut oratio laici melioris. Tamen oratio eius persona est publica est efficacior. quia efficaciam habet ex vi meriti totius ecclesie. oratio autem inquantum est forma huius sacramenti conuenit presbytero inquantum penitentia publica est."

64. Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 75, fol. 104^{v}a, "Minister conueniens huius sacramenti est sacerdos non solum qui licite exercet huius sacramenti ministerium sed qui solus ministrare potest. Ita quod si alius non sacerdos attemptaret, nihil faceret sicut sacerdos attemptaret conficere nihil faceret, unde Iacobi 5to[:14], Inducant sacerdotes etc. ubi ponitur ministri determinacio secundum Scotum." Cf. *Scotus super quarto sententiarum* (Venice, 1505), fol. 96^{v}b.

Saint Geneviève anointing and healing pertains to miracles, not to the sacrament of Extreme Unction.[65]

The distinction between individual sanctity, whether of a holy man like Columba or a holy woman like Geneviève, and the role of a priest was firmly established in the thirteenth and fourteenth century Scholastic theology. Even writers on the *Sentences* who made no reference to individual saints knew and used it. Thus, Hannibaldus de Hannibaldis, a student of Thomas Aquinas, said that the prayers of a good lay person might be as well received by God as those of a sinful priest; but the priest prayed on behalf of the whole Church when administering Extreme Unction. This meant that the lay person was not administering the sacrament, even though praying for a sick person.[66] Likewise Durandus de Sancto Porciano, an early fourteenth-century Dominican, made much the same argument. A bad priest could offer public prayers on behalf of all because of the merits of the whole Church (*meritis ecclesiae*).[67] Likewise the Augustinian theologian Thomas of Strasbourg, also writing in the fourteenth century, drew this distinction. A bad priest's prayers when administering a sacrament were efficacious *ex officio*.[68] This line of argument, answering any claim of the laity to sacramental functions, was all the more desirable when confronting the case of Saint Geneviève, an undoubted holy woman who anointed and healed but was regarded as incapable of receiving the sacramental character of holy orders. Thus, the working of miracles by a female saint could be accepted as long as she was not misunderstood to have a status like that of an ordained priest or even of a con-

65. Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, loc. cit., "Unde quod legitur de sancta Genouefa quod ungebat oleo infirmos et sanabantur ad miraculum pertinuit non ad sacramentum, secundum Ric. D. 23." Johannes adds that this role belonged to the simple priests because bishops were too busy to administer this sacrament to all their subjects.

66. Hannibaldus de Hannibaldis, *Diui Thomae Aquinatis ordinis praedicatorum, doctoris angelici, secundum scriptum appellatum, super quatuor libros Sententiarum ad Hannibaldensem S. R. E. cardinalem*. . . (Paris, 1574), fol. 519^{r}, "Ad primum, oratio laici, dicendum quod verum est loquendo de illa oratione quae fit a sacerdote persona sua, quae cum sacerdos sit quandoque peccator, non est exaudibilis. Sed huius sacramenti oratio fit in persona totius ecclesiae, in cuius persona sacerdos orare potest quasi persona publica, non autem laicus, qui est persona priuata." Hannibaldus also denied (loc. cit.) that a deacon could confer the grace of this sacrament.

67. *D. Durandi a Sancto Porciano super sententias theologiae Petri Lombardi commentariorum libri quatuor*. . . (Paris, 1550), fol. 310^{r}a, "Ad 1: Dicendum quòd oratio priuata innitur meritis personae, & melior est si fiat à bono laico, quàm si si fiat à malo sacerdote, sed oratio publica quae fit à ministro ecclesiae, & innitur communibus meritis ecclesiae melior est quàm oratio priuata cuiuslibet personae, dato quòd minister sit malus in se."

68. Thomas of Strassburg, *Commentaria in IIII libros sententiarum* (Venice, 1564; Ridgewood, NJ, 1965), fol. 253^{r}b.

secrated bishop. Perhaps prevalence of this widely-known line of argument, or a shift away from pastoral issues in *Sentences* commentaries,[69] explains the disappearance of Geneviève from most later theological texts until the sixteenth century.

The argument about cures outside the sacrament was revived briefly in the sixteenth century. Domingo de Soto, a Salamanca Dominican theologian, discussed healing by saints outside the sacrament. His commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, drawing on the works of Thomas Aquinas, treated Extreme Unction as a hierarchic act (*actus hierarchicus*) not permitted to the laity.[70] Soto revived the argument that the Egyptian fathers and Saint Geneviève had anointed and cured the sick. He said in reply that these acts were not sacramental.[71] Robert Bellarmine later summarized Soto's opinion on the proper minister of Extreme Unction in his *Controversiae*.[72] He also mentioned anointings by saints like Martin of Tours, saying some saints noticed healings of recipients of Extreme Unction and consequently attempted cure of the sick with oil they had blessed themselves with the sign of the cross.[73]

Although theoretical discussion of the minister of Extreme Unction resumed briefly in the time of Domingo de Soto, the question was settled for all practical purposes by the Council of Trent.[74] In its first period, the council reaffirmed the seven sacraments in the face of the Reformers, who only accepted two (baptism and the Eucharist) or three (including penance). A decree, issued at Session VII (March 3, 1547), discussed sacraments *in genere*. The council's aim was:

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69. The printed commentary by Harvaeus Natalis, for example, ends abruptly during his discussion of the sacrament of penance; see *Hervei Natalis . . . in quatuor libros sententiarum commentaria. . .* (Paris, 1647; Farnborough, 1966), 361B.

70. Domingo de Soto, *Commentariorum Fratris Dominici Soto . . . in quartum Sententiarum liber primus* (Salamanca, 1557), 1052A, accessed via Hathi Trust, October 29, 2016.

71. *Dominici Soto . . . in quartum Sententiarum liber primus*, 1053B, "neque verò divus Thomas in praesentiarum hoc siluit: refert enim morem sanctorum patrum in Aegypto , qui oleum ad infirmos transmittebant, & sanabantur. Et beata quoque Genouefa olei vnctione infirmus salutem restituebat, quae quidem vnctiones non errant sacramenta."

72. *De controversiis christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos tomus tertius* in *Roberti Cardinalis Bellarmini opera omnia. . .* , 5 vols. in 4 (Naples, 1856–62), vol. 3, 760B.

73. *De controversiis christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos tomus tertius*, 758B-759A at 759A "Sed nos contrario modo conjicimus factum esse progressum istum olei, nimirum ex eo, quod in sacramento extremae Unctionis saepe accidebat, ut homines curarentur, inde coeperunt quidem viri sancti etiam extra sacramentum uti oleo, non quidem ab episcopo benedicto ad usum sacramenti, sed simpliciter signo crucis ab ipsis sanctificato, ad curandos morbos."

74. The treatment of Extreme Unction at Trent is outlined in André Duval, *Des sacraments au Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1985), 223–79.

> . . . the removal of errors and the rooting out of heresies, which have arisen at the present time concerning the most holy sacraments. . . .[75]

Extreme Unction was listed as the fifth of seven sacraments. Only baptism, confirmation and holy orders, each of which imprinted a character on the soul, could not be repeated, while the others could be. The decree declared those who rejected this teaching anathema.[76]

The council began discussing Extreme Unction in 1547, resuming in the second period, 1551–52. The fathers' attention was focused on Protestant errors. Martin Luther had said Extreme Unction was a human creation or only a rite accepted by the apostles. The Roman church did not follow Mark's gospel or James, he said, producing a rite which was not a sacrament (*hoc nihil est*). Philip Melanchthon had said that the elders of the people, not priests, had done anointing in the time of James. This was the first direct challenge to priestly ministry of the sacrament.[77]

In this context, the theoretical case of Geneviève largely ceased to matter to theologians. However, the fathers engaged in lively debates behind the scenes. They strove to refute Protestant errors about the sacrament with references to the Bible, the Fathers, and the general councils. They also based themselves on accepted medieval thought and practice, saying olive oil was used primarily to heal the soul, secondarily the body. However, an argument arose among them over the use of the term *extrema*. Some, considering the possibility that the primitive Church had anointed

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75. Translation in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2: *Trent to Vatican II*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington, DC, 1990), 684. For the Latin text, see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, vol. 3, ed. Alberto Melloni and Davide Dainese (Turnhout, Belgium, 2010), 40 [hereafter COGD]. On the periods of the council, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 279–82.

76. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 685; COGD, vol. 3, 40, 41. The seven sacraments had previously been listed in the Decree of Union with the Armenians, promulgated in Session VII of the Council of Florence on November 22, 1439; see COGD, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Turnhout, 2013), 1237. The Council of Trent's *symbolum* also listed seven sacraments; see Bernardus Leurent, "Le magistere et le mot 'extreme-onction' depuis le Concile de Trente," in *Problemi scelti di teologia contemporanea* (Rome, 1954), 219–32 at 226–27.

77. *Concilium Tridentinum, diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatuum nova collectio*, ed. Görres Gesellschaft, vol. 6 (Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1954), 96–97, 99–123, ibid vol. 7, pt. 1 (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1961), 239–40, 241–87, accessed online, February 7, 2017. For the condemned articles and related canons, see ibid, vol. 7, 292–325, 330–40. Luther attributed the rite's effect to the faith of the recipient, divorcing the letter of James from the institution of a sacrament; see Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 34. The Servite Hieronymus of Bologna replied that denying Extreme Unction was a sacrament made Christ a liar; see *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. 6, 103.

the sick and not just those facing death, recommended using the terms *unctio exeuntium* and *unctio infirmorum*. Others noted, however, that the Council of Florence used the words *unctio extrema* in the decree of union with the Armenians. In the end, the council retained the established terminology, thus neither contradicting their decree on the sacraments *in genere* nor agreeing with the Protestants.[78]

The decrees on penance and Extreme Unction were approved at Session XIV on November 25, 1551. The council described Extreme Unction as "the final complement not only of penance but also of the whole Christian life, which ought to be an ever-continuing penance."[79] The last sacrament was to fortify seriously ailing or dying believers, keeping the devil from shaking confidence in God's mercy.[80] The sacrament was described as instituted by Christ but promulgated by James. The matter was oil blessed by a bishop, and the form was in the words, "*By this anointing* etc.," which were used in the rite to take away sins. The council sided with the Dominican belief that Extreme Unction took away "the remains of sin" (*reliquiae peccati*).[81]

The theologians and prelates reaffirmed in their debates the role of the priest as the minister of Extreme Unction, phrasing their decree accordingly. The letter of James was quoted as proving that a presbyter should anoint, since this word meant "either bishops or duly ordained priests."[82]

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78. *Concilium Tridentinum, diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatuum nova collectio*, ed. Görres Gesellschaft, vol. 1 (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1963), 679–81, ibid, vol. 6, 311–13, 314–18, 328–30, 340–41, 354. One prelate said the council should add a canon affirming the bishop as maker of the sacrament and the priest as minister, but the council refused, see ibid, vol. 6, 316, 320. Some theologians and bishops said the apostles already were priests when they did the anointings mentioned by Mark, see ibid, vol. 6, 314, vol. 7, 256–57, 260–61, 281, 310–11. Leurent, "Le magistere et le mot 'extreme-onction,'" 219–26. An objection advanced to the term Extreme Unction was that it was a *vocabulum novum*; see Rouillard, "The Anointing of the Sick in the West," 176.

79. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 710; COGD, vol. 3, 70, "de sacramento extremae unctionis, quod non modo poentitentiae, sed et totius christianae vitae, quae perpetua poenitentia esse debet, comsummativam existematum est a patribus." Larrabe, *La iglesia y el sacramento de la unción de los enfermos*, 87–99.

80. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 710; COGD, vol. 3, 70–71.

81. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 710; COGD, vol. 3, 71. Two bishops affirmed both effects of the sacrament, see *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. 6, 317, 329.

82. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 710-11; COGD, vol. 3, 71–72, "Iam vero, quod attinet ad praescriptionem eorum, qui et suscipere et ministrare hoc sacramentum debent, haud obscure, fuit illud etiam in verbis predictis traditum. Nam et ostenditur illic, proprios huius sacramenti ministros esse ecclesiae presbyteros quo nomine eo loco non aetate seniores aut primores in populo intelligendi veniunt, sed aut episcopi aut sacerdotes ab ipsis

The text argues, against the Protestants, that the rite did not die out with the primitive Church, nor was it a "human fabrication." The Roman church provided the substance of the sacrament as instructed by James. Anyone who dissented from this teaching was insulting the Holy Spirit and "condemned under anathema."[83] Trent added canons condemning those who denied that the sacrament was instituted by Christ, promulgated by James and observed by the Roman church. These canons also condemned those who denied the good effects, spiritual and corporal, of the rite and those who argued that the elders, not ordained priests and bishops, were the proper ministers of Extreme Unction.[84]

This teaching remained in force long thereafter, being supported by theology and law, and affirmed in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*.[85] The papacy long retained the established name for the sacrament, including in the 1917 *Codex Iuris Canonici*.[86] A change in official terminology for the sacrament occurred only in the mid twentieth century, starting with Pius XII, whose encyclical *Mystici corporis* used the term *sacram infirmorum unctionem*. The Second Vatican Council, in *Lumen gentium*, then shifted the emphasis from danger of death to illness in general, referring to the sacrament as Anointing of the Sick (*infirmorum unctio*). The council reaffirmed the spiritual impact of the rite and the role of presbyters, commending ailing persons to Christ, as the appropriate ministers.[87] Recently suggestions have been made that deacons, religious sisters or lay chaplains

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rite ordinati *per imposition manuum presbyteri*." Cuscieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 113–14. Thomas de Samarino, a Servite, distinguished between the priest and the human physician in anointing, see *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. 6, 108, "et apostoli non civiliter ut medici humani, sed sacramentalliter ungebat, ut patet ex verbis Iacobi, quod, antequam ungerent, orabant."

83. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 711; COGD, vol. 3, 72. *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. 6, 128, ibid, vol. 7, 292–325, 355–57.

84. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 713; COGD, vol. 3, 75. Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 57–61. For early drafts of these canons, see *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. 6, 128, 309.

85. *Catechismus concilii Tridentini*. . . (Paris, 1831), 251–59. The priest is affirmed to be the minister at ibid, 257.

86. The fathers at Trent also discussed the term *oleum infirmorum*; see *Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. 6, 3 5-17, 329. Leurent, "Le magistere et le mot 'extreme-onction,'" 222, 229

87. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 857; COGD, vol. 3, 305. The council also ordered a new rite for ministry to the sick and revisions to the practice of anointing; see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 834; COGD, vol. 3, 276. Florez, *Penitencia y unción de los enfermos*, 337–40, 345–46. On subsequent developments, see Cuschieri, *Anointing of the Sick*, 74–76, 85–89, 100–06, 113–14, 121–25, 128–129, 138, 141–44; Florez, *Penitencia y unción de los enfermos*, 346-51; Larrabe, *La iglesia y el sacramento de la unción de los enfermos*, 103–13, 115–61, 163–67.

might anoint the sick because of the shortage of priests.[88] However, the case of Geneviève, theoretical as it was, no longer matters in this context. It had helped the Scholastics clarify the distinction between sacramental and miraculous healing, between saintly healers and ordained ministers, a theology reaffirmed at Trent and long enduring.

88. Rouillard, "The Anointing of the Sick in the West," 186.

Lateran IV's Decree on Confession, Gratian's *De Penitentia*, Confession to One's *Sacerdos Proprius*: A Re-Evaluation of *Omnis Utriusque* in Its Canonistic Context

Atria A. Larson*

Omnis utriusque, *c.21 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), is often mentioned for its command to all Christians to confess annually. Scholars often refer to the decree when discussing late medieval confession; some have searched in vain for precise conciliar precedents; they have not yet situated it in its canonistic context. This essay examines various aspects of the constitution to understand its connections to twelfth-century academic discussions and above all to Gratian's* De penitentia. *It also examines how canonists over the next decade or more understood the constitution. This study concludes that, for canon law and for the incorporation of new clerical orders,* Omnis utriusque *was equally, if not more important for what it stipulated about confession to one's* sacerdos proprius *than for its prescription of annual confession.*

Keywords: penance, confession, Fourth Lateran Council, Gratian, canon law

The degree of the novelty of *Omnis utriusque sexus*, c.21 of the Fourth Lateran Council, has long been on scholars' minds. Certainly none of the major papal councils of the previous century had legislated anything quite like it. Scholars usually refer to the constitution in terms of its first requirement, that of once-yearly confession by all the faithful, of both sexes and of any age after the age of discretion. Martin Ohst demonstrated that perceived precedents for a requirement for annual confession in the ninth through twelfth centuries were hardly equivalent. They consisted of admo-

* Dr. Larson is visiting assistant professor, Department of Theological Studies, Saint Louis University. An earlier version of this paper was given at two conferences in November 2015, the first on confession at Saint Petersburg State University, Russia, and the second in Rome commemorating the Fourth Lateran Council.

nitions to confess when one felt burdened by sin and were usually directed at a specific audience, such as canons regular in a context influenced by the Benedictine regulation to confess to one's superior; others were focused on taking communion; none put forward a punishment for failure to confess at a regular frequency.[1] Meanwhile, scholars such as Rob Meens have emphasized that Carolingian councils had a different preoccupation in their decrees about penance. Carolingian prelates were far more concerned about the authority of the texts used for penance and the uniformity of penitential practice than the frequency of its performance.[2] Leaving aside the requirement for annual confession, scholars have pointed to precedents for other key aspects of the constitution. Michele Maccarrone followed John Baldwin's work on Peter the Chanter and his circle to locate many of the stipulations in Parisian theology at the end of the twelfth century. After editing Alan of Lille's penitential, Jean Longère asserted that *Omnis utriusque* derived from it.[3] The theories of Baldwin, Maccarrone, and Longère are not incorrect, simply incomplete. They do not take into account the root of many of the elements of *Omnis utriusque* in the penitential work that served in many respects as the ultimate basis of Peter the Chanter's and Alan of Lille's work on penance, namely Gratian's *Tractatus de penitentia*, set within C.33 q.3 of the *Decretum* and thus known to anyone of a high level of education in the second half of the twelfth century.

The degree of the importance of Gratian's *De penitentia* for *Omnis utriusque* and the contemporary understanding of *Omnis utriusque* achieve some clarity when the constitution itself and canonistic commentary on it are read and appreciated in their entirety, that is to say, when one looks at

1. Martin Ohst, *Pflichtbeichte: Untersuchungen zum Bußwesen im Hohen und Späten Mittelalter*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 89 (Tübingen, 1995), 14–32.

2. Rob Meens, "The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology 2 (York, 1998), 37; in idem, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014), 111, 115–18. Meens makes the same point but notes some regional variety in the approach to penitential handbooks at local councils.

3. Michele Maccaronne, "*Cura animarum* e *parochialis sacerdos* nelle costituzioni del IV concilio lateranense (1215): Applicazioni in Italia nel sec. XIII," in idem, *Nuovi studi su Innocenzo* III, ed. Roberto Lambertini, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Nuovi Studi Storici 25 (Rome, 1995), 337, with reference to John Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1.53; Jean Longère, "Introduction doctrinale et littéraire," in Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, ed. Jean Longère, Analecta mediaevalia Namercensia 17–18 (Louvain, 1965), 1.225–30. Other scholars have found the latter argument persuasive; see Nicole Bériou, "Autour de Latran IV: la naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion," in *Pratiques de la confession: Des pères du désert à Vatican II* (Paris, 1983), 81.

more than the initial requirement for annual confession. The constitution included several key points that are worth highlighting. Some of these points find an echo in earlier writings and decretals of Innocent III; some can be traced directly to Gratian's *De penitentia*. The elements originating in *De penitentia* had received detailed treatment in intellectual circles leading up to Lateran IV. It should come as no surprise, then, that immediate canonistic commentary on *Omnis utriusque* recognized that Gratian's *De penitentia* stood behind much of it, even while canonists raised other issues unrelated to *De penitentia* but situated within the growing canonical jurisprudence of the age. For these contemporary canonists and for those writing influential penitential *summae* ten-to-fifteen years later, the most important point of *Omnis utriusque* jurisprudentially was not its insistence on annual confession but rather on what it had to say about seeking permission not to confess to one's *sacerdos proprius*, or one's own priest. That point as expressed in a general conciliar decree had to be incorporated into the jurisprudence on penance and confession that had emerged out of Gratian's still highly influential *De penitentia*.

Omnis utriusque and Its Relationship to Innocent III's Earlier Work and to Gratian

The first half of *Omnis utriusque* commands confession at least once a year and participation in communion at least at Easter; it provides a stringent punishment for failure to do so and orders frequent public reminders so that no one can use ignorance of the law as an excuse. It reads,

> All of the faithful, of both sexes, after the age of discretion, are, on their own, to confess all their sins faithfully, at least once a year, to their own priest and to carry out the penance enjoined on them as strength allows, reverently receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter, unless they happen to be directed to abstain from receiving it for the time being by counsel of their own priest for some rational reason. If someone does not do this, he is to be barred from entering a church in life and is to lack Christian burial in death. For this reason let this salutary statute be made public frequently in the churches, lest anyone presume to make an excuse on the basis of blind ignorance.[4]

4. Lateran IV c.21, in *The General Councils of Latin Christendom: From Constantinople IV to Pavia-Siena (869–1424)*, ed. A. García y García et al., Corpus Christianorum, Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta 2.1 (Turnhout, 2013), 178: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, *omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter*, saltem semel in anno, *proprio sacerdoti*, et iniunctam sibi penitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in pascha eucharistie sacramentum, nisi

None of this seems to have direct precedent in Innocent's earlier treatises, decretals, or earlier conciliar decrees. [5] Very little of it finds direct resonance in Gratian's *De penitentia*. The three notable exceptions are Innocent's insistence that everyone, on his own (*solus*), confess *all his sins*, that he do so to his *own priest*, and that he do so *faithfully*. These points, easily glossed over, were in fact central to Gratian's discussion of penance, in large part through his quoting from Pseudo-Augustine's *De vera et falsa penitentia*, and the later academic reflection on it. In *De penitentia* D.1 c.88 (with some repetition at D.6 c.1), Pseudo-Augustine noted that a penitent was to confess *entirely* (*omnino*), and this involved a person confessing his own life in person (not through someone else and not in writing) to a priest.[6] The language of one's *sacerdos proprius* emerged in *De penitentia* D.6 d.p.c.2, where Gratian reconciled the pseudo-Augustinian encouragement to confess to the best priest possible (i.e., one who is most qualified to bind and loose sins) with the canonical tradition of one priest not judging the parishioner of another. Gratian made a distinction: "But it is one thing to show contempt for one's *sacerdos proprius* because of partiality or hatred, which is prohibited by the holy canons; it is another to avoid a blind priest, which by this authority each person is advised to do, lest, if a blind man offer to lead the blcind, both fall into the pit."[7] Note the usage of the Gospel imagery of blindness, which *Omnis utriusque* also echoed, albeit in

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forte de consilio *proprii sacerdotis* ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab eius perceptione duxerit abstinendum; alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesie arceatur et moriens christiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ex ignorantie *cecitate* velamen excusationis assumat." Emphasis mine. This edition is hereafter cited as COGD. Translation mine; it differs somewhat from that in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: From Nicaea I to Vatican II*, 2 vols., ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, trans. Norman P. Tanner (Washington DC, 1990).

5. Ohst, *Pflichtbeichte*, 47–49.

6. De pen. D.1 c.88, *Gratian's* Tractatus de penitentia*: A New Latin Edition with English Translation*, ed. and trans. Atria A. Larson, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 13 (Washington DC, 2016), p. 80.1073–78: "Quem penitet omnino peniteat, et dolorem lacrimis ostendat, representet *uitam suam* Deo per sacerdotem, preueniat iudicium Dei per confessionem. Precepit enim Dominus mundandis, ut ostenderent ora sacerdotibus, docens corporali presentia confitenda peccata, *non per nuncium, non per scriptum* manifestanda" [emphasis mine].

On *De uera et falsa penitentia*, see Karen Wagner, "*De vera et falsa poenitentia*: An Edition and Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1995), with edition at 226–342. A proposal to divide the treatise into three parts written at three different stages is not entirely convincing: Alessandra Costanzo, "Una nuova datazione del *De vera et falsa poenitentia*," *Christianesimo nella storia* 31:3 (2010), 809–840.

7. De pen. D.6 d.p.c.2, ed. Larson, 266.99–102: "Sed aliud est fauore uel odio proprium sacerdotem contempnere, quod sacris canonibus prohibetur; aliud cecum uitare, quod hac auctoritate quisque facere monetur, ne, si cecus ceco ducatum prestet, ambo in foueam cadant."

a different way. Innocent's usage of *fideliter* undoubtedly contains a multitude of connotations, but arguably an adverb is included here at all because of the intense discussion in Gratian (and in commentary on Gratian) about true penance or doing penance *vere*, a preoccupation also found in reform-era conciliar legislation (under Gregory VII and Urban II, and under Innocent II at Lateran II) and in Pseudo-Augustine.[8] Gratian's discussion explicitly compares performing true penance to approaching the baptismal font with full faith (*plena fide*) and not *ficte*.[9]

The connection to the sacrament of baptism is not irrelevant. Scholars have oft noted the tie between partaking of the Eucharist and the performance of penance, a tie that is strengthened in *Omnis utriusque*.[10] There is, however, an interesting text about baptism by Cyprian contained in the *Decretum*'s third part, *De consecratione*. With traditional exegesis, the text connects the Exodus and passing through the Red Sea to baptism and the eating of manna from heaven to the Eucharist. The text emphasizes the equality of the sacraments, that sacraments and spiritual grace are given "without discrimination either of sex or of age" (*sine discrimine uel sexus uel etatis*) and, again, "is shared to all equally, without variation by sex, without discrimination of age" (*equaliter omnibus diuidi, sine sexus uarietate, sine annorum discrimine*).[11] A further passage in the *Decretum*, a text from Augustine and Gratian's reflection on it, closely connects the "age of reason" to issues of faith, repentance, and baptism, identified as "the sacrament of faith and repentance" (*sacramentum fidei et penitenciae, id est . . . baptismum*). This passage makes clear that rational capacity (*capax rationis*) is required for penance but not for receiving baptism.[12] It is in Christian

8. Lateran II c.22 (COGD 2.111) is reproduced in R2 *De penitentia* at D.5 c.8. On the Urban conciliar material, see Atria A. Larson, *Master of Penance: Gratian and the Development of Penitential Thought and Law in the Twelfth Century*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 11 (Washington DC, 2014), 220n34. "R2" is this author's designation for what is frequently referred to as the "second recension" of Gratian's *Decretum*. For the rationale behind the terminology, see Larson, "Gratian's *De penitentia* in Twelfth-Century Manuscripts," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 31 (2014), 57–110, esp. 61–64. On Gregory VII, see Sarah Hamilton, "Penance in the Age of the Gregorian Reform," in *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, Studies in Church History 40 (Woodbridge, 2004), 47–73.

9. See De pen. D.3 d.p.c.44 and D.4 d.p.c.7, d.p.c.8.

10. Meens, "Frequency and Nature," 37–38.

11. De cons. D.4 c.127 (material source: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Epistola* 69, ed. G. F. Diercks, CCSL 3C [Turnhout, 1994], par. 14.1–2). All non-*De penitentia* texts from Gratian's *Decretum* are taken from volume one of Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–1881; repr. Graz, 1956).

12. *Decretum* C.15 q.1 c.3–d.p.c.3.

thinking about the sacraments, then, that Innocent's specification of confession by all persons, of both sexes and of any age (once a person is old enough to have moral discernment), is ultimately rooted.[13] Therefore, as much as I wish to emphasize the canonistic context of the constitution, I would stress that the opening words by which this constitution has been known for centuries—*Omnis utriusque sexus*—and the "age of discretion" language bring strong sacramental overtones to the decree.

The first sentence of the decree quickly moves to the sacrament of the Eucharist. As other scholars have pointed out, the requirement to partake of the Eucharist once a year at Easter, with the corresponding once-yearly confession, constituted a bare minimum requirement. Pious Christians had always expected more frequent participation, at least three times, at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas.[14] The classic text urging this within the *Decretum* is found at *De consecratione* D.2 c.16. Innocent himself had cited texts stipulating communion three times a year and had reflected on the historical decreasing frequency of communion in his *De mysteriis evangelicae legis et sacramento eucharistiae*.[15] All in all, the council may not have officially endorsed Peter Lombard's views on the sacraments, but, with these various elements at the opening of *Omnis utriusque* (equal frequency for confession and communion, equal treatment for all ages and sexes, the language of *fides*, identifying confession as a prerequisite for communion) and with the mention of penance in the confession of faith next to baptism and the

13. Note that Burchard of Worms had already connected this language to penance in his summary of Book 19 of his *Decretum* (c.1010), the "Corrector." The book was to instruct even the simplest priests how to administer penance to a wide range of people, including people "of any age and either sex" (*in omne aetate, in utroque sexus*; PL 140: 542A). Burchard was not, however, working with the express notion of the age of discretion, and his two categories of age and sex fell within a large list of various ways to identify a person (including, for instance, wealth and education level).

14. Meens, "Frequency and Nature," 38; Joseph Avril, "Remarques sur un aspect de la vie paroissale: La pratique de la confession et de la commuion du X^{e} au XIV^{e} siècle," in *L'encadrement religieux des fidèles au Moyen-Age et jusqu—au Concile de Trente. La paroisse—le clergé—la pastorale—la dévotion. Actes du 109^{e} congrès national des sociétés savantes, Dijon, 1984. Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris, 1985), 1.349–50; Ohst, *Pflichtbeichte*, 19. Even after Lateran IV, Christians considered annual confession a bare minimum that especially pious Christians always exceeded; see, for instance, Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, PA, 2005), 85.

15. *De mysteriis* 4.42 quotes a text from "Augustine." In fact it derives from an excerpt of Gennadius's *Liber sive diffinitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* c.23 and the pseudo-Fabian text in *De cons.* D.2 c.16. Innocent's version (which also included *De cons.* D.2 c.10) was quoted in Peter Lombard's *Sentences* 4.12.2 and had already been included in Ivo's *Decretum* 2.25, 27. The historical reflection is found in *De mysteriis* 6.5 (PL 217:909B–C).

Eucharist in the council's first constitution, the Fourth Lateran Council stood in line with the theological trends of the time in bringing penance and confession more expressly into the orb of the sacraments.

The second half of *Omnis utriusque* relies more heavily on *De penitentia*. It reads,

> If anyone, however, wishes to confess his sins for just reason to another priest, let him first seek and obtain permission from his own priest, since otherwise the other priest will not have the power to bind or loose him. Let the priest be discreet and careful so that, in the manner of a skilled physician he may pour wine and oil over the wounds of the injured, diligently inquiring into the circumstances of both the sinner and the sin, through which he might prudently understand how he ought to offer counsel to him and what kind of remedy he ought to apply, in making use of diverse experiments for healing the sick. Let him be cautious to the fullest extent, lest either by word or by sign or by any other means he somehow publicly betray the sinner. But if he is in want of more prudent counsel, let him cautiously seek it without any utterance of the person concerned, because we decree that he who presumes to reveal a sin exposed in penitential judgment is not only to be deposed from the sacerdotal office but is also to be driven to do perpetual penance in a secluded monastery.[16]

The directives of this section in essence repeat *De penitentia* D.5 and especially D.6 with papal and conciliar endorsement. D.6 c.3 noted that, under normal circumstances (i.e., provided the priest was not an ignorant fool), the consent of a priest was required before another priest could hear the confession of a person entrusted to the first priest's care. D.5 c.1 urged the sinner to contemplate, show contrition for, and confess all the various aspects or circumstances of his sins. D.6 c.1 urged the same thing from the side of the confessor-priest: he was to inquire into all the circumstances of the sinner and the sin and, only after doing this and praying for and con-

16. Lateran IV c.21 (COGD, 178): "Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa sua confiteri peccata, licentiam prius postulet et optineat a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ille ipsum non possit solvere vel ligare. Sacerdos autem sit discretus et cautus, ut more periti medici superinfundat vinum et oleum vulneribus sauciati, diligenter inquirens et peccatoris circumstantias et peccati, per quas prudenter intelligat quale illi debeat prebere consilium et cuiusmodi remedium adhibere, diversis experimentis utendo ad sanandum egrotum. Caveat autem omnino ne verbo vel signo aut alio quovis modo prodat aliquatenus peccatorem, set si prudentiori consilio indiguerit, illud absque ulla expressione persone caute requirat, quoniam qui peccatum in penitentiali iudicio sibi detectum presumpserit revelare, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponendum decernimus, verum etiam ad agendam perpetuam penitentiam in arctum monasterium detrudendum."

soling the sinner, was he to impose an appropriate penance. D.6 d.p.c.1–c.2 threatened deposition and perpetual pilgrimage on priests who broke what later came to be called "the seal of confession."[17] Innocent III changed the punishment, replacing pilgrimage with perpetual penance in a secluded monastery. The latter punishment had a long history going back to early medieval councils of the churches in Gaul and was utilized for clerics who committed the worst offenses or *crimina capitalia*.[18] Innocent III had himself already prescribed this punishment numerous times for severely wayward clerics in earlier decretals, and he repeated it for simoniacal *religiosi* in Lateran IV c.64 *Quoniam simoniaca*.[19]

The Influence of Gratian's *De penitentia* in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century

The strong resonances of *De penitentia* in *Omnis utriusque*, and the particular points of *De penitentia* that do find resonance, occurred because of the position of *De penitentia* in the development of penitential thought and law in the second half of the twelfth century. It was the foundational text, exercising influence in the classroom in Bologna and Paris, outside the classroom in new penitential texts, and at the papal curia.[20] The writings on penance of other early and mid-twelfth century masters, such as Peter Abelard, Hugh of St Victor, and the author of the *Summa Sententiarum* were not inconsequential, and Peter Lombard was familiar with all these works. Yet no work on penance exercised as great an influence on Peter Lombard's treatment of penance in book four of his *Sentences* as Gratian's *De penitentia*. Anyone who read the Lombard was getting a heavy dose of Gratian, but the separate success of Gratian's *Decretum* meant that academ-

17. On the seal of confession, see Bertrand Kurtscheid, *A History of the Seal of Confession* (St. Louis, 1927). For a detailed discussion of *De penitentia* D.5 and D.6, see Larson, *Master of Penance*, 204–223.

18. See Atria A. Larson, "Killing a Career: Homicide and the Development of Medieval Clerical Discipline," *The Jurist* 74 (2014), 268–70.

19. Among Innocentian decretals taken up in the *Liber Extra*, see X 5.27.7 (an. 1207—sends monks to a stricter monastery for penance who communicate with excommunicated clerics and confer benefices on them), X 5.34.10 (an. 1199—deposes clerics and sends them to restricted monasteries for penance if they fail canonical purgation), X 5.37.6 (an. 1202—deposes clerics convicted of great crimes, or *magni sceleres*, and sends them to restricted monasteries for penance), and X 5.3.30 (sends simoniacal monks to a stricter monastery for penance if the crime was discovered *per inquisitionem*), which seems to be the precursor to Lateran IV c.64 (X 5.3.40). For the *Liber Extra*, see the edition in volume two of Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*.

20. For detailed discussion, see Larson, *Master of Penance*, 315–486.

ics and others read *De penitentia* independently as well. Independent usage of Gratian's *De penitentia* (not mediated through Peter Lombard's *Sentences*) can be detected in Peter the Chanter's *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, Alan of Lille's *Liber poenitentialis*, Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential, and Vacarius's *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*. Moreover, early masters in Bologna such as Magister Rolandus utilized *De penitentia* in their theological writings, other masters such as Rufinus included modest commentaries on *De penitentia* in their comprehensive works on Gratian, and Huguccio penned a massive commentary on *De penitentia* in the latter stages of his composition of his *Summa* on the *Decretum c.* 1190.

Certain sections of *De penitentia* exercised more influence, were repeated or quoted more often, and elicited more discussion. Given their more practical orientation, the fifth and sixth distinctions were especially prominent in pastoral literature. Quotations or paraphrases from the pseudo-Augustinian passages excerpted by Gratian abounded, urging the faithful to consider and grieve for the various aspects of their sins, advising confessors to inquire into the various circumstances of sinner and sin, and advising confessors to exercise the utmost caution and discretion. Papal decretals urged the same. Writers on penance also now always included the warning to confessors not to reveal the sins confessed to them and repeated in some form the appropriately severe punishment for priests who dared to do so.

While such points could be repeated without much discussion, one practical issue needed to be worked out in more detail, namely the related issues of being required to confess to one's *sacerdos proprius*, what circumstances might justify not confessing to one's *sacerdos proprius*, and how one could go about bypassing the judgment of the *sacerdos proprius* and submitting to the pastoral care of another priest. For instance, in his *Liber poenitentialis*, Alan supported the notion that a Christian, a *fidelis*, could seek out a more discrete priest if his own was indiscrete or if he had received his own priest's permission (*licentia*) to do so. He also put the responsibility on priests to be self-aware and send their parishioners to another priest if they knew themselves to lack the requisite wisdom, knowledge, and discretion.[21] He later quoted nearly verbatim Gratian's distinction of confessing to a different

21. Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis* (hereafter LP) 4.14, ed. Jean Longère, Analecta mediaevalia Namercensia, 17–18 (Louvain, 1965), 2.170–71: "Si autem parochianus sacerdotem suum scit esse indiscretum, vel si licentia ab eo data fuerit, peritiorem consulat, vel prius sacerdoti suo confitens, consequenter ad peritiorem accedat. Discretior enim sacerdos inquirendus est, qui sciat discernere inter peccatum et peccatum, et inter medicinam et medicinam, et inter poenitentiam et poenitentiam. Sic et sacerdos sciens se non discretum esse, debet ad peritiorem recurrere, vel confitentem ad peritiorem mittere."

priest because of personal prejudice versus because of the ignorance of the *sacerdos proprius* (*De penitentia* D.3 d.p.c.2).[22] Peter the Chanter asserted that "each individual ought to confess to his own priest" but then noted that a person is entitled to find a more skilled physician of the soul just as he is in the case of a bodily physician. He suggested that, at least in the cases of clerics with regard to their dean, this might occur only after they confessed to their *sacerdos proprius* (and presumably found him wanting) or with his permission. Peter put the bishop in charge so that, if not to his dean, a cleric in the diocese should confess to the bishop or otherwise some other priest or religious designated for the task by the bishop.[23] Huguccio clearly wanted to avoid sinners judging the moral worthiness of their priests. He emphasized that people should confess to their own priests as long as they knew how to bind and loose and were in good standing in the church (i.e., were not heretics, schismatics, excommunicated, degraded, or deposed); he also considered exceptional circumstances, stating that a pilgrim or someone who had received special permission (*licentia*) from his bishop could confess to a priest of his choice.[24] In short, the standard of confessing to one's *sacerdos proprius* pervaded discussions of penance at the end of the twelfth century on the basis of *De penitentia* D.6, as did considerations of when it might be legitimate not to confess to one's *sacerdos proprius*.

The Background to Gratian's and Lateran IV's Mention of the *Sacerdos Proprius*

If *Omnis utriusque*'s insistence that everyone confess to his *own priest* and receive that priest's permission to confess to another priest was rooted primarily in Gratian's *De penitentia* and commentary on it, that is not to

22. LP 4.16–17.

23. Peter the Chanter, *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis. Secunda pars: Tractatus de paenitentia et excommunicatione*, ed. Jean-Albert Dugauguier, Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia 7 (Louvain, 1957), §138, 322–23.

24. *Summa decretorum*, ad D.6 d.a.c.1 s.v. *Cui autem fieri* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 2280, fol. 310ra): "Debet sacerdoti quia non heretico non scismatico non excommunicato non degradato non deposito, sed catholico ab ecclesia tollerato. Item non extraneo sed suo, scilicet cui commissa est cura anime ipsius, nisi forte suus inscius sit soluere uel ligare." Ad D.6 c.1 s.v. *sacerdoti meliori quam potest* (fol. 310rb): "Uel potest intelligi de peregrinis transeuntibus qui possunt diuertere causa confitendi peccata ad quam sacerdotem uolunt. . . . Similiter potest intelligi et de illo cui suus episcopus dat licentiam accipiendi penitentiam a quocumque suo sacerdote uult. Nec intelligendum de bonitate morum et uirtute quia illa nichil uel parum operantur in danda penitenta, sed de bonitate, id est, idoneitate sciendi soluere et ligare. Debet ergo sacerdos esse bonus, id est, idoneus scire et ligare et soluere et discernere inter leprosa et lepram."

say that Gratian had invented some new regulation for the governance of the church. Both Gratian's work and *Omnis utriusque* rested upon long-standing tradition on the appropriateness of confession to one's own priest, on clear jurisdictional boundaries for discipline, and on the inappropriateness of one ecclesiastical official usurping the authority belonging to another. This context is essential for understanding the canonistic background of *Omnis utriusque* and so should be sketched briefly here, especially since so much scholarship has been devoted to the issues of annual confession and the connection between confession and communion, but so little has been devoted to understanding the notion of the *sacerdos proprius*. Of the little scholarship available, two articles on this issue are fundamental, a 1904 essay by Peter Anton Kirsch and a 1980 paper by Joseph Avril, and they provide the basis for this sketch; undoubtedly much more work could be done.[25]

Kirsch's and Avril's articles would suggest that the term *sacerdos proprius* as applied to a parish priest gained prominence in the early-to-mid twelfth century but that the notion of a local priest with spiritual and jurisdictional authority over his parishioners had long been in place. The authority of a priest over his parishioners can be viewed as a logical extension (or microcosmic reduction) of the authority of a bishop over the clerics within his diocese. Kirsch astutely pointed to early Christian and late antique sources regulating the movement, reception, and judgment of priests. No bishop could judge the priest under another bishop's authority, and no bishop could receive into service a priest from another diocese *absque conscientia proprii sacerdotis*, as the Second Synod of Toledo (527) phrased it. Here, the *sacerdos proprius* is the bishop to whom a cleric belongs, so to speak, and is parallel to the cleric's *ecclesia propria*, or own (main, diocesan) church.[26] A cleric's own bishop, then, had to agree to the movement of the cleric to another diocese, and this concept served as the ultimate forerunner of the idea of a priest's *licentia* being necessary for a parishioner to confess to another priest. The Carolingian period witnessed increased stress on tithes being paid to one's *ecclesia propria*, on priests being bound to the churches where they serve and not being able to change locations without the authority of their bishops, and on parish

25. P. A. Kirsch, "Der sacerdos proprius in der abendländischen Kirche vor dem Jahre 1215," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 84 (1904), 527–37; Joseph Avril, "A propos du 'proprius sacerdos': Quelques réflexions sur les pouvoirs du prêtre de paroisse," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: Salamanca, 21–25 September 1976*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Vatican City, 1980), 471–86.

26. Kirsch, "Der sacerdos proprius," 532–33.

priests not luring the parishioners of other priests away from their home churches to frequent worship services and receive communion.[27] The emphasis in the language about parishes in this period lay in such sacramental and financial issues, not in establishing territorial ecclesiastical districts within dioceses. Confession played a role. Bishop Haito of Basel (d. 836) decreed that those going on pilgrimage to Rome should first confess their sins at home and be absolved by their own bishop or priest (*a proprio episcopo suo aut sacerdote*), not by some other priest (an *extraneus*). Issues of jurisdiction usually still centered on the episcopal level. The first half of Haito's *capitulum* stressed that clerics could not move or make a pilgrimage to Rome or, if suspended from communion, be received to it by another bishop without their bishop's permission.[28] These regulations were not universal, but they were a natural fit within the long-standing jurisdictional ecclesiology of the church.

Common sacramental practice from the Carolingian period onward placed the local priest in charge of administering baptism, communion, and, increasingly, penance to his parishioners. The Carolingian push for clarified ecclesiastical structure and organization received renewed vigor in the era of reform beginning in the late eleventh century. Establishing the parish priest's authority within his parish constituted one part of the

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27. Kirsch, "Der sacerdos proprius," pp. 530–35; Avril, "A propos," 472–75. A good example may be found in c.15 of Radulf of Bourges's episcopal capitulary; see MGH Capit. episc. 1, ed. Peter Brommer (Hannover, 1984), 244–45.

28. Avril, "A propos," 474; Kirsch, "Der sacerdos proprius," 535. On the development of parishes, see, of older literature, Jean Gaudemet, "La paroisse au Moyen Âge," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 59 (1973), 5–21. For recent perspectives, see the essays in the special issue on "La paroisse, genèse d'une forme territoriale," in *Médiévales* 49 (2005). On the early period, see Christine Delaplace, ed., *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale (IVe-IXe s.). Actes du colloque international de Toulouse, 21–23 mars 2003* (Paris, 2005); see especially Michel Aubrun, "À l'origine de la paroisse rurale: Lieu de culte et culte du lieu," 33–34 and Jean Heuclin, "Le rôle du clergé dans l'organisation matérielle et pastorale de la paroisse durant le haut Moyen Âge," 229–34, which confirm issues of cult/saints and of tithing as driving issues in the early period through the ninth century for early parish organization. On the ninth-century usage of "parish" and "parishioner," see Michel Lauwers, *Naissance du cimitière: Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval*, Collection historique (Paris, 2005), 269–4, and his contribution, "Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire: Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 49 (2005), 11–32.

For Haito, see Haito von Basel, *Capitula*, c.18, MGH Capit. episc. 1, 216.1–8. Avril cites c.3 of a council of Liège (710) that stipulated that the faithful should confess their sins at least once a year to the priest to whom they are subject, namely their *presbiter proprius*. The text's authenticity is doubtful; the ten canons of which it is a part first appeared in an edition from 1621. The text is edited under the name "Pseudo-Hubertus" (with preceding discussion about authenticity) in MGH Capit. episc. 3, ed. Rudolf Pokorny (Hannover, 1995), 375–76.

process of freeing the church from lay control. Many new parishes emerged in the next two centuries with ever more clearly defined boundaries and ever more clearly delineated powers for their clerical heads.[29] The Lateran Council of 1139, following Innocent II's earlier Council at Reims (1131), decreed that every church have its own *sacerdos proprius*.[30] When Gratian wrote in the very same decade that "the canons" say that "no one should presume to judge the parishioner of another," he testified to the jurisdictional status quo, however poorly defined in systematic or geographical terms.[31] When in the next sentence he stated that these canons prohibited one from showing contempt for one's *sacerdos proprius* but did not, in essence, prohibit one from avoiding the spiritual supervision of an ignorant fool, Gratian did what he did on so many topics: he initiated academic reflection and discussion on deep-rooted and long-developing norms so that canonistic and theological thinking about the issue moved in ever more refined directions, and all in quick order. *Omnis utriusque* appeared against the backdrop of this academic discussion, and it was up to the academics to decide how best to situate its concise, normative statement into this discussion full of intellectual distinctions and qualifications.

Early Canonistic Commentary on *Omnis utriusque*

With this background in mind, we can turn to the canonistic commentary on the entirety of *Omnis utriusque* and appreciate the canonists' special attention to issues deriving from Gratian's *De penitentia*, especially that of confessing to one's *sacerdos proprius* and receiving his permission before confessing to some other priest. Thanks to Antonio García y García's critical edition, we possess in print the early commentaries of Johannes Teutonicus, Vincentius Hispanus, and Damasus on the Lateran

29. Avril, "A propos," 477–80. Michel Lauwers, "Des lieux sacrés aux territories ecclésiaux dans la France du Midi: quelques remarques préliminaires sur une dynamique sociale," in *Lieux sacrés et espace ecclésial (IXe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Julien Théry, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 46 (Toulouse, 2011), 13–36, sets later development of parishes as territorial entities against the backdrop of earlier productions of sacred spaces around churches, monasteries, and cemeteries. Note especially 27–28, which observes that much recent work has affirmed that the process of parish territorialization did not occur before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

If freedom from lay control was part of what drove parish organization, lay control in some form should be relevant to ecclesiastical practices of organizations and the conception of a parish pre-eleventh century. For a reevaluation of the phenomenon of *Eigenskirche*, see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).

30. Reims c.9, Lateran II c.10. See text in COGD 2.108.79–81.

31. *De pen.* D.6 d.p.c.2 (ed. Larson, 266.96–98): ". . . quod in canonibus inuenitur, ut nemo uidelicet alterius parrochianum iudicare presumat."

IV constitutions composed shortly after the council.[32] The two younger of these, Vincentius and Damasus, commented again on *Omnis utriusque* after its inclusion in the *Liber Extra* (1234) at X 5.38.12. While the canonists commented on numerous facets of *Omnis utriusque*, some of their most thoughtful considerations focused on the issue of the *sacerdos proprius*.

For the first half of *Omnis utriusque*, the canonists took no notice of the issue that has captured the majority of scholarly reflection since. They had nothing to say about once-yearly confession. Instead, they devoted their space to defining the age of discretion (age seven, but explained in different ways) and specifying that the sins one is supposed to confess to one's own priest are mortal ones, not venial.[33] *Allegationes* on the first point included texts from the *Decretum*, early decretals, and Roman law; on the second point, they varied but were dominated by *Decretum* and *De penitentia* texts.[34] Vincentius, and Damasus following him, wondered about if a person cannot remember *all* his sins. Will that impede grace? On the basis of an extended excerpt in C.23 of the *Decretum*, he argued that such a human failing does not impede grace (nothing so slight can hinder God from saving those whom he has predestined unto life), so long as the sins forgotten are such that, if the sinner did remember them, he would repent of them.[35] On confessing faithfully (*fideliter*), citing *De pen-*

32. García y García, ed., *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum Commentariis glossatorum*, Monumenta Iuris Canonici Ser. A:2 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981). The three commentaries were not entirely separate; Damasus drew on and explicitly cited Vincentius, as noted in García y García, "The Fourth Lateran Council and the Canonists," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington, History of Medieval Canon Law 6 (Washington DC, 2008), 373–76.

33. Johannes identified the age of discretion as when a child is capable of deceit; he noted venial sins could be remitted through the Lord's prayer and blessed water and should be confessed at least to a lay neighbor (ed. García y García, 208). Vincentius stressed more fundamentally the ability to lie; he did not mention venial sins (ed. García y García, 314). Damasus noted that at age seven a child is capable of committing any sin (except sexual ones); he briefly glossed the words *omnia sua peccata* with *mortalia* and noted that venial sins are treated otherwise (ed. García y García, 428).

34. *De pen.* D.2 c.1, D.3 c.20, and D.6 c.1; *Decretum*, *prima pars* D.25 d.p.c.3 §4. Allegations, or *allegationes*, are other texts, most often from the canon or Roman law tradition, used to support an argument. Masters cited them in glosses and commentaries; they served as cross-references and/or proof texts. Sometimes a master's argument can only be understood by consulting the allegation and even his commentary on it.

35. Vincentius, ad c.21 s.v. *omnia sua peccata* (ed. García y García, 314–15): "Quid si non recolit? Numquid remittuntur? Et numquid infunditur gratia? . . . Dico quod illa non impediunt gratiam, alias Vasis ire etc. xxiii q.iiii Nabucodonosor [C.23 q.4 cc.22–23], nisi illa forte de quibus non recolit sint talia que si recoleret nullo modo peniteret." For Damasus, see

itentia D.1 c.88, Vincentius observed that this meant (or included the idea) that one could not confess through someone else or a representative or messenger (*nuncius*).

The basic stipulation to confess to one's own priest was noted by all but did not provoke a great amount of comment, largely because they all cited the relevant *De penitentia* texts and were well familiar with the canonistic and theological reflection on it. For all three canonists, *De penitentia* D.6 c.1 (or the overlapping text of D.1 c.88) provided the grounding for this specification. Johannes noted very briefly that this was the case "unless [the priest] was unskilled," citing *De penitentia* D.6 c.3. Johannes had already composed the vast majority of his glosses on the *Decretum* prior to the Fourth Lateran Council; his brevity on this point in his Lateran IV commentary should be understood in light of his comments on D.6 c.3 in his *Decretum* glosses, where he had asserted that one should first confess to one's own priest and afterwards could confess to another (if the first was found lacking in skill) and where he had affirmed that, by the authority of this canon, one could go to another without the permission of a man, namely, of the unskilled priest.[36] Vincentius and Damasus emphasized Pseudo-Augustine's point, repeated in *De penitentia* D.1 c.88 and D.6 c.1, that, if the *sacerdos proprius* was not available, a penitent could confess to a layman.[37]

While none of the three commentators had said anything about the once yearly prescription at the opening of the constitution, to comment on partaking communion "at least at Easter," they all cited the text from *De consecratione* asserting a thrice-yearly participation, thereby indicating that the Lateran IV prescription presented a bare minimum requirement that should not represent a model of piety. Johannes Teutonicus's original gloss on the *De consecratione* passage noted that "it was a sin to abstain from the same" (that is to say, thrice-yearly communion), but he added that "others

ed. García y García, 428. The text cited consists of reflections on predestination based on the differences between Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar.

36. Johannes Teutonicus, *Apparatus in Concilium quartum Lateranense*, ad c.21 s.v. *proprio sacerdoti* (ed. García y García, p. 208): "nisi ille sit imperitus, ut de pen. di. vi Placuit [D.6 c.3]"; cf. original *Glossa ordinaria* (pre-emendations of Bartholomeus Brixiensis) in Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1367, fol. 279v and glosses ad *De penitentia* D.6 c.3 (ed. Mainz, 1472, fol. 369): "Prius nota quod prius debet confiteri suo sacerdoti licet alteri postmodum confiteatur"; s.v. *per ignorantiam*: "Ergo pro ignorantia eius auctoritate huius canonis poteris ire ad alium sine licentia hominis, scilicet presbyteris illius imperiti. Sufficit hoc a iure concedi."

37. Ed. García y García, 315, 428. They also cited *De consecratione* D.4 c.36, which asserted that baptism administered by a layman in the name of the Trinity was valid.

say it is commanded only at Easter." A later gloss (not Johannes's original) cited *Omnis utriusque* in support.[38]

The second half of *Omnis utriusque*, and the stipulation that a parishioner must obtain permission from his *sacerdos proprius* if he wants to confess to a different priest (otherwise the other priest does not have the power to bind and loose), elicited more discussion. Especially within the context of the treatment of *De penitentia* D.6 over the past several decades, such a statement demanded clarification. Each of the three canonists took a different tack. Johannes asked about a situation in which a *sacerdos proprius* maliciously refuses to give permission. Citing the important Innocentian decretal granting a monk the permission to transfer to a stricter order by his own will even if his superior objected, Johannes plainly claimed the right of the penitent to confess to another priest "of his own will, by his own authority."[39] Vincentius made the same point when he considered the

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38. Original *Glossa ordinaria* ad *De cons.* D.2 c.16 (Vat. lat. 1367, fol. 297r): "Item id ipsum etiam abstinere peccatum est. Alii dicunt tantum in Pascha preceptum esse." [*later addition:*] et hoc est uera, extra iiii de penitentiis et remissionibus 'Omnis'." The *allegatio* was taken up in Bartholomeus Brixiensis's revision of the *Glossa ordinaria* (see ed. Mainz 1472, fol. 388vb). It is not clear when Johannes wrote his gloss about others saying it is commanded only at Easter. Did he complete this gloss prior to Lateran IV? It would seem so, because otherwise it seems he would have cited the new constitution. Perhaps his gloss is evidence that, at the time of Lateran IV, some canonists were maintaining that communion once a year was that which could be commanded, even if it was advisable for Christians to partake more frequently. Such discussions, if occurring at the curia, would help explain why Innocent and his curia formulated *Omnis utriusque* the way they did, i.e. prescribing a minimum of annual communion.

The only location where a citation to *Omnis utriusque* may be found in Johannes's original gloss apparatus on the *Decretum* is at D.1 c.88 s.v. *scientem*, where he notes that a person who is no longer under the burden of previous sins may approach the Eucharist by consent of the person in charge of his soul. He cites De pen. D.6 c.1 and the *extravagans* from the council, *Omnis*: "Si in eius peccata priora non est, eius qui preest consensu communionem adent, ut infra D.6 'Placuit', extra in concilio 'Omnis'" (Vat. lat. 1367, fol. 261vb). Given the way the constitution is referenced (as belonging to "the council"), it is clear that this gloss was written shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council and prior to his inclusion of its constitutions in *Compilatio quarta*.

39. Johannes Teutonicus, *Apparatus in Concilium quartum Lateranense*, ad c.21 s.v. *licentiam* (ed. García y García, 209): "Quid si malitiose ille recusat? Eat propria auctoritate," citing 3Comp. 3.24.4 (X 3.31.18) *Licet quibusdam monachis*. In *Licet quibusdam*, Innocent III had justified a move to a stricter order even in disobedience to a superior on the basis of the idea that "where the spirit of God is, there is liberty, and he who acts by the spirit of God is not under the law, because law is not opposed to what is right (*quia tamen, ubi spiritus Dei est, ibi libertas, et qui Dei spiritu aguntur non sunt sub lege, quia lex non est posita iusto*)" (X 3.31.18). The abbreviation 3Comp. refers to *Compilatio tertia* (1Comp. = *Compilatio prima*, 2Comp. = *Compilatio secunda*), one of the major new collections of law consisting largely of papal decretals that were taught in the law schools beginning with the appearance of *Compilatio prima*

situation of a *sacerdos proprius* refusing to give his permission, but also suggested that the penitent ask his superior and go to another priest by that superior's authority. Moreover, Vincentius specified that the other priest would not have the power to bind and loose in cases where the *sacerdos proprius* had been shown contempt (the key term from Gratian's *dictum* in *De penitentia* D.6) by not being asked.[40] The presumption is that, if a penitent had not been contemptuous of his own priest but had sought out another priest for valid reasons, the other priest did have the power to bind and loose. Damasus presented his own argument on this point but agreed with Vincentius. At first he observed that the constitution indicates that, "if my priest is ignorant, even though in this case I have just cause to go to another, if nevertheless my priest does not give his permission, I absolutely cannot go to another." Damasus immediately countered that interpretation, citing *De penitentia* D.1 c.88 and D.6 c.1, which texts demonstrate the "we ought to seek out a priest who knows how to bind and loose." Thus "whatever is said here [i.e., in *Omnis utriusque*], it seems that what is said in those places [i.e., in *De penitentia*] ought to stand in the case [of an ignorant priest]." In short, if your priest is ignorant and you wish to entrust your soul to a more skilled priest, go to the more skilled priest regardless of whether *licentia* is granted.[41] Whether a person is still required to ask for the *licentia* remains unclear; twenty years later, Damasus believed that a parishioner was not required to do so. In his *Summa decretalium*, he noted that parishioners ought to receive private penance from their priests or, with those priests' permission, from another; if the parishioner's priest is ignorant, he or she may go to another *even without his or her priest having been asked*.[42] Damasus closed his original comments on this section of

c.1190. On these collections, see Kenneth Pennington, "Decretal Collections 1190–1234," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period*, 293–317.

40. Vincentius, *Apparatus* ad c.21 s.v. *cum aliter ille ipsum non possit soluere* (ed. García y García, 315): "Idest si contempnatur suus, quia si non requiritur, contempnitur. Quod si non uult ei dare licentiam, adeat superiorem ut eius auctoritate procedat," citing both *Licet quibusdam monachis* (3Comp. 3.24.4, X 3.31.18) and the famous *Duae sunt* (C.19 q.2 c.2). Vincentius also cited *Duae sunt* in his commentary on X 3.31.18 (Paris, BNF lat. 3967 fol. 142r), where he also appealed to *De penitentia* D.2 c.3, an Augustinian text grounding morality in *caritas* above all else.

41. Damasus, *Apparatus* ad c.21 s.v. *non possit soluere uel ligare* (ed. García y García, 429): "Ergo si sacerdos meus sit imperitus, licet eo casu habeam iustam causam eundi ad alium, si tamen non det licentiam proprius sacerdos, nullo modo potest ire ad alium, ut hic dicit. Set secundum hoc contra de pen. di. vi. Placuit [D.6 c.3], de pen. di. i. Quem penitet [D.1 c.88]. Debemus enim querere sacerdotem scientem ligare et soluere; et quicquid hic dicatur, illis standum uidetur esse in casu illo."

42. *Summa decretalium* ad X 5.38 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. 261, fol. 16ra): "Penitenciam priuatam recipere debemus ab illo sacerdote cuius sumus parro-

Omnis utriusque by saying, if there is just cause for seeking another priest (even beyond ignorance?) and the *sacerdos proprius* does not grant permission, a parishioner should "ask a superior."[43] Like Vincentius and many twelfth-century writers on penance, Damasus invoked the ecclesiastical hierarchy and seemed more comfortable "going up the chain of command" rather than giving the faithful free rein to act at their own discretion.

The final two issues to comment on in *Omnis utriusque* consisted of (1) the exhortation to priests to examine the circumstances of sinner and sin and (2) the prohibition to priests to break the seal of confession. On the first point, Johannes and Damasus simply cited *De penitentia* D.5 c.1 with some other minor comments. Vincentius considered the point unworthy of comment, which is not surprising considering how pervasive this notion had become in the decades after Gratian's *De penitentia*. Johannes likewise had no comment on priests breaking the seal of confession, and no one noted the change in punishment from *De penitentia* D.6 c.2. Vincentius's and Damasus's concerns centered on the question of how it could be proven that a priest had made public a sin revealed to him in confession. To this author's knowledge, this question had not been raised in earlier discussions, but the procedural point is intriguing: the fact that a sin was confessed to a priest is presumably known only to the penitent and the priest; if a priest reveals a sin, the sinner could claim that the sin alleged had been confessed in private, but it would be a classic case of one man's word against another—where is the proof that the seal of confession had been broken? Vincentius wrote quite extensively on this question; Damasus reduced Vincentius's commentary, referring to two citations (including *De penitentia* D.6 c.2) and commentary on them.[44] He then asked the question "how is it proven that a priest made public a sin revealed to him in confession? Answer: through his own [i.e., the priest's] confession."[45] One has trouble imagining that this scenario would have played out frequently in reality, but the sobering point was that, in such a situation, only the priest's own confession of his sin could prove it; the penitent had no other

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chiani uel cum consensu illius etiam ab alio; si tamen esset ignarus sacerdos noster uidetur, quod *etiam eo irrequisito* possumus ire ad alium, ut De pen. D.6 'Placuit' [D.6 c.3]."

43. Damasus, *Apparatus* ad c.21 s.v. *non possit soluere uel ligare* (ed. García y García, 429): "Item si iusta causa interueniente parrochianus petat licentiam et sacerdos non det, petat superiorem."

44. The other text cited is 1Comp. 1.23.6 (X 1.31.2).

45. Damasus, *Apparatus* ad c.21 s.v. *Caueat . . . ne uerbo uel signo . . . prodat . . . peccatorem* (ed. García y García, 429): "de pen. di. vi. Sacerdos ante omnia [D.6 c.2]. . . . Set qualiter probabitur sacerdoti quod peccatum in confessione ei reuelatum manifestauit? Resp.: per confessionem ipsius."

recourse. Vincentius believed the same thing, but he suggested how a sinner could act to protect himself, namely by having his "private" confession witnessed by a few (presumably very close) friends who could later, if necessary, give testimony to the fact that the sin alleged and made public by a priest had in fact been confessed to him previously.[46] On this point, Vincentius cited another Lateran IV constitution, namely c.38, which prescribed written records for all court cases, lest a corrupt judge claim something that is untrue. The parallel he was making was that a penitent could likewise protect himself by having witnesses to his confession—whether he envisioned the witnesses recording in writing the fact of the confession and/or its contents is unclear, but the basic point was to protect a penitent against a devious or malicious bishop who might want to charge a person with a crime in an episcopal court even though it was already confessed and remitted through penance. In short, Vincentius was applying considerations of procedure and protection of defendants to the internal forum and the issue of *De penitentia* D.6 c.2, namely the prohibition of priests' publicly revealing of a confession.[47]

46. Vincentius, *Apparatus* ad c.21 s.v. *absque ulla expressione persone* (ed. García y García, 316): "But how will it be proven for a priest that he revealed a crime told to him in confession? Because the priest confessed this in front of many, even outside of court (2 Comp. 5.1.1/X 5.1.12 and 3Comp. 5.14.2/X 5.31.9). And this can be proven if you take the example of me confessing a secret sin to my priest and asking for dispensation from him in private in the presence of certain individuals so that I cannot afterwards be charged (1Comp. 1.9.11/X 1.17.9). If the bishop reveals [the sin], I can prove it with regard to him through those who were present (Lat. IV c.38 = 4Comp. 2.6.3/X 2.19.11) (Set quomodo probabitur sacerdoti quod crimen sibi dictum in confessione reuelauit? Sol.: quia confessus fuit hoc sacerdos coram pluribus, licet extra ius, arg. supra de accus. c. i lib. ii. et extra iii. de exces. prelat. 'Quam sit graue'. Et hoc probari potest si ponas casum ubi confessus sum peccatum occultum episcopo meo et impetraui ab eo coram aliquibus dispensationem in secreto ut inde postea accusari non possim, supra de filiis presbit. c. penult. lib. i. Si episcopus reuelauit, possum ei probare per eos qui presentes fuerunt, infra de actis iudic. 'Quoniam'.)" Vincentius's suggestion of course bears on the much-discussed question of the meaning of private and public in the medieval discourse about penance and the experience of it.

47. The "internal forum" and "external forum" were beginning to be labeled as such in the years after Lateran IV. Although the two could never remain entirely separate in practice, the former referred to the "court of conscience" where penance is issued by a bishop or priest; the latter referred to the formal ecclesiastical court with procedures following Roman law norms and ending potentially in excommunication. See Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), 49–55; on the internal forum: Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," in *History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period*, 379–428.

Gratian's *De penitentia* and *Omnis Utriusque* in Dominican Penitentials of the 1220s

If the canonists immediately after Lateran IV viewed *De penitentia* as foundational and integrally related to *Omnis utriusque*, two Dominican penitentials from the 1220s testify to the continued prominence of *De penitentia* and the particular role of *Omnis utriusque* in canonistic jurisprudence on confession. Paul of Hungary wrote his relatively short penitential (10–15 folios) in 1220–21 shortly after he became a Dominican. The work, especially its first half, repeatedly references *De penitentia* and, secondarily, many other *Decretum* texts; it cites *Omnis utriusque* only once. Paul did not refer to the constitution's stipulation of confessing to one's *sacerdos proprius* when he asked to whom one should confess. All three texts he cited in his reply came from *De penitentia*.[48] Nor did Paul refer to the constitution when he asked when someone should confess. His answer was not "once a year before Easter." Based on a text in *De penitentia* D.3 describing the confession of David to Nathan when he was struck with the weight of his sin, he said one should confess as soon as a priest is available.[49] Paul could perhaps have referred to *Omnis utriusque* when discussing the circumstances to be inquired into or the responsibilities of the confessor-priest, but he did not. In his final discursive section before he went into detail on certain sins, virtues, and vices, Paul finally incorporated *Omnis utriusque*. The question asked "in what cases we are compelled to confess again a sin already confessed." On the basis of *De penitentia* D.6 c.1, the first scenario is when one's priest is unskilled. But, Paul noted, "the new constitution" stipulated that one can turn to another, more skilled priest only after permission has been sought. Paul then asserted the right to go even if the first priest refuses to give such permission, but in this case one should approach the original priest's superior, not just any other priest.[50] Thus, the one issue

48. *De pen.* D.1 c.51, c.88; D.6 c.1.

49. Paulus Hungarus, *Summa de penitentia*. The work is available in many manuscripts and two editions. I have consulted (1) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 518 (13th c., = O), (2) Pal. lat. 461 (15th c., = P), and (3) Monte Cassino 184, as transcribed in *Florilegium Casinense*, 191–215 (= C), in *Biblioteca Casinensis*, vol. 4 (Monte Cassino, 1880; repr. Hildesheim, 2004). On Paulus and this work, see Mark F. Johnson, "Paul of Hungary's *Summa de penitentia*," in *From Learning to Love: Schools, Law, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph W. Goering*, ed. Tristan Sharp (Toronto, 2017), 402–418. Johnson is preparing a critical edition.

The text here is O fol. 79r, P fol. 252rb, C p. 192b: "Dico statim cum potest copiam sacerdotis habere uel alias in mora, De pen. D.3 'Ille res [*recte* rex]' [c.25]."

50. O 84r, P 256va, C 197b: "*In quibus casibus peccatum semel confessum teneamur iterum confiteri*. . . . Primus est propter impericiam sacerdotis, scilicet si sacerdos meus est imperitus

on which Paul believed *Omnis utriusque* should be brought to bear was that of how one goes about confession when one finds oneself the parishioner of an ignorant priest.

Lastly, we come to the extensive *Summa de paenitentia* of Raymond of Peñafort, likely composed within the timeframe 1225–27. For Gratian, who fills clerical ranks for the governance of the church constituted a major concern. What sins banished one from clerical duties and what true penance did for the possible restitution of wayward clerics played a key role in this structure. The determination of sin and true penance thus became central to ecclesiastical discipline. Raymond's *Summa* on penance, most of which seems to have very little to do with penance and everything to do with clerical transgressions and discipline, fits the same model. Raymond did not get to penance proper until the very last title, namely Book 3 Title 34. Raymond's treatment there is full of decretals and *Decretum* texts. Not surprisingly, passages from *De penitentia* are especially prominent. And where is *Omnis utriusque*? As for Paul, one could imagine several places where Raymond might have cited the constitution but did not. He cited the constitution when stating that someone is held to confess to his or her *sacerdos proprius*.[51] Like Paul, Raymond went into most detail in the context of a penitent under an unskilled priest and the *licentia* to confess to a different priest. Raymond mentioned the responsibility to "choose a skilled judge," someone who can bind and loose. "But what if his own, unskilled and indiscreet priest does not want to give permission to go to another, prudent one—he cannot go by his own authority, can he?" Johannes Teutonicus and others had thought "yes." Raymond said, "It seems that not," and his proof was *Omnis utriusque*. He concluded, "It is therefore safer to go to him [the discreet priest] through a superior."[52] The next section was

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cui confessus sum,[1] ut De pen. D.6 c.1. Hoc tamen secundum[2] nouam constitutionem, scilicet ab ea impetrata licencia eundi ad[3] periciorem, extra t. in const. lateran. 'Omnis utriusque'.[4] Si tamen licenciam nollet, agere potest[5] ad[6] superiorem contra ipsum, art. extra i De iure[7] patronatus 'Nullus' [1Comp. 3.33.21/X 3.38.17]."

[1] est—sum] cui confessus sum numquam est peritus P [2] secundum] *om.* P C [3] ad] *add.* superiorem P [4] t.—utriusque] iii 'Omnis' P [5] nollet—potest] nolet dare licentiam, agerem O C [6] ad] apud O contra C [7] iure] uirtute P.

51. Raymundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de paenitentia* 3.34.15, ed. Xaverio Ochoa and Aloisio Diez, Universa bibliotheca iuris vol. 1, tomus B (Rome, 1976), 812.

52. Ibid. 3.34.27 (ed. Ochoa and Diez, 824): "Item, ut eligat peritum iudicem. Augustinus: 'Sacerdotem quaere qui te sciat ligare et solvere'. Sed quid si sacerdos suus imperitus et indiscretus non vult ei dare licentiam eundi ad alium discretum, numquid poterit ire auctoritate propria? non videtur. Arg. Extra *eodem*, const. *Omnis* et de pen. dist. 6 *Placuit* [D.6 c.3]. Tutius est ergo ei agere per superiorem."

on the frequency of confession, and Raymond there recounted the stipulations of the first half of *Omnis utriusque*.[53] In brief, Raymond included almost all the key stipulations of *Omnis utriusque* in his lengthy work, but the constitution was only thought to contribute to a debated point of canonistic jurisprudence about penance on one issue, that of *licentia* for seeking out a different confessor-priest.

Conclusion

In sum, *De penitentia*'s prominent influence in reflections on penance continued unabated in the decade after the Fourth Lateran Council, and canonistic writers of penance believed they had to integrate *Omnis utriusque* into their considerations on one very specific point, namely on how one could confess to some priest other than one's *sacerdos proprius*. This is really just another way of saying that *Omnis utriusque* was not viewed as marking a radical departure in penitential law, regardless of what its long-term effects on the practice of penance in medieval Christendom may or may not have been; it fit securely and comfortably within the penitential thought and law arising from Gratian's *De penitentia*. Gratian's *De penitentia* was the foundation upon which penitential thought and law was built in the later twelfth century and it continued to serve as such in the early thirteenth century, and, one might say, *Omnis utriusque* merely formed an additional stone in the edifice begun by Gratian.

It seems appropriate to assert, however, that within the context of Lateran IV as a whole and the ecclesiastical and pastoral structure it encouraged, *Omnis utriusque* did have greater import, for it fostered the administration of penance and a Christendom-wide framework within which *De penitentia* could continue to have an influence, potentially for every Christian *fidelis*, of any sex, and of any age.[54] The particular issue to which canonists devoted extensive attention, that of pursuing a skilled confessor when one's *sacerdos proprius* had less than ideal pastoral skills, was hardly a purely academic issue,

53. Ibid. 3.34.29 (ed. Ochoa and Diez, 826).

54. Such an interpretation is in line with Joseph Goering's observation that "[c]ertainly by the end of the thirteenth century the practice of penance had given rise not only to a deep and lasting concern with contrition and the searching of conscience but also to frequent confession to priests and friars, pilgrimages, indulgences, and many other types of popular devotion. These would have been scarcely imaginable without Gratian's insistence that confession and satisfaction for sins was an integral part of the Christian tradition, as well as the legislation of Innocent III that created an institutional form to accommodate it" ("The Scholastic Turn (1100–1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools," in *A New History Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 14 (Leiden, 2008), 227).

for the thirteenth century constituted simultaneously a period of the growth and delineation of parishes, each with their own *sacerdos proprius*, and the great age of the mendicant orders whose members potentially threatened the activities and powers proper to the *sacerdos proprius* yet also helped ensure that the faithful could have access to spiritual services traditionally rendered by the *sacerdos proprius*.[55] The issue arose again in debates about the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[56]

In short, while the prescription and implementation of annual confession constitute important facets of the church's history of penance, *Omnis utriusque* involved far more than that. In its canonistic context, it should be viewed largely as an endorsement of the canonistic jurisprudence of penance arising from Gratian's *De penitentia* and as a constitution that, both in its own day and for centuries to come, could not be ignored on ecclesiastical matters of jurisdiction and office because of its prescription to confess to one's *sacerdos proprius* and to obtain that priest's *licentia* before confessing to another.

55. Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 62–64. The importance of *Omnis utriusque* to the mendicant controversy was recognized already by Catholic scholar Odorico Rinaldi (1595–1671); see R. Emmet McLaughlin, "Truth, Tradition and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance," in *A New History of Penance*, 25.

56. Ibid., 28.

A Professionalizing Priesthood: The Cathedral Chapter of San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1650–1700

David M. Stark*

There is considerable interest in the social background, ecclesiastical formation, and career patterns of clergy and prebendaries in Latin America. However, our knowledge of these topics for the Spanish Caribbean is limited, especially during the seventeenth century. Scholars have long been critical of the Puerto Rican clergy's lack of academic training, even suggesting that many priests were illiterate. Who became a priest? What was the extent of the clergy's academic training in peripheral regions of the Americas? Which was more important for professional advancement—socioeconomic background or academic training? Did parish work matter? Answering these questions will provide a more nuanced understanding of the priesthood in peripheral areas of the Americas, like Puerto Rico.

Key Words: academic training, career patterns, cathedral chapter, Puerto Rico, prebendaries, relación de méritos

In a letter dated July 6, 1659, Francisco Arnaldo de Isasi, the newly installed bishop of Puerto Rico, described a tense situation in San Juan's *cabildo eclesiástico*, or cathedral chapter, to Gregorio de Leguía, secretary of the Council of the Indies.[1] The situation had begun in 1654 when Archdeacon Cristóbal Bautista López instructed his agent in Madrid to seek a position for him in a different cathedral chapter; he had specified Caracas, Mérida (Yucatán), Michoacán, Puebla, or Mexico City.[2] Later that year, when the office of treasurer in the cathedral chapter of Caracas became available, Bautista López's agent accepted on his behalf. For reasons that

*Dr. David Stark is professor of history and coordinator of Latin American Studies at Grand Valley State University, Allendale, MI, 49401; email: starkd@gvsu.edu. He wishes to thank the two anonymous readers for their helpful comments and suggestions as well as Nelson H. Minnich for his help in seeing the article to publication.

1. Vicente Murga Sanz and Álvaro Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico: De Francisco de Cabrera a Francisco de Padilla (1611–1695),* 3 (Ponce, PR, 1989), 573–574.

2. Pío Medrano Herrero, *Don Damián López de Haro y don Diego de Torres y Vargas: Dos figuras del Puerto Rico barroco* (San Juan, 1999), 231 Note 290.

aren't clear, the archdeacon changed his mind, and when the *cédula* arrived, he declined the appointment.[3] However, there were already plans to fill the vacancy his departure would create from within. In fact, the plan was that three prebendaries of the cathedral chapter would move into higher status positions once Bautista López left. The archdeacon's refusal to depart for Caracas jeopardized their advancement and prompted two of them (Diego de Torres y Vargas and Francisco Moreno del Rincón) to write the Council of the Indies in 1656 in the hope of ensuring Bautista López's departure.[4] Torres y Vargas probably harbored a grudge against Bautista López; in 1649, even though Torres y Vargas had seniority, Bautista López had been promoted ahead of him to the office of precentor. The following year, he became the archdeacon of the cathedral chapter of San Juan. The absence of a bishop from 1651 to 1659 complicated matters because it left de Torres y Vargas, the vicar general, in charge of the diocese. During the lapse of time between the complaints and a decision by the Council of the Indies, the members of the San Juan cathedral chapter stripped Bautista López of his archdeaconry, a move that de Torres y Vargas likely masterminded.

When Francisco Arnaldo de Isasi, the newly appointed bishop, arrived in San Juan on May 19, 1659, he faced a difficult decision: Bautista López had asked for reinstatement as archdeacon, but the Council of the Indies had sent a *cédula* instructing him to leave for Caracas and take possession of the office there. Although the bishop sympathized with the former archdeacon because the cathedral chapter's action of stripping him of his office was illegal, he feared he would have problems with the other prebendaries. Three of them had already received official notification of their new positions based on the assumption that Bautista López was leaving. They were bound to be very unhappy if they learned that they would be staying at their current ranks. To avoid a potential conflict with the cathedral chapter, the bishop agreed with the decision of the Council of the Indies.[5] Bautista López departed for Caracas. When he got there, he learned that the office of precentor was vacant. It was awarded to him in 1661. Five years later, he later advanced to dean of the cathedral chapter in Caracas. He held that position until his death in 1669.[6]

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3. Although the salaries were the same (300 pesos), the office of archdeacon was higher in rank than the treasurer. López Bautista was effectively demoted in rank and would leave behind family in San Juan.

4. Medrano Herrero, *Don Damián López de Haro*, 236-237.

5. Murga Sanz and Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 3:574–577.

6. Manuel Pérez Vila, *Actas del cabildo eclesiástico de Caracas, 1580-1770*, tomo 1 (Caracas, 1963), pp. 126, 131, 137, and 148. In 1664, López Bautista compiled a second *relación de méritos*, a type of dossier a member of the clergy submitted when he applied for a benefice,

This was not the first time a prebendary had declined a promotion or a transfer to another appointment. As José Gabino Castillo Flores has noted, 45 of 186 priests who were awarded a prebend (an office in a cathedral chapter) in Mexico City, Puebla, Michoacán, Nueva Galicia, and Antequera in the period 1570–1600 declined to serve.[7] Some aspiring prebendaries did not look favorably upon service in the cathedral chapter of Caracas.[8] For example, the Caracas treasury position that Bautista López rejected was initially offered in 1652 to Gregorio de Luyando, a *canónigo* (canon) who was serving in the cathedral chapter of Santiago, Cuba. The Puerto Rican–born Luyando may have been unable to obtain a position in the cathedral chapter of San Juan and thus sought a prebend elsewhere.[9] In 1639, he was awarded a *ración* in the Santiago cathedral chapter, and in 1645 he advanced to *canónigo* there.[10] In 1652, he was promoted to treasurer of the Caracas cathedral chapter, but he delayed his departure from Santiago and, like Bautista López, eventually declined the appointment. Perhaps Luyando chose to remain in Santiago because of the prestige associated with the office, even though the position was lower in rank than the one he had been offered. Meanwhile, the Council of the Indies had given the vacancy in the Santiago cathedral chapter to Francisco Moreno del Rincón. Luyando's action set in motion a series of events: Moreno del Rincón's appointment was rescinded and in 1654, Bautista López instructed his agent to seek a transfer from San Juan for him. One

promotion, or transfer, that included a letter from the vicar of the Caracas cathedral describing him in a miserable state, not having been able to recover from the harm done by the San Juan cathedral chapter. In the same letter, the vicar says that Cristóbal "*compone paces y hace amistades entre eclesiásticos y seglares*" (has an aptitude for forming friendships with priests and secular authorities). This phrase does not appear in other *relaciones* examined; perhaps it was inserted to (re)assure the crown that López Bautista was not a trouble-maker. "Relación de méritos para Cristóbal Bautista López," Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI], Indiferente General 197, no. 31, November 15, 1664.

7. José Gabino Castillo Flores, "Los cabildos eclesiásticos en Nueva España: Letras, orígenes y movilidad, 1570–1600," in *Poder y privilegio: Cabildos eclesiásticos en Nueva España, siglos XVI a XIX*, ed. Leticia Pérez Puente and Gabino Castillo Flores, (México, DF, 2016), 140.

8. This was not uncommon in other dioceses. For a discussion of canons serving in the cathedral chapter of Santiago (Chile) who declined promotion to the cathedral chapter of Concepción in the 1660s, see Lucrecia Raquel Enríquez Agrazar, *De colonial a nacional: La carrera eclesiástica del clero secular chileno entre 1650 y 1810* (México, DF, 2006), 166–170.

9. Gregorio was nominated for canon in 1622 and for *ración* in 1626 and 1627. "Consultas y decretos originales pertenecientes a la isla de Puerto Rico, años 1586–1700," AGI, Santo Domingo 535A, nos. 291, 298, and 299. I am very grateful to Teresa de Castro for graciously providing me with a copy of this document.

10. "Relación de méritos para Gregorio de Luyando," AGI, Indiferente General 193, no. 145, 1652.

can imagine a prebendary's frustration when his aspirations for promotion were put on hold.

Incidents such as these suggest that some members of the clergy, notably the prebendaries, paid close attention to career advancement. There is considerable interest in the social background, ecclesiastical formation, and career patterns of clergy and prebendaries in Latin America.[11] As Adriaan C. Van Oss notes, these aspects of the priesthood are important to our understanding of Spanish colonial history.[12] We now have more than 80 studies of clergy and prebendaries in Mexico, including the magisterial work by Óscar Mazín on the cathedral chapter of Valladolid (Michoacán). But we have only a handful of studies of their counterparts in the circum-Caribbean and Brazil.[13] Our knowledge of the origins and education of clergy and prebendaries and how they advanced or promoted their careers in these regions is limited, especially during the seventeenth century. Who became a priest? What was the extent of the clergy's academic training in peripheral regions of the Americas? Which was more important for professional advancement—socioeconomic background or academic training? Did parish work matter? The paucity of sources for the Spanish Caribbean, especially Puerto Rico, in this period, has made it difficult to answer these questions. However, scholars are now using the *relación de méritos y servicios*, a type of dossier a member of the clergy submitted when he applied for a benefice,[14] a promotion, or a transfer, to reconstruct the lives and careers of the clergy. Each *relación* includes several basic components: a cover letter written by the priest briefly narrating the services he or his family had rendered the Crown, a description of the priest's education, a list of current and former benefices, a summary of services performed for the parish or cathedral chapter, and testimony from a variety of witnesses substantiating the information the priest presented.[15]

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11. See Paul Ganster, "A Social History of the Secular Clergy of Lima During the Middle Decades of the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., UCLA, 1974); and John Frederick Schwaller, "The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 61 (1974), 651–674.

12. Adriaan C. Van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524-1821* (Cambridge, 2002), 158.

13. Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, "Cabildos, catedralicios y clero capitular en el antiguo régimen: Estado de la cuestión," *Revista de Historiografía* 13 (2010), 82–99, here 86; Óscar Mazín Gómez, *El cabildo catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán* (Zamora, 1996).

14. A benefice is a permanent Church appointment, typically as a pastor, for which income is provided in exchange for the performance of pastoral duties.

15. See Magnus Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners, and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico* (Madrid, 2011), 233; and

The information contained in *relaciones* makes it possible to create a profile of the clergy who served in the cathedral chapter of San Juan and examine their strategies for advancement. This study analyzes the *relaciones* of twenty-two of the thirty-one priests who served in the cathedral chapter of San Juan during the period 1650–1700.[16]

This study examined San Juan because we know little about the clergy in the peripheral areas of Spanish America, especially during this time frame. Testimony provided by clergy must be used with caution, since it was certainly biased, just as modern job applications are.[17] Each priest wanted to make a favorable impression to obtain an appointment, benefice, or transfer from the Crown, and they were not above embellishing their accomplishments. Nevertheless, the information contained in the *relaciones* is useful for identifying the traits that were common among prebendaries. Twenty-eight of thirty-one prebendaries were born locally, and of the twenty-one prebendaries whose social origins are known, only three came from humble origins, which I define as having parents who were not identified by military rank, civil office, or with titles or courtesy. Although clergy are often faulted for their lack of academic training, over one-third of the men in this fifty-year period had degrees from universities in both the New and Old Worlds. The priesthood was in the process of change.

Individual effort was not enough to bring about advancement in the ranks of the cathedral chapter. This was not a straightforward ladder system in which the most deserving members of the clergy climbed the ranks faster than others. In the first half of the seventeenth century, what mattered was a priest's socioeconomic background and his own or his family's prior service to the Crown, but in the second half of the century education became more important, as evidenced by the number of priests who had studied abroad. Internal promotions were the norm, and prebendaries often waited years to advance from *racionero* to canon and then to precentor, archdeacon, or dean. However, prebends with university degrees like Diego de Torres y Vargas and Martín Calderón de la Barca advanced

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Lincoln Draper, "Archbishops, Canons, and Priests: The Interaction of Religious and Social Values in the Clergy of Seventeenth-Century Bolivia," (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1989), 202. See also Murdo Macleod, "Self-Promotion: The *Relaciones de Méritos y Servicios* and Their Historical and Political Interpretation," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 7 (1998), 25–42.

16. Not all clergy compiled a *relación*, and some submitted more than one over the course of their career.

17. Van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism*, p. 164.

to the highest rungs (archdeacon and dean, respectively) and did so more quickly than their counterparts without a university degree. Elite and upwardly mobile families looked favorably upon service in the cathedral chapter, as it provided a stable, fixed income and gave individuals opportunities to expand family networks. As the population in the Americas increased and the memory of the conquest faded, more clergy competed for a limited number of prebends. Families had to find a way of making themselves noticed, which a growing number did by providing sons with a university education.[18]

The San Juan Cathedral Chapter in the Late Seventeenth Century

The Catholic Church was a powerful entity in colonial Spanish America in part because it was closely aligned with the state. In 1508, Pope Julius II gave the Spanish Crown significant powers in ecclesiastical affairs in the New World. This prerogative, known as the *patronato real* (royal patronage), included the right to nominate all church officials, collect tithes, and establish churches, monasteries, and convents. In exchange for the ecclesiastical power the pope ceded to the Crown, papal authorities expected Spanish monarchs to provide for the maintenance of the Church in the Americas and promote the conversion of New World inhabitants. The Crown paid the salaries of church officials and members of the clergy and subsidized a large part of the Church's proselytizing mission. In 1523, it created the Council of the Indies to administer Spain's overseas possessions. The council consisted of five branches (administrative, judicial, military, financial, and religious) that were responsible for areas of government. Tasked with debating policy and issuing recommendations to the king, the council also played a key role in the appointment of administrative positions such as prebends in cathedral chapters.

At the local level, the Church was organized into parishes administered by beneficed parish priests. At the regional level, dioceses were administered by a bishop. At the national level, the archdioceses were administered by an archbishop. In the Spanish Caribbean, islands were divided into parishes. Some formed their own diocese, as Puerto Rico

18. Cathedral chapters of Mexico City and Puebla had twenty-seven members, including ten canons, six *racioneros*, and six *medio racioneros*. Other cathedral chapters in New Spain, including Michoacán, had ten canons and six *racioneros* but no *medio racioneros*, whereas the cathedral chapter of Nueva Galicia had five canons and four *racioneros* and the cathedral chapter of Antequera had eight canons but no *racioneros*. See Castillo Flores, "Los cabildos eclesiásticos," 121–122.

did.[19] A diocese might encompass parts of several islands or colonies; the diocese of Puerto Rico included the islands of the Lesser Antilles (Trinidad and Margarita) and lands along the northern coast of South America (Cumana, New Barcelona, Guyana, and the missions along the upper Orinoco River), making it the most geographically extended diocese in the Americas.[20] San Juan was the seat of the diocese and the cathedral was located there, but it did not play a significant role in the religious life of the outlying regions beyond the island.

Although each diocese was administered by a bishop, it had its own cathedral chapter comprised of clergy who assisted the bishop in the administration of the cathedral. A chapter might have a *provisor* (ecclesiastical judge) or vicar general who assisted the bishop in diocesan matters. Each diocese had its own statutes and the number of prebends in a cathedral chapter varied. The 1512 bull of erection for the diocese of Puerto Rico specified the following salaried members: dean, archdeacon, precentor, schoolmaster, treasurer, and archpriest (in hierarchical order).[21] These were collectively referred to as dignitaries. Below them in rank were ten canons, six *racioneros* (junior canons), three half-*racioneros*, six acolytes, six chaplains, a sacristan, an organist, a beadle, a *mayordomo* (manager), a notary, and a *caniculario* (dog keeper).[22] However, the local economy was unable to support so many salaried chapter members and several offices were eliminated during the sixteenth century.[23] In the last half of the seventeenth century, the cathedral chapter in San Juan consisted of eight members: a dean, an archdeacon, a precentor, three canons, and two *racioneros*. This was

19. Although Puerto Rico was not part of the archdiocese of Santo Domingo, it was suffragan to its archbishop, who was *primus inter pares*. He was not involved in the administration of other dioceses, but he could call the suffragan bishops to a provincial council, as occurred in 1622–1623. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for bringing this to my attention.

20. See Cristina Campo Lacasa, *Notas generales sobre la historia eclesiástica de Puerto Rico en el siglo XVIII* (Seville, 1963), 5.

21. The precentor was responsible for all musical portions of church services and established the schedule by which members took turns in celebration of the sacraments. See Schwaller, "The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico," 653.

22. Medrano Herrero, *Don Damián López de Haro*, 142.

23. For example, Bishop Rodrigo de Bastidas (1542–1567) eliminated the offices of schoolmaster and archpriest. See Carlos M. González Morales, "La criollización del cabildo eclesiástico en Puerto Rico: Diego de Torres Vargas, los capitulares de Catedral y la formación de la iglesia local (circa 1575–1715)," in *III Simposio Iglesia, estado y sociedad: 500 años en Puerto Rico y el caribe, siglo XVII*, ed. María Dolores Luque (San Juan, 2010), 194.
Other dioceses faced similar problems. For example, the diocese of Nueva Galicia (Mexico) had to reduce the number of prebends in 1623 to three dignitaries, five canons, and four *raciones*. See Castillo Flores, "Los cabildos eclesiásticos," 122.

smaller than cathedral chapters in other dioceses, such as Caracas, which also had a treasurer. Other cathedrals had more canons and *racioneros*.[24]

The San Juan cathedral chapter met every week to discuss matters relating to the spiritual and temporal life of the diocese. The chapter was highly structured and every position had well-defined responsibilities. The head was the dean, who presided over the chapter and ensured that the canonical statutes were observed. He also served as the proxy for the bishop when there was none. The archdeacon covered for the dean in his absence and examined candidates for ordination to the priesthood. The precentor was responsible for the cathedral's music and liturgy. The canons and *racioneros* performed many tasks required for the day-to-day operations of the cathedral.[25] In addition to these duties, prebendaries were required to assist in the celebration of daily Mass (by chanting the divine office) and take part in other religious functions.

The tasks prebendaries did had to be performed personally and not by substitutes. This meant that prebendaries had to live near the cathedral. They drew a regular salary from the Crown, which in San Juan ranged from 150 pesos for a *racionero* to 400 pesos for the dean, in addition to receiving a portion of the tithe. There was a strict formula for distributing tithe income: the bishop and prebendaries each received one-fourth as a group and the rest was divided among the royal treasury and the diocesan parishes. However, the prebendaries typically usurped funds earmarked for the parishes, often leaving pastors to finance the needs of their parishes on their own.[26] Securing a prebend not only provided financial security, it also brought status and prestige. Prebendaries wore honorary insignia, they preceded other clergy when they moved in procession (e.g., on Corpus Christi), and each one had a stall in the cathedral's choir.

It is necessary to understand the island's defense system and system of legal trade to comprehend the socioeconomic context in which the *relaciones* were compiled. From its inception, San Juan had to protect itself against foreign incursions. The threat of French corsairs, which began in

24. Cathedral chapters were comprised of 27 members, but only a handful were fully staffed. In New Spain (Mexico), only the cathedral chapters of Mexico City and Puebla had a full component of canons (10), *racioneros* (6), and *medios* racioneros (6) in the years 1570 to 1600. The diocese of Antequera had 5 canons but no *racioneros* or *medios racioneros* in this period. Castillo Flores, "Los cabildos eclesiásticos," 121–122.

25. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "El cabildo catedrático y los jueces adjuntos en Lima Colonial (1601–1611)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, (2011), 331–361, here 333.

26. Van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism*, 83.

the 1530s and continued through the 1550s, prompted the first efforts to fortify the city. Initially local militia protected the city, but as the Crown became increasingly concerned about foreign interlopers, it assigned a garrison of professional soldiers to defend it in 1582. The Crown also allocated funds called the *situado* for the upkeep of the garrison, as was the common practice in other fortified cities throughout the Caribbean.[27] The British were also a threat. In November 1585, Sir Francis Drake attacked San Juan, and three years later, in the summer of 1598, George Clifford, the third earl of Cumberland, attacked the city. These events hastened San Juan's transformation into a military presidio. In response, the Crown authorized further improvements in the city's fortifications and increased the size of its garrison.[28] As this process unfolded, the prominence of the military in local society increased at the expense of other segments of the population. Nearly all military and civil authorities in the first half of the seventeenth century came from Spain. Many of these men married the daughters of prominent local families, forming the nucleus of a stratified, hierarchical society.

It is difficult to assess a priest's career without knowledge of the social networks and relationships that helped or hindered clerical advancement. The Menéndez de Valdes was likely the most powerful and well-connected clan in the city (and likely the island) in the mid-seventeenth century was. In 1582, the Crown sent Diego Menéndez de Valdés, a man with considerable military experience, to govern the island. Following two terms of office (1581–1593), the governor and his family remained on the island. Diego's numerous children intermarried with members of San Juan's civil and military elite (including the descendants of Juan Ponce de León, a member of the island's most prominent family in the late sixteenth century).[29] The Menéndez de Valdes were also linked through marriage to Spanish officials who were sent to the island, including Gaspar Flores de Caldevilla, who was named treasurer of the *real hacienda* (royal treasury) on May 20, 1623.[30] Gaspar's son, Alvaro Flores de Caldevilla, served in the

27. Fernando Picó, *History of Puerto Rico: A Panorama of Its People* (Princeton, N.J., 2006), 79–81.

28. Picó, *History of Puerto Rico*, 81–85, 88.

29. Diego's children include Catalina, who married Francisco Lanzos y Andrada; Lope, who married Catalina Flores de Caldevilla; Diego, who married Isabel de Rivera, a great-granddaughter of Juan Ponce de León; Francisco, who married Inés Mexia Gudiño; and Alonso, who married Isabel de Lugo Sotomayor.

30. "Relación de méritos para Álvaro Flores de Caldevilla," AGI, Indiferente General 192, no. 185, March 17, 1645.

cathedral chapter of San Juan. Like other elite families in the Americas, the Menéndez de Valdéses maintained their influence and prominence across several generations through the strategic placement of family members as clergy and nuns. Diego Menéndez de Valdés's nephew (Juan Morcelo), two of his grandsons (Alonso Menéndez de Valdés and Juan Menéndez de Valdés), and a great-nephew (Diego de Valdés y Montenegro) became priests and served in the cathedral chapter of San Juan. In addition, three of his granddaughters (Ana de Lanzos, Antonia de Lanzos, and María Menéndez de Valdés) were founding members of a Carmelite convent that was established on July 1, 1651, in San Juan.[31] The Menéndez de Valdéses were part of a small but formidable social and economic elite. Their power was enhanced by the small size of the city's population, which was only 1,794 in 1673.[32]

Other families, including the Amezquitas and Torres y Vargases, rose to prominence because of the actions members took to defend San Juan against foreign attackers. In September 1625, a Dutch squadron under the command of General Boudewijn Hendriksz attacked San Juan. Most of the city's residents took refuge in El Morro, the massive fortress whose construction had begun during Menéndez de Valdés's governorship. When Hendriksz demanded the surrender of El Morro, the island's governor, Juan de Haro, refused, and Hendriksz laid siege to the fortress. Several of the city's inhabitants distinguished themselves in combat, including Captain Juan de Amezquita and Sergeant Major García de Torres. Amezquita led a sortie one night that captured the enemy's position overlooking the harbor along with many weapons and resulted in the death of a Dutch commander.[33] García de Torres, who had served with distinction for twenty-three years in San Juan, was killed in the initial fighting.[34] Over time, the descendants of Amezquita and Torres parlayed the roles their respective ancestors had played in defending the empire against foreign

31. Tarsicio María Gotay Figueredo, "Monjas del monasterio Señor San José de la Orden de la Bienaventurada Virgen María de Monte Carmelo de la Antigua Observancia de la Ciudad de San Juan Puerto Rico," *Hereditas* 5 (2004), 3–16.

32. This figure comes from the only census undertaken for San Juan in the seventeenth century; no other census was undertaken for San Juan or for the island until 1765. Not all the city's inhabitants were enumerated. The census excluded persons below the age of ten, the city's secular and regular clergy and the Sisters of the Carmelite religious order, and the soldiers assigned to the city's military fortifications. See David M. Stark, "There Is No City Here, but a Desert: The Contours of City Life in 1673 San Juan," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 42 (2008), 255-289, here 253, 273–277.

33. Francisco Scarano, *Puerto Rico: Cinco siglos de historia* (México, DF, 1993), 237.

34. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Historia de Puerto Rico, 1600–1650* (Seville, 1974), 149.

invasion into socioeconomic prominence. Two of Amezquita's grandsons (Pedro de Oscos y Turen and Martín Calderón de la Barca) served in the cathedral chapter of San Juan, as did Torres's son, Diego de Torres y Vargas. Other inhabitants of San Juan, such as Juan de Salinas y Figueroa (the great-great-grandson of Juan Ponce de León), contributed food that kept the garrison supplied during the Dutch siege of El Morro. One of his sons, Gerónimo de Salinas y Figueroa, served in the city's cathedral chapter.[35] Before the Dutch withdrew from San Juan in November 1625, they burned it to the ground and made off with as much booty as their ships could carry. Historian Fernando Picó calls this "the worst disaster in the history of the city."[36]

San Juan eventually recovered, but the memory of the Dutch and English attacks remained embedded in the collective memory of its inhabitants for the rest of the century. In the economy of favor that bound patrons and clients with mutual obligations, the valiant deeds of ancestors amounted to political and economic capital. The king (the patron) was expected to provide material benefits, advancement, and protection in return for the loyalty and service of his subjects (the clients). This was known as the mandate of reciprocity.[37] When the king was unable to pay in advance for help in a war, a conquest, or a disaster, he offered future rewards and favors. Loyal subjects recorded and certified both their deeds and the unpaid work they performed for the king to secure royal favor. Because they or their ancestors had demonstrated their loyalty to the king in fighting the Dutch and English and in provisioning El Morro, certain of San Juan's inhabitants expected him to provide commensurate rewards for that service.

A key component of the mandate of reciprocity was the principle that the famous deeds of one's ancestors could be inherited and claimed by their descendants.[38] We see evidence of this in the *relaciones* prospective prebendaries compiled in the mid-seventeenth century. Clergy often reminded the king of the heroism and financial sacrifice of their ancestor(s) during the Dutch and the English attacks. For example, Gerónimo de Salinas y

35. "Relación de méritos para Gerónimo de Salinas y Figueroa," AGI, Indiferente General 195, no. 35, 1658.

36. Picó, *History of Puerto Rico*, 87.

37. On the mandate of reciprocity, see Ann Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford, 2015), 413.

38. Macleod, "Self-Promotion," 26; Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local*, 216.

Figueroa's *relación*, which he compiled in 1658, highlighted the fact that his father had provided meat, *casabe* (manioc), and sugar at his own expense to the men guarding the mouth of the Bayamón River during the 1625 Dutch attack and that his paternal grandfather, Gerónimo de Salinas, had provided key resources during the 1598 English attack.[39] For his father's and grandfather's actions, Salinas was promoted to *canónigo*. Reminding the Crown about the deeds of one's ancestors was still an effective strategy for prospective prebendaries to make themselves noticed into the middle of the century.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, the Hispanic Caribbean became increasingly marginalized from commercial traffic between Spain and the Americas. A variety of factors, including changes in navigation routes, difficulties associated with the fleet system of trade, and a *cédula* that forbade merchants from the Canary Islands from trading with the Spanish Caribbean, led to a virtual paralysis of legal commercial trade.[40] From 1625 to 1650, the levels of maritime traffic between Puerto Rico and Seville declined to less than one-fifth of that of the previous quarter-century.[41] If we are to believe contemporary accounts, from 1651 to 1662 not a single registered ship from Spain arrived at the island and from 1651 to 1675 only eight ships left Seville for Puerto Rico.[42] This probably is why it took three years for the Council of the Indies to respond to the letters Diego de Torres y Vargas and Francisco Moreno del Rincón wrote in 1656. Despite the decline in legal commercial traffic, illegal trade was openly conducted along the island's coastlines. With few legal outlets for their goods, island residents (including clergy who later served in the cathedral chapter, such as Martín Calderón de la Barca) were increasingly drawn into the complex and illegal web of intra-Caribbean trade with nearby islands in the non-Hispanic Caribbean, such as the Danish port of Saint Thomas, the British Virgin Islands of Tortola and Virgin Gorda, and the Dutch possessions of Saint Eustatius and Curaçao.[43]

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39. "Relación de méritos para Gerónimo de Salinas y Figueroa," AGI, Indiferente General 195, no. 35, 1658.

40. Altagracia Ortiz, *Eighteenth-Century Reforms in the Caribbean: Miguel de Muesas, Governor of Puerto Rico 1769–1776* (Rutherford NJ, 1983), 53.

41. A similar situation prevailed in Havana during the first half of the seventeenth century, where the infrequency of trade was particularly acute during the 1640s. See Isabelo Macías Domínguez, *Cuba en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII* (Seville, 1978), 143.

42. Picó, *History of Puerto Rico,* 75.

43. Martín's *relación* contains a letter written by Bishop Francisco de Padilla to the Crown on March 1, 1689, that describes when Martín was a sub-deacon, one of his slaves was apprehended with contraband goods. Martín was accused of participating in the contra-

The island's (and the city's) dependence on the *situado*, which provided the largest supply of specie for the island, also made matters worse. No *situado* arrived from Mexico in seventeen of the years in the period 1650–1700, and only 53 percent of the total that should have arrived reached Puerto Rico in these years.[44] Such shortfalls in the *situado* meant that months or years might pass when no official salaries were paid, including those of the priests who staffed the cathedral chapter. This forced residents to rely on credit or loans from local merchants and resulted in periodic economic downturns. Historian Ángel López Cantos describes the period 1650 to 1700 "as the period of lowest economic activity in Puerto Rico."[45] Mid- and late-seventeenth-century descriptions refer to both San Juan and the island as impoverished. Cristóbal Bautista López cited the island's poverty as one of the reasons he was requesting a transfer to the Caracas cathedral chapter. Although the salary was the same (300 pesos), according to Bautista López, the income from the tithe (which likely provided his only source of income in the years when the *situado* did not arrive) was not enough for him to dress in the manner befitting his station. He also noted that sometimes it was impossible to celebrate the Mass because wine and bread used for the Host and communion wafers were in short supply.[46] However impoverished San Juan and Santiago, Cuba, were, the situation in Caracas was likely worse, which is probably the reason Bautista López and Luyando turned down the opportunity to occupy the treasurer's office in the Caracas cathedral chapter.[47]

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band trade and was imprisoned for five months. The bishop later refused to ordain Martín as a priest or to allow him to travel to Caracas or Havana to be ordained. However, Martín sailed to Spain without the bishop's permission, where he studied at the University of Seville and was ordained. Relación de Martín Calderón de la Barca, AGI, Indiferente General 209, no. 47, June 23, 1690. Martín and the Calderón de la Barca family were notorious for their participation in contraband trade. In 1701, Governor Gabriel Gutiérrez de Riva launched an investigation into contraband trade and discovered that Martín (now dean of the San Juan cathedral chapter) had been selling wax, wine, and oil to be used in the San Juan cathedral's liturgical services for personal profit. See Ángel López Cantos, *Historia de Puerto Rico: 1650–1700* (Seville, 1975), 268.

44. López Cantos, *Historia de Puerto Rico*, 135–137. Funds were allocated for the upkeep of the permanent military garrison in San Juan, but rather than sending these from Seville, the Crown tapped the revenues generated by the silver mines of Mexico to provide a permanent subsidy for the garrison's salaries and other expenses.

45. López Cantos, *Historia de Puerto Rico*, 93, 127.

46. Medrano Herrero, *Don Damián López de Haro*, 231.

47. While what conditions were like in Caracas are not available, we know Bautista López wanted to leave San Juan and identified locations where he would accept a transfer but not Caracas. The *relación* does not state why he did not want to relocate there.

Claims of poverty were likely overstated to elicit sympathy from the Crown. Although there were problems with the *situado* that didn't arrive or the dearth of registered ships sailing to San Juan, prebendaries had other sources of income like the tithe. Torres y Vargas sent items received as part of the tithe (ginger, hides, sugar, and cacao) to Spain for sale and to pay off debts.[48] Prebendaries had very good incomes. This allowed some priests to own houses, including Diego de Valdés y Montenegro and Diego de Bolaños, and other priests to own slaves.[49] For example, Juan Gomez de Govantes owned at least 3 slaves, Juan Guilarte de Salazar owned at least 1 slave, Francisco Lopez de la Cruz owned at least 5 slaves, Juan de Rivafrecha owned at least 2 slaves, and Felipe de Lozada owned at least one slave.[50] Priests often used their income to support parents and unmarried or widowed siblings. Though they had many expenses, their pleas of poverty were probably intended to secure more money to allow them to live according to the standard of living befitting their station.

The Socioeconomic Origins of Priests in Spanish America

We know very little about the social origins of the priests who served in San Juan in the seventeenth century. Such information was not required for ordination. Candidates for the priesthood had to be of legitimate birth and from old Christian lineage (that is free from Muslim Jewish, Indian, or African ancestry). Although it was not common, men of illegitimate birth could be ordained and could even become prebendaries, but this required a dispensation from the papacy. One example is Juan de Rivafrecha, who obtained such a dispensation and was promoted to a *ración* in 1691 and then to a canon in 1695. However, his career stalled because of his background and he never advanced to the rank of precentor.[51] Prospective priests had to provide witnesses who could attest that they were free from stains on their honor. Information in the *relaciones* about socioeconomic background must be used with caution, since the priests often overstated their circumstances or embellished an ancestor's

48. Medrano Herrero, *Don Damián López de Haro*, 187–193.

49. See David Stark and Teresa de Castro Sedgwick, "Padrón del año 1673 de las personas que hay en la ciudad de San Juan de Puerto Rico: Una transcripción con introducción y notas genealógicas," *Boletín de la Sociedad Puertorriqueña de Genealogía*, 9 (1997), 1–114, here 45 and 56.

50. These prebendaries owned female slaves who gave birth and their infants were baptized in San Juan in the years 1650 to 1700.

51. "Minutas de consultas, decretos y otros papeles, años 1721–1740," AGI, Santo Domingo 535A, AGI, Año de 1730, no. 11. I am very grateful to Teresa de Castro for graciously providing me with a copy of this document.

accomplishments to curry favor with the king and obtain a benefice. In addition, the information in the *relaciones* may be skewed toward priests who came from the upper ranks of colonial society.[52] Lacking other documentation, we should use the *relaciones* with caution and compare them against the published primary sources.

Scholars who study the clergy in Spanish America have long argued that most priests were of modest social origins. For example, Lincoln Draper states that clergy in early seventeenth-century Charcas in Bolivia "came from mid-level bureaucratic families tracing their lineage to conquistadors or early settlers."[53] William Taylor observes that members of the cathedral chapters in eighteenth-century Mexico City and Guadalajara came from "the upper ranks of colonial society," as did appointees to the lucrative "first class" parishes. He then writes that of a sample of more than 100 other priests in second- and third-class parishes as beneficed pastors or their assistants in these two dioceses, "most were of relatively humble origins."[54] Consolación Fernández Mellen asserts that clergy in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Havana were of "*ascendencia humilde*," or humble birth.[55] However, the evidence from the San Juan *relaciones*—from other time periods and other parts of Spanish America—suggests that the expense of preparing for the priesthood was high.

While the initial course of study often began in the prospective cleric's hometown under the tutelage of the local pastor, advanced study that lasted for several years was required for ordination. This was only possible at a seminary, a convent school staffed by members of a religious order, or a university, all of which were typically found in larger cities. As Paul Ganster has noted, the cost of meeting these educational requirements factored heavily into an individual's decision to enter the priesthood. Only the more affluent families could send a son off to study.[56] While a man of humble origins might become a priest, this was the exception, not the rule.

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52. This is not just a problem of sampling (not all clergy left a *relación*) but also one of bias because it was in the applicant's best interest to present the strongest possible case for promotion, even if this meant embellishing his own or his ancestor's accomplishments.

53. See Draper, "Archbishops, Canons, and Priests," 250.

54. See William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, 1996), 87.

55. See Consolación Fernández Mellen, "El alto clero en la nueva diócesis de la Habana: Origen, formación y carrera eclesiástica (1790–1830)," in *El mediterráneo y América*, 1, ed. Juan José Sánchez Baena and Lucía Provencio Garrigos, (Murcia, 2006), 483.

56. Paul Ganster, "Churchmen," in *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Luisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Midgen Socolow, (Albuquerque, 1986), 145.

Such a man probably needed a sponsor or benefactor to help with expenses. There were other financial considerations, too. Prospective clerics had to provide evidence of a lifelong means of support, called a *congrua*. Once a priest was ordained, he could not perform any other kind of manual labor, and secular priests, unlike their counterparts who belonged to religious orders, were not allowed to beg for alms.[57] To establish their financial independence, young men typically relied upon *capellanías* (chaplaincies) or other ecclesiastical endowments that provided a fixed income. A *capellanía* was often established by family members for this purpose.[58] Only wealthy families had the means to endow a *capellanía* or other source of fixed income for a son studying for the priesthood. Thus, priests were generally members of the economic elite of their communities.

This was the case with the clergy in this study. We know the socio-economic background of twenty-one of the thirty-one priests who served in San Juan's cathedral chapter from 1650 to 1700. Six of them were descended from families with military backgrounds. For example, Martín Calderón de la Barca belonged to a family of career military officers. His father Francisco had served as infantry captain in San Juan's presidio from 1653 to 1658; his grandfather Martín had served in the military for twenty-seven years, including a stint as infantry captain in the San Juan presidio; and his great-grandfather Francisco's military career had begun in 1580 and spanned over fifty years.[59] There were a few prebendaries from families with more modest military backgrounds, such as Andrés Suazo Recalde, whose father Martín Suazo Recalde had served as *cabo de escuadra* (standard bearer) and as sergeant in San Juan's military garrison.[60] Five of the prebendaries descended from families active in the island's civil administration. Among these were Félix de Cuadros, whose father Agustín de Cuadros had had a distinguished career serving as *alcalde ordinario* (alderman), *procurador general* (attorney general), and *alcalde de la Santa Hermandad* (sheriff).[61] Three prebendaries belonged to the landed elite, including Gerónimo de Salinas y Figueroa and Juan Menéndez de Valdés, whose

57. Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local*, 70.

58. In areas with indigenous populations such as Mexico and Peru, prospective clerics could seek ordination based on their knowledge of an Indian language.

59. "Relación de méritos para Martín Calderón de la Barca," AGI, Indiferente General 215, no. 50, June 14, 1710.

60. "Relación de méritos para Andrés Suazo Recalde," AGI, Indiferente General 205, no. 54, January 29, 1683.

61. "Relación de méritos para Félix de Cuadros," AGI, Indiferente General 199, no. 43, August 24, 1667.

father, Francisco Menéndez de Valdés, owned a hacienda that had been destroyed during the 1625 Dutch attack.[62] Two prebendaries alleged noble ancestry, though their claims were not well documented in the *relaciónes*, and another two traced their lineage back to the island's conquerors.[63] Of the twenty-one prebendaries whose social origins are known, only three came from humble origins. One, Francisco Sánchez Muñoz was the son of the *mayordomo* (manager) of the church in Cumana, off the coast of South America, and the other two, Francisco López de la Cruz and Cristóbal Pastrana, were born in San Juan.[64]

We know the place of birth for twenty-nine of the thirty-one priests. Twenty-seven were born locally.[65] This finding is similar to what scholars found for dioceses in other regions of the Americas and Spain. For example, Lucrecia Raquel Enríquez Agrazar observed that all twenty-three canons named to the cathedral chapter of Concepción (Chile) from 1650 to 1700 were born in Chile and that twenty-seven of thirty-two canons named to the cathedral chapter of Santiago in the same period had been born locally.[66] Lincoln Draper noted a similar finding for the early seventeenth-century cathedral chapter in Charcas, Bolivia.[67] Following the adoption of the New Laws of 1542, the Crown pursued a deliberate strategy of favoring individuals born locally when staffing royal posts, including positions in the Church. Preference was given to conquerors and their descendants in

62. "Relación de méritos para Juan Menéndez de Valdés," AGI, Indiferente General 193, no. 27, April 13, 1646.

63. The prebends who claimed noble descent were Luis Muriel y Castro and Juan Guilarte de Salazar. The descendants of conquerors were Esteban Cordero de Luyando and Tomás Martín de Luyando. See "Relaciones de mérito para Luis Muriel y Castro, Juan Guilarte de Salazar, Esteban Cordero de Luyando, and Tomás Martín de Luyando," AGI, Indiferente General 196, no. 139, March 10, 1663; AGI, Indiferente General 207, no. 9, December 1, 1686; AGI, Indiferente General 195, no. 64, May 31, 1658; and AGI, Indiferente General 202, no. 33, February 10, 1675.

64. For Francisco, see AGI, Indiferente General 195, no. 69, July 9, 1658. Pastrana's *relación* provided the name of his parents, but López de la Cruz's did not. For Cristóbal Pastrana and Francisco López de la Cruz, see AGI, Indiferente General 195 no. 24 September 22, 1659; and AGI, Indiferente General 211, no. 63 November 5, 1695.

65. Among prebendaries whose place of birth is known, Juan Gómez de Govantes, was from Spain, and Francisco Sánchez Muñoz was from Cumana. The origin of two prebendaries is unknown, although one, Felipe Losada, was likely born in Puerto Rico. See "Relación de mérito para Juan Gómez de Govantes and "Relación de mérito para Francisco Sánchez Muñoz," AGI, Indiferente General 208, no. 49, December 10, 1688; and AGI, Indiferente General, 195, no. 69, July 9, 1658.

66. Enríquez Agrazar, *De colonial a nacional*, 25 and 197.

67. Draper, "Archbishops, Canons, and Priests," 204.

awarding prebends.[68] Within a century, the number of prebendaries from the Peninsula had declined; most were locally born.[69] The Crown's preference for the conquerors and their offspring put Spanish clergy who sought posts in cathedral chapters in the Americas at a disadvantage. Perhaps this explains why the request of Spanish native Juan Gómez de Govantes for a prebend in the San Juan cathedral chapter was denied six times in twenty-eight years; he finally was finally given one in 1696.[70]

Although preference was given to locally born men, priests were careful to note their hereditary connections to the metropolis in the hope of impressing the Council of the Indies. This was the case with Pedro Pérez Basco, who emphasized that his paternal grandparents were from the Villa de Motril in Castile.[71] Conversely, individuals of humble origin or those who had been born in the Americas, as was the case with Cristóbal Bautista López, might omit their ancestry, choosing instead to highlight their education or their pastoral activities.

Members of Spanish colonial society did not see themselves as having status as individuals but as part of a family unit, and prebendaries who were interested in advancing their economic and social status invariably did so in the context of the status of their family. The status of the individual reflected upon the family and vice versa. Likewise, a prebendary's influence and power probably derived more from his family or from other ties with local elites than it did from membership in the cathedral chapter.[72] This

68. Following complaints and calls for reform from individuals such as the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, these laws were created to prevent the exploitation and mistreatment of the indigenous peoples of the Americas through the *encomenderos* (grants of labor of a particular group of Indians) by strictly limiting their power and dominion. Schwaller, "The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico," 670.

69. By the end of the sixteenth century most members of the San Juan cathedral chapter were creoles. For a list of prebendaries of its cathedral chapter in the sixteenth century, see Elsa Gelpí Baíz, "Los procesos de integración criolla dentro del cabildo eclesiástico," in *Iglesia y Sociedad: 500 años en Puerto Rico y el caribe, siglo XVI*, ed. Manuel Alvarado Morales and Marie Minette Díaz Burley, (San Juan, 2008), 321–325.

70. Gómez de Govantes applied for the position of archdeacon in 1690, 1695, and 1696. He applied for a position as *ración* in 1691, as precentor in 1694, and as canon in 1695. "Propuestas, consultas y provisiones de canonjías, años 1696–1758," AGI, Santo Domingo 579, nos. 15 and 3; "Consultas y decretos originales pertenecientes a la isla de Puerto Rico, años 1586–1700," AGI, Santo Domingo 535A, nos. 94, 160, 98, and 262.

71. "Relación de méritos para Pedro Pérez Basco," AGI, Indiferente General 117, no. 46, June 14, 1641.

72. Pedro C. Quintana Andrés, "El cabildo catedral de Canarias: Una elite socioeconómica e ideológica de ámbito regional," *Revista de Historia Moderna Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 26 (2008), 221–248 here 224.

fact was not lost upon church authorities. As Lincoln Draper has noted, there were conflicts between the cathedral chapter and bishops over control of diocesan clergy.[73] Bartolome García de Escañuela, the bishop of Puerto Rico from 1670 to 1676, alluded to this in a letter to the king dated April 27, 1674, that described the problematic nature of appointments to the cathedral chapter. According to García de Escañuela, bishops came and went so frequently that when one died, the cathedral chapter overturned the appointments of prebendaries it did not like and named those it wanted instead.[74] Bishops who found themselves at odds with the cathedral chapter often did what the chapter wanted to avoid problems with the prebendaries. Maybe this explains why Bishop Arnado de Isasi deferred judgment about Cristóbal Bautista López's request for reinstatement as archdeacon to the Council of the Indies.

Academic Training and Intellectual Formation

In a letter dated August 14, 1706, Pedro de la Concepción Urtiaga, the newly installed bishop of Puerto Rico, informed the king about the state of the island's clergy. He said that "*no tienen más ciencia que un poco de gramática mal aprendida*" (their knowledge consists of little more than some badly learned grammar). The bishop believed that the low level of academic training for priests contributed to moral laxity among the island's inhabitants and that it was related to the fact that the clergy administered the sacraments poorly and seldom.[75] Bishop Urtiaga was not alone in his assessment of the clergy. Other bishops throughout Spanish America expressed similar concerns about the clergy's lack of academic training. For example, the bishops of two Chilean dioceses, Dionisio Cimbrón of Concepión and Diego Humanzoro of Santiago, who each wrote the king in 1672, criticized the clergy in their respective dioceses. According to Bishop Cimbrón, "*Los curas . . . apenas saben leer latín y esto muy mal*" (the priests . . . barely know Latin and this very poorly). Bishop Humanzoro wrote "*Hay un solo prebendado con estudios y califica a los demás como iletrados*" (there is only one prebendary with [university] studies and the rest lack formal study).[76] Scholars often repeat

73. Draper, "Archbishops, Canons, and Priests," 20.

74. Murga Sanz and Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 3:623.

75. Vicente Murga Sanz and Álvaro Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico: De Pedro de la Concepción Urtiaga a Juan Bautista Zengotita 1706–1802)*, 4 (Ponce, PR, 1990), 245.

76. Lucrecia Enríquez, "Carrera eclesiástica, Real Patronato y redes de poder en las consultas de la Cámara de Indias del clero secular chileno en el siglo XVIII," in *Carrera, linaje y patronazgo: Clérigos y juristas en Nueva España, Chile y Perú (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, ed. Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, (México, DF, 2004), 134–135.

such assessments. For instance, Angel López Cantos has suggested that the Puerto Rican clergy in the eighteenth century was characterized by a "*bajo nivel acultural*" (low level of academic training).[77] Was this depiction accurate? What was the extent of the clergy's academic training in the years before Bishop Urtiaga arrived in 1706?

Priests often indicated in their *relaciones* what and where they had studied and what degrees they had earned. This allows us to evaluate their academic training, especially that of the prebendaries, in this period. Prospective priests had to be trained in Latin and moral theology. Beyond this, there were no additional academic requirements, except that each prospective cleric had to pass a written examination before he could be ordained.[78] Candidates for the priesthood were trained in Latin and moral theology to the extent that a family's financial means allowed. There was no standardized school system in Spanish America, and peripheral areas such as Puerto Rico had few schools. Families had to improvise to educate their children. A parent who was literate probably taught his or her children, especially sons, how to read and write at an early age. The sons of affluent community members might study with a private tutor or the parish priest. For example, Alonso de Ulloa y Fuentes, who served as a prebendary in the cathedral chapters of Santo Domingo and Caracas, was taught by his maternal uncle, Pedro de Lizana, dean of the cathedral chapter in San Juan.[79] Boys who were interested in the priesthood began their primary studies sometime between the age of ten and thirteen.[80] In larger cities, an informal school was often staffed by local priests attached to the cathedral. For instance, in San Juan, several clerics, including Cristóbal Bautista López, Juan Gómez de Govantes, and Cristóbal Pastrana, taught boys Spanish reading and writing, grammar (reading, writing, and pronouncing Latin), and the basics of ecclesiastical chant.[81] Boys also learned the rudiments of the faith and were trained in the reading of the hours. After they had become proficient in the study of grammar and mastered these skills, they were ready for tonsure and conferral of the minor orders (porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte), which

77. Ángel López Cantos, *Los puertorriqueños: Mentalidades y actitudes (Siglo XVIII)* (San Juan, 2000), 323.

78. Van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism*, 164.

79. AGI, Contratación 20, no. 13.

80. Van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism*, 166.

81. See "Relaciones de Cristóbal Bautista López, Juan Gómez de Govantes and Cristóbal Pastrana," AGI, Indiferente General 192, no. 186, April 23, 1641; AGI, Indiferente General 208, no. 49, December 10, 1688; and AGI, Indiferente General 195, no. 24, September 22, 1659.

typically occurred at age fourteen.[82] More advanced studies followed at a seminary, convent school, or university, depending on the family's financial means or where the candidate lived.

Because there was no seminary or university in Puerto Rico, prospective clerics continued with their intellectual formation at the Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino (the Saint Thomas Aquinas convent school) in San Juan, which was operated by the Dominicans. The secondary course of study, which lasted three years, was rigorous. Classes were held year-round and went from early in the morning into the evening. During the first year, students learned rhetoric, which combined Latin and Spanish and probably involved translation in both directions of texts such as selected works by Cicero and Virgil. Students also studied the techniques of persuasion these authors used.[83] In the second year, they embarked upon the *curso de artes* (course in the study of arts), which consisted of logic and Aristotelian philosophy. Future clergy and prebendaries were educated alongside future leaders of San Juan society and government, which provided opportunities to forge friendships and create networks that might prove advantageous in the future. Prior to ordination, candidates for the priesthood also had to complete courses in dogmatic and moral theology, which "dealt with the application of dogmatic principles to everyday life."[84] This was the extent of academic training for most Puerto Rican clergy in this period. For example, Pedro de Oscos y Turen studied at the Colegio de Santo Tomás from 1663 to 1666 and was ordained after he had completed the *curso de artes*.[85] Fur-

82. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 69. Although boys as young as fourteen received the minor orders, it is highly unlikely they would have been put in the position of performing exorcisms. Not all who were tonsured were ordained. For example, in the period 1656–1660 in the diocese of Santiago de Compostela (Spain) there were 505 tonsures but only 86 ordinations, and in the diocese of Barcelona in the period 1635–1717 there were 2,667 tonsures but only 622 ordinations. See Arturo Morgado García, "La iglesia como factor de movilidad social: Las carreras eclesiásticas en la España del Antiguo Régimen," in *Poder y movilidad social: Cortesanos, religiosos y oligarquías en la península Ibérica (siglos XV–XIX)*, ed. Francisco Chacón Jiménez y Nuño G. Monteiro, (Murcia, 2006), 67 nn 9–10.

83. Morgado García, "La iglesia como factor de movilidad social," 93.

84. Morgado García, "La iglesia como factor de movilidad social," 90.

85. Four other priests (Juan Menéndez de Valdés, Pedro Pérez Basco, Juan Guilarte de Salazar, and Martín Calderón de la Barca, all noted in their *relaciones* they studied at the Colegio de Santo Tomás. If a priest studied at a university, he did not mention studying at the *Colegio*—only one, Martín, did. Other priests did not mention where they studied. A priest could have studied on their own, but would have had to study at the *Colegio* to take the required theology courses. See "Relación de méritos para Pedro de Oscos y Turen," AGI, Indiferente General 202, no. 30, March 20, 1675; Relación de méritos para Juan Menéndez de Valdés, AGI, Indiferente General 193, no. 27, April 13, 1646; Relación de méritos para

ther academic training would have required him to study abroad, a costly endeavor.

As competition for benefices increased in the second half of the seventeenth century, some families opted to provide their sons with a university education to advance their professional career opportunities and potentially as a means of social mobility. A priest was more likely to be selected for a prebend, especially the rank of a dignitary (archdeacon and dean), if he had a university degree. This may have been the case in 1658, when Diego de Torres y Vargas was appointed dean instead of Bernardino Benítez y Luyando, who had more seniority. Torres y Vargas used his social (and professional) connections in Madrid and likely was awarded the prebend because Benítez y Luyando did not have a university degree. Selection as a prebend, especially the higher ranks of a dignitary (archdeacon and dean), conferred honor and prestige—not to mention a lucrative income—and it provided access to power with the church. Even though a university education was costly, it paid dividends in the long run.

In core areas of Latin America, like Mexico, the number of young men studying at universities increased over the course of the seventeenth century as did the number of priests with a university degree.[86] The priesthood was in the process of becoming more professional. However, the timing of this shift varied. It occurred earlier in some areas (Mexico) and later in others (Puerto Rico). Perhaps this explains why Bishop Urtiaga, a native of Queretaro, Mexico, whose prior service was mostly in that country, was critical of the Puerto Rican clergy's lack of academic training in the early eighteenth century.[87]

A surprising number of Puerto Rican clergy in the second half of the seventeenth century had a university degree. Of the thirty-one prebendaries who served in the cathedral chapter of San Juan during this period, eleven (35 percent) had a university degree. This is much higher than the number of prebendaries with a university degree in the first half of the sev-

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Pedro Pérez Basco, AGI, Indiferente General 117, no. 46, June 14, 1641; Relación de méritos para Juan Guilarte de Salazar, AGI Indiferente General 207, no. 9, December 1, 1686; and Relación de méritos para Martín Calderón de la Barca, AGI Indiferente General 209, no. 47, June 23, 1690.

86. Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, "Mismas aulas, diferentes destinos: Los estudios universitarios como factor de ascenso en las carreras públicas," *Historia Mexicana* 65 (2016), 1709-1749, here 1710; and *Un clero en transición: Población clerical, cambio parroquial y política eclesiástica en el arzobispado de México, 1700-1749* (México, DF, 2012), 121.

87. Murga Sanz and Álvaro Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 3:24.

enteenth century (three of twenty-nine, or 10 percent).[88] Few priests in the Spanish Caribbean (Cuba, Florida, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo) in this period had a university degree. According to Josué Caamaño Dones, who examined the *relaciones de méritos* for thirty-one priests in the Spanish Caribbean, only ten priests had studied at a university: seven from Cuba, one from Jamaica, one from Puerto Rico, and one from Santo Domingo.[89] Because there was only one university in the Spanish Caribbean at this time, the University of Santo Tomas in Santo Domingo, it is surprising that so many priests in Puerto Rico earned a university degree in the late seventeenth century.

Of the eleven university graduates in this study, three had completed the requirements for a *bachiller* (equivalent to a bachelor's degree), seven had been awarded a *licenciado* (equivalent to a master's degree), and one had attained the rank of *doctorado* (equivalent to a doctorate). Perhaps the larger number of *licenciados* was attributable to the fact that conferral of a degree required the payment of a fee. The *doctorado* cost the most.[90] The fees for degrees were waived for students of humble backgrounds who did well on the examination required at the end of the course of study. However, fees were not waived for the *doctorado*, and some students from Puerto Rico who studied at the university likely were unable to pay the fee for conferral of the *doctorado* and had to settle for the less costly *licenciado*.[91] The place of study is known for six prebendaries: three graduated from the University of Seville (Martín Calderón de la Barca, Alonso Menéndez de Valdés, and Diego de Torres y Vargas), one from the University of Mexico (Diego de Valdés y Montenegro), and two from the University of Santo Tomás in Santo Domingo (Juan de Rivafrecha and Tomás Sánchez de Páez). Other priests from Puerto Rico also held university degrees: Luis de Coronado and Alonso de Ulloa y Fuentes had both graduated from the

88. The three prebendaries with university degrees were Felix Galvez de Carvajal and Juan de Balbuena, both doctors, and Diego de Torres y Vargas, a *bachiller*. I am grateful to Dr. Andrés Méndez for graciously providing me with a list of prebendaries for the period 1600–1650.

89. See Josué Caamaño Dones, "Los estudios superiores en la periferia de la Nueva España: La formación académica de los eclesiásticos en la zona del caribe durante la primera mitad del siglo XVII," in *III Simposio Iglesia, estado y sociedad: 500 años en Puerto Rico y el caribe, siglo XVII*, ed. María Dolores Luque (San Juan, 2010), 119–130. Caamaño Dones overlooked the *relación de méritos* for Diego de Torres y Vargas, who studied at the University of Seville.

90. See José Antonio Vásquez Vilanova, *Clero y sociedad en la Compostela del siglo XIX*, (Santiago de Compostela, 2004), 42–43.

91. Vásquez Vilanova, *Clero y sociedad en la Compostela*, p. 44.

University of Seville and Pedro Menéndez de Valdés had graduated from the University of Salamanca. Considering the financial expense and the need to study abroad, it is remarkable that over one-third of the thirty-one prebendaries who served at San Juan during the period 1650–1700 were university graduates.

The *relación* for Tomás Sánchez de Páez, who was promoted to a canon in 1703, allows us to reconstruct the academic training of a prebendary who studied for the priesthood in the second half of the seventeenth century. Sánchez de Páez was baptized on January 5, 1658, in San Juan. Juan Guilarte de Salazar, who was later ordained as a priest in 1659, served as his godfather. Tomás came from a modest background. His father (Pedro Sánchez de Páez) had served the Crown for fifty years as a soldier and *artillero* (artilleryman). Because of his godson's modest origins, Juan Guilarte de Salazar likely assisted with his studies and professional development. This would not have been atypical; in his study of clergy in colonial Mexico, Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador noted that clergy and prebendaries sometimes helped their godsons, especially those pursuing a career in the Church.[92] Sánchez de Páez was tonsured shortly after his sixteenth birthday, on February 25, 1674, by Bishop Bartolomé García de Escañuela. For the next five years, the young man served as an acolyte in the San Juan cathedral. An investigation into his ancestral background and moral conduct was conducted on July 10, 1679, and one-week later Bishop Marcos de Sobremonte approved Sánchez de Páez's ordination to the minor orders. Shortly thereafter, he began studies the University of Santo Tomás in Santo Domingo, where he completed the requirements for his *bachiller* in philosophy in 1680 and earned his *licenciado* in philosophy in 1684. While Sánchez de Páez was at university, Domingo Fernández Navarette, the archbishop of Santo Domingo, ordained him as a deacon (on December 18, 1683) and as a priest (on February 26, 1684). After ordination, he returned to Puerto Rico and began serving as *teniente cura* (assistant to the parish priest) in Coamo, along the island's southern coast. In 1690, Sánchez de Páez was named *cura capellan* (chaplain) in Arecibo, along the island's northern coast, and in 1695, he received his first benefice.[93] He was promoted to the rank of canon in 1703. Seven years

92. Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, "De las aulas al cabildo eclesiástico: Familiares, amigos y patrones en el Arzobispado de México, 1680-1730," *Tzintzun, Revista de Estudios Históricos* 47 (2008), 75-114, here 90; and Aguirre Salvador, "Mismas aulas, diferentes destinos," 1732 and 1734.

93. "Relación de Tomás Sánchez de Páez," AGI, Indiferente General 212, no, 24, July 20, 1697.

later he was promoted again, this time as a precentor. Finally, in 1712, he was appointed to the post of archdeacon of the San Juan cathedral chapter.[94] As this case illustrates, it was possible for a young man from a family of modest origins to study at a university, become a priest, and obtain higher-level posts in the cathedral chapter.

Why did elite and non-elite families choose educations for the sons they sent into the priesthood? This is an important question, given the expense of study abroad and the difficulty of travel in the seventeenth century. Parents could have used the money spent on a son's education to invest in a new business or acquire land that could bring significant income back into the family, but some chose otherwise. In part, the answer is that the Crown began placing more emphasis on preparation for the priesthood and less on compensating individuals for services rendered by them or their ancestors to the Crown. Bishops in colonial Spanish America stressed the importance of an educated clergy. The emphasis on an educated clergy in the seventeenth century reflects a belief, especially in the years following the Council of Trent, that saving souls required a sophisticated understanding of the doctrine and rites of the church.[95] A priest had to be sufficiently educated in church doctrine and adequately instructed in administration of the sacraments; it was believed that if he was not, the efficacy of the sacraments was compromised.[96] For a man who sought to enter the priesthood, a university education was a way to stand out among the growing number of priests competing for a limited number of prebends.

There were other reasons why some families whose sons pursued an ecclesiastical career opted to provide them with a university education. A career in the church has always been one of the principal means of social mobility. As noted by Antonio Irigoyen López in his study of the Murcia (Spain) cathedral chapter in the seventeenth century, membership in the cathedral chapter was a visible means of social mobility for the middle classes.[97] For families in the process of upward mobility or were aspiring to do so, as may have been the case with the family of Tomás Sánchez de Páez, the church offered a stepping stone because it provided social pres-

94. I have not been able to determine when Tomás was promoted to a *ración*, but it was after 1700. "Despachos de promociones," AGI, Indiferente General 2863, folios 152, 154v, and 156. I am very grateful to Dr. Andrés R. Méndez for graciously providing me with this information.

95. Draper, "Archbishops, Canons, and Priests," 51.

96. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 162.

97. Antonio Irigoyen López, *Entre el cielo y la tierra, entre la familia y la institución: El cabildo de la Catedral de Murcia en el siglo XVII* (Murcia, 2001), 218.

tige and created opportunities to expand social networks.[98] Families who had a member in the cathedral chapter had more opportunities for advantageous marriages for the remaining sons and daughters; other family members had a greater chance of serving on a town council.[99] It should be noted that a young man did not make the decision to become a priest on his own; the family make this decision. Financial considerations were uppermost in the minds of parents, since a prebend provided a stable fixed income in an era of economic uncertainty. Moreover, a son who pursued a career in the church helped conserve family resources. Because priests had no children, in theory, the wealth a priest acquired during his lifetime reverted to the family at the time of his death and could be used later to increase the social importance of the family. A son destined for a career in the church was expected to provide for family members in times of need; when the father died, the son (priest) would take charge of the family, providing dowries for his sisters and an education for his brothers. As Pedro C. Quintana Andrés notes, a priest became the *polo distribuidor* (wealth distributor) of his family.[100] Of the twenty-one prebendaries in this study who submitted *relaciones*, three (Gregorio de Luyando, Félix de Cuadros, and Francisco López de la Cruz) mentioned the need to care for family members as the reason for requesting a prebend.[101] When the Crown began placing less emphasis on compensating individuals or their families for their services in the late seventeenth century, some priests and prebendaries sought new ways of making themselves noticed. Thus, they emphasized their financial hardship and the need to maintain households with unmarried women.

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98. Irigoyen López, *Entre el cielo y la tierra*, 267.

99. The fortunes of the Sánchez de Páez family improved. Tomás's youngest brother Cristóbal married an elite woman named doña María de Siancas Escobedo on December 8, 1685, in San Juan. Two of Cristóbal and María's children married elites: doña Dorotea married don Francisco de Sotres on July 1, 1726, in San Juan and doña María de la Paz married don Cristóbal Ruiz Colorado on November 23, 1727, in San Juan. Archivo Arquidiocesano de San Juan, Libro primero de matrimonios 1653–1725, folio 185; Libro segundo de matrimonios de San Juan, 1723–1738, folios 17 and 27v.

100. Quintana Andrés, "El cabildo catedral de Canarias" 243; and Pedro Quintana Andrés, *A Dios rogando con el mazo dando: Fe, poder y jerarquía en la iglesia canaria (El cabildo catedral de Canarias entre 1483–1820)* (Las Palmas, 2003), p. 314.

101. "Relación de méritos para Félix de Cuadros," AGI, Indiferente General 199, no. 43, August 24, 1667; "Relación de Francisco López de la Cruz," AGI, Indiferente General 211, no. 63, November 5, 1695; AGI, Indiferente General 214, no. 21, February 5, 1702; "Relación de méritos para Gregorio de Luyando," AGI, Indiferente General 193, no. 145, 1652.

Career Patterns of Priests and Prebendaries

After they were ordained, secular priests had to find employment. Ideally, they might secure a benefice with a guaranteed income that would allow them to live in a manner befitting their station and social standing. These were obtained through the practice of *opocisiones*, or competitions that were held to fill a vacant ecclesiastical benefice. The bishop would place an edict in the cathedral announcing when a benefice was vacant. Prospective pastors submitted information about their background, their education, and their previous experience. If a priest already had compiled a *relación*, as some did upon obtaining a university degree, he would submit this instead. On the appointed day, the aspirants would gather for the examination, where they all wrote on "the same questions, the same cases, and the same text for a sermon."[102] A tribunal of experienced clerics would evaluate the contenders' responses and recommend the names of the top three to the bishop, who would forward the names in order of preference to the Council of the Indies, which would select the most qualified individual. Once the decision was made, the bishop would notify the successful candidate, who would formally take possession in a ritual in which the newly appointed pastor would kneel before the bishop and take the oath of office.[103] After taking possession of the benefice, the priest was entrusted with managing the parish and had a right to both the income the benefice provided and the fees generated from administering the sacraments

Not all newly ordained priests acquired a benefice right away. As William Taylor notes, some priests from the wealthiest and most prominent families didn't pursue parish assignments, or if they did it was to serve in a first-class parish.[104] For example, Diego de Torres y Vargas and Martín Calderón de la Barca did not serve in a parish. Instead, they each sought a prebend in the cathedral chapter. Most clerics, as Tomás Sánchez de Páez did, began their career as a *teniente cura*, or assistant to the pastor. To serve their large parishes, beneficed priests often made use of one or more assistants, who were paid a salary from the general parish revenues. The parish priest could request the *teniente cura* he wanted, but the final decision rested with the bishop or, in his absence, the cathedral chapter. The bishop typically did not interfere in the selection of an assistant priest, unless it was to appoint a family member or retainer who had accompanied

102. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 99.
103. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 106.
104. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 87.

him to the diocese. Bishop Francisco Arnaldo de Isasi did this in 1659, when he named his brother Miguel de Isasi to oversee the parish of Arecibo. With only six parishes (not counting San Juan) and only a handful of rural chapels on the island in the second half of the seventeenth century, newly ordained priests often served for several years as assistants before securing a benefice. It took Sánchez de Páez five years to obtain his first benefice; he finally secured one in Arecibo, along the island's north coast. Sánchez de Páez was fortunate; priests in other dioceses sometimes spent years working as unbeneficed priests and moving from one parish to another with little or no job security (the *teniente cura*'s position was subject to revocation by the pastor or the bishop). In contrast, a pastor remained in possession of his benefice until he was promoted, was removed because of misconduct, or died. There was little turnover in some parishes, and that was the primary reason many priests had to wait so long for a benefice after they were ordained. Less desirable parishes in remote areas or those with a lower salary might have a higher turnover, but these benefices were usually staffed by priests who did not have a university degree or the appropriate connections to aid their advancement. For Tomás Sánchez de Páez, who had both a university degree and social connections, it was just a matter of time before he moved up the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The trajectory of a priest's career did not depend on his background, education, and parish work alone; it also depended on the faculties he was granted to administer the sacraments. Although ordination meant that a priest could celebrate Mass, it did not grant him the right to hear confessions. That required the granting of a special faculty. Although a priest could be granted a faculty in perpetuity to administer the sacrament of reconciliation (confession), many younger priests or poorly educated ones received restricted faculties. To obtain a faculty to hear confessions, a priest had to pass an examination that tested his knowledge of the sacraments, the commandments of God and the church, marriage impediments, and the impediments and norms of justice in contracts. Priests between the ages of 30 and 40 could absolve men. To confess women, the priest had to be over 40 and achieve a classification of good or better on the examination. A priest who received a classification of medium could absolve nuns, and a priest with a classification of poor had to study more and retake the examination.[105] Sometimes priests could receive the faculty of *confesor general*, or general confessor, prior to age 40, as was the case with Sánchez de

105. See Mariano Errasti, *El primer convento de América: Historia y forma de vida de los franciscanos en su convento de la ciudad de Santo Domingo, 1516–1820* (Santo Domingo, 2006), 273–274.

Páez, who was just 32 years old in 1690 when he was granted the faculty which allowed him to absolve both women and men. Necessity was likely the reason an exception was made with Sánchez de Páez, since a smallpox epidemic in 1689 ravaged the island and killed 681 people in San Juan alone, including twenty-seven priests and religious.[106] Another faculty priests could be granted was that of *predicador*, or preacher. Some priests lacked sufficient training to evangelize and received a restricted faculty. This was not the case with Sánchez de Páez; his faculty as a *predicador general* was valid throughout the diocese and was awarded on the same day (March 24) as his faculty to confess.[107] With a benefice and having been granted a faculty to both confess and evangelize, Sánchez de Páez was in the position to apply for a prebend.

Prebend positions within the cathedral chapter were filled in the same way as benefices, but the stakes were higher since there were fewer positions than there were applicants. Promotion to the cathedral chapter was competitive. According to the *Recopilación de las leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, the applicant should have a university degree, exhibit good conduct, have pastoral experience, and be a native of the diocese.[108] In theory, there were no restrictions on who could apply for a vacancy in the cathedral chapter. Priests from outside the diocese occasionally applied, although only three (Francisco Sánchez Muñoz, Juan Gómez de Govantes, and Pedro Centeno) were successful in obtaining a prebend. Similarly, clerics from Puerto Rico sought positions outside the diocese, as did Cristóbal Bautista López, Francisco Moreno del Rincón, Diego Franco y Castro, Gregorio de Luyando, and Alonso de Ulloa y Fuentes.

Most priests at San Juan (twenty-five of thirty-one) entered the ranks of the cathedral chapter at the bottom, as *racioneros*, and advanced step by step in rank. However, five priests entered the chapter as canons and one priest entered the chapter as a precentor (Martín Calderón de la Barca). Priests who entered at a higher rank were university graduates, like Calderón de la Barca and Diego de Torres y Vargas, or came from families whose members had been active in the military and civil administration,

106. López Cantos, *Historia de Puerto Rico*, 22n27.

107. "Relación de Tomás Sánchez de Páez," AGI, Indiferente General 212, no. 24, July 20, 1697.

108. See César Augusto Salcedo Chirino, "El mérito no era suficiente: El cabildo eclesiástico y las políticas de ascenso en Puerto Rico (1800–1850)," in *Iglesia, Estado y Sociedad: Ruptura y Continuidad (1800–1868), Actas del Simposio V*, ed. Mayra Gotay Cruz and Roberto Fernández Valledor, (Ponce, PR, 2012), 123.

like Bernardino Benítez de Luyando, Francisco Moreno del Rincón, and Pedro Oscos y Turen. The average age at which priests in this study obtained a prebend was 38; the range was from 26 (Diego de Torres y Vargas) to 59 (Andrés de Suazo y Recalde).[109] Promotions were awarded in hierarchical order: *racioneros* were promoted to canons, canons to precentors, and so forth. Only two San Juan priests skipped a rank (Torres y Vargas and Calderón de la Barca, who were both promoted from precentor to dean, bypassing the rank of archdeacon). These were exceptions to the pattern of promotion, not the rule.

For the rest of the clergy, securing a *ración* was the first (and most important) step in a prebendary's professional career. A surprising number of priests (seven of thirty-one; 23 percent) in San Juan obtained a *ración* on the first try. If we assume that most priests were ordained between the ages of 24 and 27, it took them an average of eleven to fourteen years to secure a prebend in the San Juan cathedral chapter. Most (eleven of thirty-one; 35 percent) were successful on their second attempt, but it took some clerics three attempts (five of thirty-one; 16 percent) to obtain a prebend. For other priests, such as Francisco López de la Cruz, it proved more difficult; over the course of six years, he applied for every prebend in the cathedral chapter—a total of eight times—before he successfully obtained an appointment as a canon in 1697.[110] Looking closely at the two *relaciones* he submitted in 1695 and 1702, we see a shift in the strategy de la Cruz used to advance his career. In his attempts to obtain a prebend, he emphasized his service as the notary public for the *audiencia eclesiastica* (diocesan ecclesiastical tribunal), as tithe collector (1686), as administrator of the San Santiago royal hospital (1687), and as the cathedral's master of ceremonies (1689). When he sought a promotion in 1702, he reiterated his prior service, but he also highlighted the need to provide financial support for his widowed

109. This is slightly older than Pedro C. Quintana Andrés found for *racioneros* (31.5 years) in the Canary Islands in the years 1483 to 1820 but lower than what Consolación Fernández Mellen observed (an average age of 44 years) in her sample of prebendaries for the diocese of Havana in the years 1790 to 1830 See Quintana Andrés, *A Dios rogando con el mazo dando*, p. 112; Fernández Mellen, "El alto clero en la nueva diócesis de la Habana," 491.

110. López de la Cruz applied for the positions of precentor, canon, and *racionero* in 1691, for precentor in 1694, for canon in 1695 and 1696, for archdeacon in 1696, and for dean in 1697 before successfully obtaining an appointment as canon in 1697. AGI, Santo Domingo, "Consultas y decretos originales pertenecientes a la isla de Puerto Rico, años 1586–1700," AGI, 535A, nos. 262, 98, 97, 96; and "Propuestas, consultas y provisiones de canonjías, años 1696–1758," AGI, Santo Domingo 579, nos. 15, 16, 17, and 21.

sister and her eight children, a strategy prebendaries used throughout the Americas.[111] It is not known if this strategy was successful.[112]

The pattern of promotion within the cathedral chapter was linear: the longest-serving priest was promoted in every case but two. However, this didn't stop prebendaries from applying for promotion. Sometimes clerics who were not prebendaries applied for the higher-ranking positions (dean, archdeacon, and precentor). This happened in June 1685, when five candidates applied for the position of precentor. None was successful in securing the appointment. In January of that year, four of the five candidates had also applied for the entry-level position of *racionero* in the cathedral chapter.[113] Competition for the higher-ranking prebends increased in the last decade of the seventeenth century. There were nine applicants for archdeacon and eight candidates for precentor in 1691, and seven priests aspired for the position of dean in 1696.[114] Priests applied for prebends they knew they would not get to build up their résumé by making themselves noticed, a process known as *hacer méritos*. Whenever a priest applied for a prebend, it was noted in their *relación de méritos*.[115] Moreover, as William Taylor notes, the *oposiciones,* or competitions that were held to fill a vacant ecclesiastical benefice, also afforded aspiring prebendaries opportunities to renew contacts and make new ones.[116] Because few prebends were available and the pool of applicants was growing in the second half of the seventeenth century, such contact was crucial for professional advancement.

The only instance in this period when the longest-serving priest was not promoted occurred in 1658, when Diego Torres y Vargas was appointed instead of Bernardino Benítez y Luyando for dean. Torres y Vargas was professionally ambitious. He likely used his social (and professional) connections in Madrid to obtain the more lucrative office, or perhaps he was awarded the prebend because Benítez y Luyando did not have

111. For a discussion of prebendaries as benefactors and providers for family members in need, see Quintana Andrés, *A Dios rogando con el mazo dando*, p. 314; and Díaz Rodríguez, "Cabildos, catedralicios y clero capitular," 317.

112. "Relación de Francisco López de la Cruz," AGI, Indiferente General 211, no. 63, November 5, 1695; and AGI, Indiferente General 214, no. 21 February 5, 1702.

113. "Propuestas, consultas y provisiones de canonjías, años 1696–1758," AGI, Santo Domingo 579, nos. 11 and 12.

114. "Propuestas, consultas y provisiones de canonjías, años 1696–1758," AGI, Santo Domingo 579, nos. 20, 15, and 18.

115. See Aguirre Salvador, "De las aulas al cabildo eclesiástico," 107; and Enríquez Agrazar, *De colonial a nacional*, p. 39.

116. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 101.

a university degree. Patterns of promotion within the San Juan cathedral chapter continued to operate in a linear manner until the nineteenth century, when the Crown began giving priority to Spanish clergy. In the wake of the Wars for Independence, loyalty to the Crown replaced time served as the most important criteria for advancement.[117]

A Professionalizing Priesthood

According to William Taylor, the most important criterion for promotion to a cathedral chapter in eighteenth-century Mexico was the extent of academic learning.[118] Those who had a degree from a university had an advantage over their counterparts who did not have one. Priests in the sample for this study with a university degree emphasized their academic distinction at the beginning of the *relación*, before they discussed their social background. This was the strategy Diego de Valdés y Montenegro and Alonso Menéndez de Valdés used. Although both were descended from Governor Diego Menéndez de Valdés (1582–1593), both gave priority to their academic training over their distinguished background.[119] Some priests appended a copy of their degree(s) to their *relación*. This is what Tomás Sánchez de Páez did. Because he lacked a distinguished background or prominent relatives, he emphasized his academic training. The strategy worked, and he quickly ascended within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The *relaciones* of clerics who lacked a university degree often emphasized their social background or availed themselves of the mandate of reciprocity. Assertions of family merit were used to enhance an otherwise weak career profile. Social and professional connections mattered very much in this period, and priests who were connected to the upper echelons of society tended to end up in more prestigious posts. Because there were no degree-granting institutions on the island, assertions of familial merit likely assumed greater importance than they might have elsewhere. The priests who chose this strategy for advancing their careers described their social background in detail, frequently including the names and recalling the exploits of grandparents and even great-grandparents. For example, in addition to referring to his father's and grandfather's service to the Crown, Gerónimo de Salinas y Figueroa emphasized his descent from Juan Ponce

117. Salcedo Chirino, "El mérito no era suficiente," 128.

118. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 122.

119. "Relaciones de Diego de Valdés y Montenegro and Alonso de Menéndez de Valdés," AGI, Indiferente General 198, no. 7, June 19, 1666; and AGI, Indiferente General 199, no. 81, May 10, 1668.

de León.[120] Pedro de Oscos y Turen used a similar tactic. His *relación* glossed over his limited academic training (three years of study at the Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino in San Juan) and instead focused on his father's military career. Pedro also reminded the king of the heroism of his maternal grandfather (Juan de Amezquita) during the Dutch attack and his subsequent service as commander of San Pedro de la Roca fortress in Santiago, Cuba.[121] Clerics without the requisite academic training relied upon the deeds of their ancestors or the need to provide for a household with unmarried and widowed siblings or nieces to curry favor with the king in their quest to obtain one of the coveted prebends.

Aspiring prebendaries, like Sánchez de Páez, often benefited from friendships with influential members of the clerical elite. Scholars have noted the importance of personal contacts, family connections, and patronage networks, and such a network likely helped in advancing Sánchez de Páez's career.[122] Bishop Francisco de Padilla appointed him to a benefice as pastor in Arecibo, along the island's northwest coast, on January 8, 1695.[123] Sánchez de Páez's career was helped by his friendship with and the patronage of Martin Calderón de la Barca. The two knew each other from their studies at the Colegio de Santo Tomas in San Juan (they were only one year apart in age) and the Calderon de la Barca probably took an interest in promoting Sánchez de Páez's professional advancement. Shortly after Sánchez de Páez received his benefice, Padilla was transferred to a new assignment as bishop of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia). On May 5, 1695, the see in San Juan was declared vacant; it remained so until May 18, 1706. In the absence of a bishop, the precentor of the cathedral chapter, Martín Calderón de la Barca, was elected vicar general of the diocese. He served in this capacity during the eleven-year vacancy of the see.[124] Calderón de la Barca, who was descended from of one of the most politically powerful and economically prosperous families in San Juan, had used his family's connections and influence in 1691 to secure a prebend in the cathedral chapter in San Juan, not as a *racionero*, as most priests did,

120. "Relación de méritos para Gerónimo de Salinas y Figueroa," AGI, Indiferente General 195, no. 35, 1658.

121. "Relación de méritos para Pedro de Oscos y Turen," AGI, Indiferente General 202, no. 30, March 20, 1675.

122. Aguirre Salvador, "De las aulas al cabildo eclesiástico,"78, 80; Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 98.

123. "Relación de méritos para Tomás Sánchez de Páez," AGI, Indiferente General 212, no. 24, July 20, 1697.

124. Murga Sanz and Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 3:213.

but as precentor. Six years later, he was promoted to dean, bypassing the office of archdeacon.[125] As both dean and vicar general, he wielded considerable power, which he used to promote the careers and interests of family members and friends.

When Pedro de la Concepción Urtiaga arrived as bishop in 1706, a power struggle ensued between the bishop and the dean of the cathedral chapter. The chapter was divided into factions, and Calderón de la Barca relied upon his protégé Sánchez de Páez to side with him against the bishop and his allies. A letter written in 1713 by the canon Juan de Rivafrecha to the Crown informing it of the bishop's death noted that several members of the chapter, including the dean; his brother Pablo Calderón, a Franciscan priest; and Tomás Sánchez de Páez were happy (*mostrar casi gozo*) and rejoiced (*andar en algunos festejos*) at the bishop's death. The same letter describes Sánchez de Páez as "*uno de los de cariño del prelado*," one of those most endeared to the prelate [Martín Calderón de la Barca].[126] Academic training mattered, as noted by Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, but patronage and clientelism were also very important for professional advancement.[127] The relationship between client (Sánchez de Páez) and patron (Calderón de la Barca) served each well, the former secured a prebend with the income that came with it, along with the social prestige, whereas the latter gained an ally in his quest for power within the cathedral chapter of San Juan.

San Juan society in the late seventeenth century was in the midst of change. Priests who had little academic training or an undistinguished family background were still able to secure a position in the San Juan cathedral chapter, however it is was becoming more difficult. To compensate for these shortcomings in their *relaciones*, such individuals drew attention to their parish work. While priests were expected to concentrate on their pastoral duties, this alone was often not enough to secure a position in the cathedral chapter. In such cases, priests had to find a way to make themselves noticed. There were several ways this might be accomplished. One of the most common strategies was for aspirants to point out their dedication and heroism during moments of crisis, such as epidemics or foreign attack. Many priests risked their lives to minister to the needs of their parishioners during the most devastating demographic catastrophe of the seventeenth century, a smallpox epidemic that struck Puerto Rico from

125. López Cantos, *Historia de Puerto Rico: 1650–1700*, 267.
126. Murga Sanz and Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 4:284.
127. Aguirre Salvador "De las aulas al cabildo eclesiástico," 78.

March to April in 1689 that killed over 900 people, including twenty-five clergy.[128] One such priest was Tomás Sánchez de Páez, who contracted smallpox while serving as a *teniente cura* in Coamo.[129] Other clerics performed singular feats of heroism while undertaking their pastoral duties. For instance, Álvaro Flores de Caldevilla, who was serving as chaplain of the presidio on the island of Saint Martin (1643–1644) when the Dutch attacked and laid siege to the Spanish colony, celebrated Mass for the soldiers at the garrison throughout the siege and provided additional assistance as needed. Both the bishop and the governor of Puerto Rico wrote letters to the king in praise of Flores de Caldevilla's heroism to help him obtain a reward commensurate with his actions.[130] Their letters, along with Flores de Caldevilla's *relación*, which he compiled in 1645, helped him secure a *ración* in the cathedral chapter the following year.[131]

Not all priests were professionally ambitious. Some priests were satisfied with a career as a pastor. An appointment to a modest parochial benefice provided a good living not only for its holder but also for a priest's parents and unmarried siblings. Pastors with good salaries and the assistance of curates often served in the same parish for many years. For example, Andrés de Suazo y Recalde was pastor of San Francisco parish in Aguada for twenty years (1665–1685).[132] Perhaps priests realized the difficulty of competing for a prebend and were comfortable with their station in life, having achieved a certain level of prominence within the community and established close ties with their parishioners. Also clerics who were worthy of promotion were passed over because the service they performed was too important. This happened to Juan Gómez de Govantes, whom Bishop Francisco de Padilla described in 1686 as one of two priests who should be promoted to the cathedral chapter (the other was Juan Francisco de Cortinas). But because Juan Gómez de Govantes had a variety of duties, including grammar instructor in the cathedral school, confessor for the Carmelite convent, and administrator of the royal hospital, the bishop would have had to find suitable replacements if he were promoted to the

128. Picó, *History of Puerto Rico*, p. 103; and Murga Sanz and Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 3:211.

129. "Relación de méritos para Tomás Sánchez de Páez," AGI, Indiferente General 212, no. 24, July 20, 1697.

130. "Relación de méritos para Álvaro Flores de Caldevilla," AGI, Indiferente General 192, no. 185, March 17, 1645.

131. "Consultas y decretos originales pertenecientes a la isla de Puerto Rico, años 1586–1700," AGI, Santo Domingo 535A, AGI, no. 293.

132. "Relación de méritos para Andrés Suazo Recalde," AGI, Indiferente General 205, no. 54, January 29, 1683.

cathedral chapter. This was a difficult task because of a hurricane that struck the island in September 1685, unleashing a wave of disease that killed twenty-seven clergy.[133] Staffing became a concern and the bishop preferred to leave Gómez de Govantes in charge of these important assignments.

Becoming a priest was a career choice that provided definite economic and social advantages. Having a priest in the family could benefit families of modest social origin like that of Tomás Sánchez de Páez.[134] While it is difficult to determine what motivated a young man to pursue a career in the priesthood (clerics seldom addressed this in their *relaciones*), no doubt financial considerations and opportunities for social mobility factored into the decision. Once a young man and his family made the decision that he would become a priest, they availed themselves of every opportunity to advance his career. For some clerics, this meant compiling a *relación* that highlighted their merits so they would be considered for a curacy or a prebend. Priests sometimes took the opportunity to remind the king of unpaid service or financial sacrifice they or their family had made on behalf of the Crown. Other priests highlighted their financial need to maintain a household with unmarried and widowed siblings or nieces. Priests were keen to capitalize on the king's largesse in their efforts to obtain a benefice or a prebend. However, some families opted for a different strategy and provided their sons with a university education as way of standing out.

Although most priests in this study lacked a degree from a university, a surprising number obtained not only their *bachiller* but also their *licenciado* at universities in Spain, Mexico, and Santo Domingo. Elite families and even some families of modest social were choosing to provide an education for the sons they sent into the priesthood. Families faced many obstacles in doing so. Not only did they have to overcome the financial hardships associated with study abroad at a time when there few legal outlets for trade, but also the difficulty of travel in the second half of the seventeenth century. If we recall that no ships from Spain arrived in the years 1651 to 1662 and only eight ships left Seville for Puerto Rico in the years 1662 to 1675, it is notable that families made the investment in a university education and sent their sons (Luis de Coronado, Alonso Menéndez de Valdés, Pedro Menéndez de Valdés, and Diego de Valdés y Montenegro) to study abroad in these years. The image of an illiterate priesthood that scholars such as Angel López Cantos propose for Puerto Rican clergy in

133. Murga Sanz and Huerga, *Episcopologio de Puerto Rico*, 3:213, 642.

134. Díaz Rodríguez, "Cabildos, catedralicios y clero capitular en el antiguo régimen" pp. 156; Irigoyen López, *Entre el cielo y la tierra*, 202, 218, 267.

this period does not accurately reflect the historical reality. López Cantos has also made inferences about the parishioners' moral laxity and cast doubt on the quality of spiritual care the clergy provided in this period. Rather than continue to cast aspersion on clergy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Puerto Rico, we must reassess the depiction of clergy not only on the island but across the Caribbean.

This was not an illiterate priesthood; it was quite the opposite. We see evidence for the professionalization of the priesthood in San Juan during the second half of the seventeenth century. Young men who wanted to become priests availed themselves of educational opportunities in San Juan and growing numbers of them went abroad to get as much education as their family's financial situation permitted. Not all the priests who studied abroad were from the elite, either. What prompted this change? In part, there was pressure from within the church hierarchy to embrace education. Bishops such as Pedro de la Concepción Urtiaga stressed the importance of an educated priesthood. It should also be noted that San Juan (and the rest of colonial Latin America) was undergoing important changes in this period. No longer was this a merit-based society in which a young man could rest on the laurels of their ancestors. In the church at least, qualifications, experience, and training all mattered for professional advancement. Perhaps the most important factor in the decision to provide sons in pursuit of a career in the priesthood with an education was the socioeconomic context of the times. San Juan (and Puerto Rico in general) was a cash-starved economic backwater. Nevertheless, a career as a prebend in the cathedral chapter provided a steady and reliable income that could be used to support parents and family members. The chapter was an economic haven for families from the cash-starved economy around them. Finally, elite families in Puerto Rico (and throughout the Spanish Caribbean) had to find other routes to status besides the service of ancestors to the Crown. While it is impossible to know what was in the minds of the heads of these elite families, the evidence suggests strongly that they preferred the Church as a more stable and reliable route to power for their sons than the Crown. Professionalization was a route to economic and family status, and this explains why families were willing to invest in the education of the sons they sent into the priesthood.

Education in the Name of the Lord: The Rise and Decline of the Catholic Labor Schools

William S. Cossen*

This article seeks to overcome a traditional disjuncture between labor and religious history by analyzing the role of labor schools as central points of contact between the Catholic Church and workers in the mid-twentieth century. It takes as its primary subject Hartford's Diocesan Labor Institute, which operated from 1942 to 1967. Hartford's program is of particular historical interest due to its longevity, its extensive public reach, and its role as a model for the founding of several other labor schools. The present study argues that gender and class shifts—particularly the increasing entry of women into the workforce and a perceived climb up the class ladder by Catholic workers—together contributed to both the rise and decline of Catholic labor education in Connecticut and the United States.

Keywords: Catholicism, consumerism, education, gender, labor

The priests of Hartford's Diocesan Labor Institute once had the misfortune of receiving an anonymous letter, written in bright red crayon, and addressed to "the Catholic *yokels* of the Hartford Diocesan Labor Institute: The labor crooks appreciate having the help of the Catholic

*The author has a PhD in History from Penn State University. He is a member of the faculty of The Gwinnett School of Mathematics, Science, and Technology, and is the online book review editor for the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Thanks to the Department of History at The Pennsylvania State University and the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center at the University of Connecticut for their financial assistance (from Penn State, the Mark and Lucy Stitzer Seed Grant Award; and from the Dodd Research Center, the Rose and Sigmund Strochlitz Travel Grant), and to the Dodd Research Center's Laura Smith and the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives' Maria Mazzenga, Timothy Meagher, and William John Shepherd for their research assistance. The author also appreciates helpful comments and suggestions from the following: Christopher Clark, Alan Derickson, Roger Finke, Amy S. Greenberg, Philip Jenkins, Nelson H. Minnich, Steve Rosswurm, Ronald W. Schatz, Mark E. Sullivan, Joseph White, and this journal's two anonymous readers. An earlier version of this article was the recipient of the 2012 Bernard Bellush Prize from the New York Labor History Association.

phonies! Do you also fall on your knees and bob your heads at the mention of the ol' swindler and hypocrit [*sic*], Roosevelt?"[1] In a quick, stinging rebuke, the priests were attacked as lying, slavish followers of an even worse "swindler and hypocrit" in President Franklin Roosevelt and as cronies of the racketeers who, in the anonymous writer's opinion, populated the American labor movement. This group of priests must have touched a sensitive nerve to elicit such a harsh denunciation.

The Diocesan Labor Institute was not, in fact, run by a pack of mendacious "phonies," and its members were not blind followers of Roosevelt or labor gangsters. It was instead an educational program founded in 1942 by Father Joseph Donnelly of the Catholic Diocese of Hartford, Connecticut, and staffed by a group of priests under his supervision. The institute was part of a larger network of over one hundred Catholic labor schools that were established and operated by dioceses, religious orders, colleges, and Catholic trade associations throughout the United States. Priest and social theorist Francis Haas considered the Catholic labor school movement to be "easily the most significant thing that has been set on foot to make the Encyclical teachings vital in American national life."[2]

Hartford's program is of particular interest due to its longevity, its extensive public reach, and its role as a model for the founding of several other labor schools. The Hartford institute also provides historians with an opportunity to examine the motivations and activities of labor priests and Catholic workers in the postwar era, an important period of economic adjustment and labor organizing in one of the country's most industrialized and Catholic states. Postwar Connecticut offers a broad spectrum of economic and social change through which to consider the Catholic Church's role in the labor scene and serves as a fitting case study of many of the issues surrounding gender, labor-management conflicts, the living wage, and the associated rising consumer culture that marked the postwar period, all of which are themes that have not typically been tied to Catholicism in the scholarly literature. The institute's work demonstrates that gender and class developments, particularly the increasing entry of women into the workforce and a perceived climb up the class ladder by Catholic workers,

1. Letter, Box 2, Folder 91, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Archives and Special Collections at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, University of Connecticut Libraries, Storrs, CT (hereafter cited as Dodd Center) [emphasis in original].

2. Francis J. Haas, to Raymond S. Clancy, January 27, 1940, Box 25, Folder 8, Francis J. Haas Papers, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as ACUA).

resided at the heart of the labor school project and acted as substantial, interconnected, and underappreciated factors in the rise and, ironically, the decline of Catholic labor education in the United States.

Historians of American Catholicism have studied the intersections between the church and the labor movement, but several works, while useful, tend to conflate the experiences of clerics with those of the entire church and generally leave silent or relatively muted the perspectives of lay Catholic workers.[3] Generally, though, the study of labor and the study of Catholicism have remained artificially separated. As a result, Joseph McCartin observes, "vast tracts of the working-class past remain invisible to labor historians."[4] To remedy this scholarly gap, several historians in recent years have undertaken analyses of the significance of working-class religion.[5]

Catholic labor schools, however, have been largely neglected as primary subjects of research. Earlier works on Catholic labor schools are problematic. Many suffer from a lack of historical distance from their subjects.[6] More recent scholarship frequently neglects to place the institutes within the context of a nationwide Catholic labor education movement, does not account for the issues of class and gender that both motivated and shaped the tenor of the church's labor instruction, and sometimes does not

3. Aaron I. Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865–1950* (Notre Dame, IN, 1963); David J. O'Brien, *American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years* (New York, 1968); Neil Betten, *Catholic Activism and the Industrial Worker* (Gainesville, FL, 1976); Joseph M. McShane, *"Sufficiently Radical": Catholicism, Progressivism, and the Bishops' Program of 1919* (Washington, DC, 1986).

4. Joseph A. McCartin, "Estranged Allies on the Margins: On the Ambivalent Response of Labor Historians to Catholic History," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 21 (2003), 115–116.

5. Leon Fink, with research assistance from Alvis E. Dunn, *The Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ, 2005); Matthew Pehl, "Power in the Blood: Class, Culture, and Christianity in Industrial Detroit, 1910–1969" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2009); Jarod Roll, *Spirit of Rebellion: Labor and Religion in the New Cotton South* (Urbana, IL, 2010); Heath W. Carter, "Union Made: Working People and the Rise of Social Christianity in Chicago" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2012); Pehl, "'Apostles of Fascism,' 'Communist Clergy,' and the UAW: Political Ideology and Working-Class Religion in Detroit, 1919–1945," *Journal of American History* 99 (2012), 1–26. Also see the special issue of *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 6, no. 1 (2009), titled "Labor and Religion," and the forum on labor and Christianity in *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 11, no. 2 (2014), 11–34.

6. Patrick W. Gearty, "Diocesan Labor Institute: Diocese of Hartford" (M.A. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1947); Maurus Barrenechea, "Diocesan and Jesuit Labor Schools in America—A Comparative Study" (M.A. thesis, Loyola University, 1958).

account fully for the anti-communism that motivated several priests to reach out to workers.[7] Historians have much ground to cover in investigating the entire project of Catholic labor education as an important, indeed central, point of contact between the Church and workers.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference's (NCWC) Social Action Department (SAD) in Washington, DC, stood at the center of the labor school movement. Under the leadership of such priests as John Ryan and George Higgins, SAD provided the initial spark that would eventually grow into the much larger movement of organized Catholic labor education.[8] SAD's leaders envisioned a comprehensive curriculum with primary attention paid to Catholic social teachings, particularly those drawn from the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, as well as those explained in the writings of several contemporary Catholic social theorists, such as John Ryan, Francis Haas, Raymond McGowan, and John Hayes.[9] In addition to educating workers on Catholic social principles, SAD envisioned the schools "teach[ing] certain allied subjects of a more secular nature," such as "[l]abor history, collective bargaining, labor legislation, grievance procedure, labor contracts, parliamentary law and public speak-

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7. Douglas P. Seaton, *Catholics and Radicals: The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the American Labor Movement, from Depression to Cold War* (Lewisburg, PA, 1981); Kimball Baker, *"Go to the Worker": America's Labor Apostles* (Milwaukee, 2010). There have been some notable exceptions that detail more fully the theological, social, economic, and political underpinnings of the work of labor priests. See McShane, "'The Church Is Not for the Cells and the Caves': The Working Class Spirituality of the Jesuit Labor Priests," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9 (1990), 289–304; Francis Ryan, "'The Apostle of Industrial Peace': Brother Elzear Alfred, F.S.C., the La Salle College Civic and Social Congress, and Catholic Labor Education in Philadelphia, 1938–1952," *American Catholic Studies* 118 (2007), 55–81; James T. Fisher, *On the Irish Waterfront: The Crusader, the Movie, and the Soul of the Port of New York* (Ithaca, NY, 2009). After the present article was accepted for publication in 2014, a new article on the Hartford Diocesan Labor Institute's founder, Joseph Donnelly, appeared in 2016. It deserves recognition here: Ronald W. Schatz, "'I Know My Way Around a Little Bit': Bishop Joseph Donnelly and American Labor, 1941–1977," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 13 (2016), 33–61.

8. On Ryan, see Francis L. Broderick, *Right Reverend New Dealer: John A. Ryan* (New York, 1963); McShane, *"Sufficiently Radical."* On Higgins, see George G. Higgins and William Bole, *Organized Labor and the Church: Reflections of a "Labor Priest"* (New York, 1993); "Social Catholicism: Essays in Honor of Monsignor George Higgins," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001) [entire issue]; John J. O'Brien, *George G. Higgins and the Quest for Worker Justice: The Evolution of Catholic Social Thought in America* (Lanham, MD, 2005); Marco G. Prouty, *César Chávez, the Catholic Bishops, and the Farmworkers' Struggle for Social Justice* (Tucson, 2006); Baker, *"Go to the Worker,"* 239–58.

9. On the early influence of Ryan, Haas, and McGowan, see Higgins and Bole, *Organized Labor and the Church*, 21-40. On Hayes, see Baker, *"Go to the Worker,"* 29–52.

ing."[10] In 1936, Ryan, the department's director, asked U.S. priests to join SAD in promoting a new phase of the Church's involvement in the American labor scene. Ryan hoped that cooperative priests would reach out to local workers and "offer them gratis an opportunity to train themselves in right thinking through the study of those questions closely related to their daily lives as workers and as citizens."[11]

SAD would function primarily as a provider of literature on labor education, workers' rights, and Catholic social teachings for the nascent labor schools. Joseph Donnelly, the director of the Hartford institute, was not alone in receiving assistance from SAD to train priests to staff his labor schools. Detroit priest Raymond S. Clancy also sought assistance in getting his Archdiocesan Labor Institute off the ground, as did Reynold Hillenbrand, the innovative rector of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Mundelein, Illinois.[12] In 1940, Baltimore labor educator Elizabeth Bouchelle asked for help in "conducting classes for colored working men along similar lines to those conducted for the white men," assuring Catholic University of America's Francis Haas that she secured space in a local parish and obtained "the hearty co-operation of the Josephites," an order of priests dedicated to serving African Americans.[13]

These requests for assistance did not travel along a one-way street. After a meeting of priests in Chicago in 1945, George Higgins asked participants to send their course literature to SAD so that his office could "serve as a clearing house for such material."[14] The Hartford institute benefited from this reciprocal relationship with the Social Action Department.

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10. George G. Higgins, to James W. Carty, Jr., May 17, 1945, Box 40, Folder 15, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA.

11. John A. Ryan, January 29, 1936, Box 40, Folder 17, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA.

12. Joseph F. Donnelly, to Francis J. Haas, February 15, 1943, Box 25, Folder 16, Haas Papers, ACUA; Francis J. Haas, to Joseph F. Donnelly, February 17, 1943, Box 25, Folder 16, Haas Papers, ACUA; Raymond S. Clancy, to Francis J. Haas, January 26, 1940, Box 25, Folder 8, Haas Papers, ACUA; Reynold Hillenbrand, to Francis J. Haas, June 28, 1938, Box 26, Folder 18, Haas Papers, ACUA. On the Detroit Archdiocesan Labor Institute and Detroit's branch of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, see Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 342–347. On Reynold Hillenbrand, see Higgins and Bole, *Organized Labor and the Church*, 19-24.

13. Elizabeth T. Bouchelle, to Francis J. Haas, June 15, 1940, Box 28, Folder 16, Francis J. Haas Papers, ACUA.

14. George G. Higgins, February 9, 1945, Box 40, Folder 34, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA.

While it sent copies of its public sermons to SAD for national distribution, it also agreed to disseminate written materials from the NCWC to Catholics of the diocese. Furthermore, Higgins wrote a question-and-answer article for a brochure published by the institute in 1959 and, not surprisingly, asked for 5,000 copies to distribute throughout the labor school network.[15]

Such a mutually beneficial relationship between SAD and the schools served as the foundation for a nationwide Catholic labor education movement.[16] The movement's scale was best illustrated by a regular series of social action conferences, at which both labor priests and lay leaders from across the country met to share more effective strategies for educating workers and to chart the course of the larger Catholic social action movement. Among the most significant of these meetings were those held in Cleveland and Brooklyn in 1943, at which representatives formulated the movement's mission and a plan for promoting the schools.[17] These conferences set the tone for Catholic labor education for several years. They also demonstrated that priests representing diverse parishes, dioceses, and industries could come together to decide relatively autonomously, albeit under the tutelage of the Social Action Department, how to best educate

15. Joseph F. Donnelly, to George G. Higgins, January 29, 1958, Box 210, Folder 16, George G. Higgins Papers, ACUA; George G. Higgins, to Joseph F. Donnelly, December 15, 1958, Box 210, Folder 16, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

16. At the movement's peak, there were dozens of Catholic labor schools in the United States. See "Labor Schools, 1942," Box 40, Folder 15, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "Active Labor Schools and Sponsors," Box 40, Folder 15, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "Directors, Labor Schools, 1943," Box 40, Folder 15, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "Labor Schools, 1944," Box 40, Folder 15, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "Labor Schools, 1945," Box 40, Folder 15, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; Kathleen McCann, to Ray M. Hudson, April 12, 1948, Box 40, Folder 16, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "Diocesan Social Education Projects (Labor Schools and Related Projects)," Box 40, Folder 16, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "List of Catholic Labor Education Programs," Box 88, Folder 9, Higgins Papers, ACUA; Mark A. Fitzgerald, "Labor and Management go back to School," *Grail* (October 1954), 23–24, Box 88, Folder 12, Higgins Papers, ACUA; Kim Bobo, *Wage Theft in America: Why Millions of Working Americans Are Not Getting Paid—And What We Can Do About It* (New York, 2009), pp. 266–69. Also see the series of Workers' Schools Information Cards, Box 40, Folder 13, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA.

17. Social Action Department, "A Report of the Conference on Labor Schools held at Cleveland, Ohio—September 13–14, 1943," Box 18, Folder 40, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; "Private Conference on Catholic Labor Education, arranged by Social Action Dept. and Brooklyn P.S.A.C., Columbus Club, Brooklyn," November 11, 1943, Box 40, Folder 22, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA.

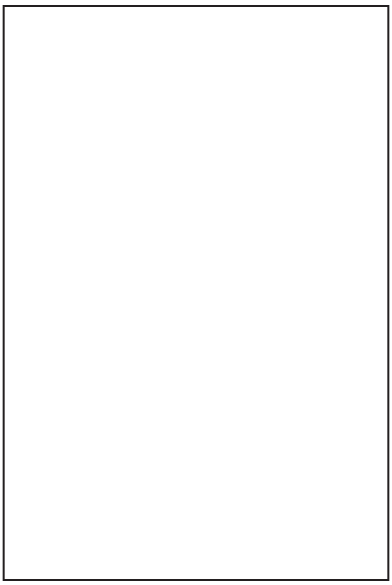

Figure 1. Bishop Joseph F. Donnelly as a Young Priest (Archdiocese of Hartford Archives)

Catholics and non-Catholics alike in the social teachings of the church and in their rights as American workers. Linna Bresette, SAD's field secretary, characterized the new movement as one merely "aided" by her department.[18] The Social Action Department may have acted as the organizational center of the movement, but the schools themselves were even more vital to the continued success of Catholic labor education.

Apart from their role as classroom educators, many priests associated with the labor schools also aimed to eliminate communism from American unions. An early scholar of Hartford's Diocesan Labor Institute argued "that the purpose of the Institute is decidedly not a negative one designed merely to combat communists, as it might be accused by its enemies."[19] While not the institute's sole goal, it is a mistake to downplay anti-communism as a prime motivator of many labor priests. Hostility toward communism was, in fact, a major goal of not only the Diocesan Labor Institute

18. Linna E. Bresette, "Labor Schools Promote Catholic Social Teaching," *Catholic Action* (March 1940), Box 18, Folder 8, Harry Cyril Read Papers, ACUA.

19. Gearty, "Diocesan Labor Institute," p. 25.

but also of several other labor schools of the period. As historian Steve Rosswurm argues, "Anticommunism . . . was always central to [the Catholic Church's] concern for the Catholic working class."[20]

Donnelly and the Diocesan Labor Institute were just as concerned with the threat of communism in the industrial centers of Connecticut as were labor priests in other parts of the country. A 1954 issue of the institute's *Social Action Bulletin* asserted that "[d]uring the years of the strong Communist influence in the American labor movement the tap root of opposition to their tactics was the Catholic labor schools."[21] The institute intervened actively in a dispute from 1942 to 1943 between rank-and-file members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and a group that non-communist workers identified as the "Communist allies" of union leader Reid Robinson. The workers accused Robinson of "infiltrating our Union with known Communist Agents as organizers and staff members." Donnelly seemed to identify personally with the aggrieved workers and was pleased to report to the Social Action Department that Robinson's faction was eventually defeated, presumably with the assistance of priests sympathetic to Robinson's opponents.[22]

Donnelly's exultation over Robinson's downfall belied the institute's official stance of non-intervention in union affairs. In a 1947 letter to his schools' priests, Donnelly again revealed that the institute involved itself in the ongoing Mine-Mill power struggle. In an upcoming union election, Donnelly asserted that the "issue of Communistic or non-Communistic leadership of the brass workers is the paramount issue." However, he seemed to sense that a direct intervention by the priests would be a risky move, so he advised his associates to encourage their Mine-Mill students "to be sufficiently interested in the welfare of the organization which will intimately affect their economic welfare," an underhanded method of influencing union elections without taking a definitive public stance.[23]

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20. Steve Rosswurm, "The Catholic Church and the Left-Led Unions: Labor Priests, Labor Schools, and the ACTU," in *The CIO's Left-Led Unions*, ed. Steve Rosswurm (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992), 119–37, here 128.

21. *Social Action Bulletin* (New Haven, CT) 9, no. 4, April 15, 1954, 2, Box 89, Folder 3, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

22. "Resolution Establishing Rank-and-File Councils of IUMMSW," Box 41, Folder 36, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA; Joseph F. Donnelly, to John M. Hayes, January 31, 1943, Box 41, Folder 36, NCWC/USCC Social Action Department Papers, ACUA.

23. Joseph F. Donnelly, May 14, 1947, Box 1, Folder 4, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

Donnelly was not the only institute priest to intervene in union matters. Vincent T. Iannetta, the Bristol chapter's director, admitted that he "took a more or less active part in the election at the Ingraham plant between the U.E. and I.U.E." Seemingly indifferent to the negative publicity that could ensue from such interference, Iannetta concluded, "[T]he U.E. was defeated, so in the end it didn't make too much difference." Such meddling in union and company affairs risked damaging the reputation of the Catholic labor schools. Philip Carey was dismayed by rumors that "'Catholic priests in Connecticut were visiting the homes of union members, trying to influence their opinion. One International Representative was threatened with the expulsion of his children from the parochial school, if he did not cease backing Reid Robinson for President." One of the Connecticut priests in question disputed these charges in a response rife with contradictions, calling the "International Representative" from Carey's letter

> a perfidious Judas who will stoop to any depth to gain power. That was malicious calumny. . . . I can see now that I shouldn't have even gone to see him. He is treacherous and a willing tool of the C.P.'s evidently. . . . I have done nothing about this election or anything else concerning this feud, and will do nothing more in the future. My main job is education, I guess. . . . You can't even trust Catholics when fighting the Communists.[24]

Several years later, the students of the Meriden chapter observed that "their fellow workers expressed the opinion that the Church should take care of teaching religion and not interfere or get mixed up with labor and management relations—not in Church field."[25]

It was appropriate, then, that Connecticut, which witnessed dramatic incursions of the Catholic Church into the world of organized labor, would also play host for twenty-five years to the Diocesan Labor Institute. In 1955, the Connecticut Labor Department painted a decidedly rosy picture of the state's economy and workforce, noting that wages had increased significantly and that Connecticut's per capita income was nearly the highest in the United States. The state's industrial base was also thriving in the postwar economy, leading the way in per capita military contract awards.

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24. Vincent T. Iannetta, "Report" [1950], Box 1, Folder 8, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; Philip A. Carey, to Joseph F. Donnelly, October 10, 1946, Box 1, Folder 1, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; Stanley E. Hastillo, to Joseph F. Donnelly, October 21, 1946, Box 1, Folder 1, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

25. Meriden Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 9, April [1955], Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

The report noted that employment in the manufacturing, retail, and construction sectors was very healthy. The department dealt in passing, however, with some of the not-so-pleasant costs that accompanied such economic success: "*Eighteen* work stoppages involved *5,200* workers in October. During the previous month, there were 1,550. *All of the disputes* were in *manufacturing* industries. Most of the lost hours and idled workers were in the *machinery* industry. . . . Hours worked per week are currently the *longest* since *May, 1953*."[26] In the Brass Valley, management turned increasingly to unskilled laborers to prevent such work stoppages. Additionally, management attempted to deskill the workforce to take power away from workers over the labor they performed. On top of these labor-repressive workplace practices, management engaged in overt anti-union tactics, often with the help of police and government officials.[27]

In addition to being one of the country's most thoroughly industrialized states, Connecticut was also one of its most Catholic. Throughout the period the Diocesan Labor Institute operated, Connecticut stood third behind Rhode Island and Massachusetts as having the highest percentage of Catholics in its population. Catholics typically made up between forty and fifty percent of Connecticut's total population. Several of its cities and counties boasted overwhelmingly Catholic populations. In 1952, for example, the Catholic population of Hartford County numbered over 180,000, and the Catholics of New Haven County exceeded 230,000, figures towering over the Catholic populations of entire states. According to *The 1954 National Catholic Almanac*, Bridgeport ranked behind only Buffalo and Providence among all American cities with populations over 150,000 in its percentage of Catholic residents. New Haven ranked fourth and Hartford seventh on the same list. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven all hosted chapters of the Diocesan Labor Institute, suggesting a strong link between larger industrialized cities, workers, and the Catholic labor schools.[28]

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26. "Connecticut Labor Situation: November, 1955," *Connecticut Labor Department Monthly Bulletin* (Hartford, CT) 20, no. 12 (December 1955), 10, Box 4, Folder 191, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center [emphases in original].

27. Jeremy Brecher, Jerry Lombardi, and Jan Stackhouse, eds., *Brass Valley: The Story of Working People's Lives and Struggles in an American Industrial Region* (Philadelphia, 1982), 119–21 and 126–30.

28. Data on city and state Catholic populations were drawn from the annual series *The National Catholic Almanac* (Paterson, NJ, 1940-1968). The data on county Catholic populations were downloaded from the Association of Religion Data Archives, www.TheARDA.com, and were collected by the National Council of Churches. See "Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1952 (Counties)," accessed December 8, 2014, http://www.thearda.com/Archive/Files/Descriptions/CMS52CNT.asp.

Unions saw their first major organizing success in brass factories in the 1930s, mostly without the help of the Catholic Church, which, according to Mine-Mill leader John Driscoll, was either uninterested in or opposed to the cause of labor. Driscoll recalled, "It wasn't until Father Donnelly appeared on the scene that we began to get some help. That was in 1941. There remained a great many priests who were unfriendly or even hostile. Father Donnelly was regarded as a radical by many of the clergy for quite a while."[29] United Auto Workers leader Tony Gerace remembered Donnelly as "a very dynamic person. He was a very stern disciplinarian. He emphasized the basic human values of respect and dignity. . . . His reputation was such that, in a sharply divided union local, he was repeatedly called on as someone all parties could trust to serve as election chairman."[30] Donnelly viewed the Mine-Mill workers' struggle as the practical foundation of the Diocesan Labor Institute.[31] The institute, which was dedicated in part to the promotion of cooperative relations between workers and management, was born ironically out of labor strife.

With the approval of Hartford Bishop Maurice F. McAuliffe, the institute expanded by June 1944 from Waterbury to six additional cities: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, Stamford, and Willimantic.[32] At the end of the 1943-44 school year, the Executive Committee explained to the public that its schools aimed only to promote "the program of social action outlined by Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI in their renowned social encyclicals." The committee pledged to achieve "a spirit of cooperation and good will between labor, management and government."[33] Donnelly told the students of his home chapter in Waterbury that the institute's "sole objective is to educate union members and union leaders so that they may be better union members and union leaders."[34] In its public pronouncements, the institute presented itself as a neutral party dedicated solely to the realization of just, Christian solutions to the labor problem in the United States.[35]

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29. Brecher, Lombardi, and Stackhouse, eds., *Brass Valley*, 40-41 and 167.

30. Ibid., pp. 177–78.

31. Oral History Interview with Joseph Donnelly, Bishop, by Ronald Filippelli, Hartford, CT, May 15, 1970, pp. 1–2, Historical Collections and Labor Archives, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University.

32. Gearty, "Diocesan Labor Institute," 17.

33. "Statement of Policy," in the Yearly Report of the Director to the Bishop of Hartford, June 30, 1944, 3, quoted in Gearty, "Diocesan Labor Institute," 28.

34. Joseph F. Donnelly, January 22, 1947, Box 1, Folder 1, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

35. Joseph F. Donnelly, "A State Labor Relations Act for Connecticut," February 6, 1945, Box 1, Folder 2, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

For the first few years of their existence, chapters operated somewhat autonomously, but by 1945, several chapter directors recognized the need for a greater degree of unified action. Donnelly proposed a three-year course in Catholic labor education, which, in light of the institute's expansion to fourteen chapters by the beginning of the 1946–47 school year, could not have come at a better time.[36] This proposal resulted in the formulation of the "Labor School Notes," a four-part series of lecture materials that would serve as the foundation for future courses. The institute gave priests a degree of freedom in choosing which topics to discuss with their students, but they were instructed that a "long and pompous lecture will be of little use for our purpose. What we want rather is discussion. Get them to talk and to think, and send them away with a few new ideas and a few old ideas corrected."[37] The notes covered topics ranging from just wages, strikes, and poverty to morality in industry, the church's plan for industry councils, and the differences between capitalism and socialism.

The institute's work, however, was not confined solely to the classroom. Its priests also claimed for the Catholic Church a more prominent space in public debates over matters of labor relations and other social justice issues. In its fifth year, the institute asked its priests "to engage actively in local efforts being made to organize support" for the creation of a state Fair Employment Practices Commission.[38] It also fought against a proposed right-to-work law for Connecticut in 1957. Donnelly feared that the anti-union spirit that surrounded such a law "could push labor-management relations in Connecticut back fifteen years."[39]

The schools at times moved beyond questions of labor and publicly challenged the ongoing problem of racial discrimination in the Connecticut National Guard, in public housing, and in public accommoda-

36. These fourteen chapters were located in Ansonia, Bridgeport, Bristol, Danbury, Hartford, Meriden, Middletown, New Britain, New Haven, New London, Stamford, Torrington, Waterbury, and Willimantic. See Gearty, "Diocesan Labor Institute," 20.

37. "Labor School Notes—Part I, Diocesan Labor Institute, Diocese of Hartford," ii, Box 462, Folder 5, Higgins Papers, ACUA. Also see "Labor School Notes—Part II: Moral Problems in Industrial Relations," Box 462, Folder 6, Higgins Papers, ACUA; "Labor School Notes—Part III: The Social Problem and Some Answers," Box 462, Folder 7, Higgins Papers, ACUA; "Labor School Notes—Part IV: Reconstructing Society with Christ," Box 462, Folder 8, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

38. "Summary Report of the Meeting of the Directors on January 28, 1947," Box 1, Folder 1, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

39. Joseph F. Donnelly, to T.A.D. Weaver, April 9, 1957, Box 4, Folder 10, John C. Cort Papers, ACUA.

tions.[40] In a 1965 award ceremony conducted by the institute, Hartford Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien, speaking in the midst of the nationwide struggle for civil rights, asserted that all people had an obligation to assist African Americans in their attempt to achieve social equality. He told his audience that "[t]his struggle is one none of us can escape. This is a struggle none of us should wish to escape. This is a struggle which must have our support. This is a struggle of which we must be a part."[41]

The institute also acted in this period to confront inequities and hypocrisy inside the Catholic Church. Labor priests were especially active in challenging Catholic officials who denied Church employees the right to unionize or who treated them poorly on the job. Donnelly complained to Archbishop O'Brien that two lay teachers at a Catholic school earned a salary of only twenty-five dollars per week, noting that he was "embarrassed" by such employment practices.[42] Among the most prominent of the institute's crusades against intra-church injustice was its support for striking employees of the Knights of Columbus headquarters in New Haven in 1955. Luke Hart, the Knights' Supreme Commander, seemed to take exception to Donnelly's public criticism of his "arrogant discharge of ten employees during the contract negotiations for observing a practice long-accepted in the office of going to a Funeral Mass during working hours." Hart requested that Donnelly turn over any private correspondence in which the priest may have mentioned him. Not surprisingly, Donnelly refused Hart's "somewhat shocking" and "highly improper" demand. He admitted that he had attended a "'labor dinner,'" which was held for the purpose of decrying "'the disgraceful action of Luke Hart.'" At the dinner, Donnelly pointedly "expressed regret that . . . this great body of Catholic men, which could give such noble service to the social apostolate which has been so earnestly urged upon the laity by the Holy Father, has both in its leadership and in so much of its general membership evidenced little interest in the problems of social reform, economic reform, racial justice, etc. which so sorely trouble our society."[43] In appreciation for his assistance during the strike, several Knights' employees

40. "Resolution" [1949], Box 1, Folder 6, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

41. "Archbishop Calls on All to be Part of the Negro's Struggle for Civil Rights," Press, Radio and TV Release, May 11, 1965, Box 3, Folder 140, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

42. Joseph F. Donnelly, to Henry J. O'Brien, March 3, 1954, Box 1, Folder 13, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

43. Joseph F. Donnelly, to Luke E. Hart, November 17, 1955, Box 1, Folder 18, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; Luke E. Hart, to Joseph F. Donnelly, November 3, 1955, Box 1, Folder 18, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

expressed their gratitude to Donnelly. One employee assured him that he had "the sincere admiration and respect and the unending gratitude of all the employees of the Knights of Columbus." Another thanked him "for making it possiable [*sic*] to have a Union at the Knights of Columbus. . . . If it wasn't for our faith in God, our prayers and a friend like you to turn to when our burdens were getting too heavy for us I know this Union #329 could not have been possiable [*sic*]."[44]

On the whole, though, the institute's chapter directors felt that their educational efforts "reach[ed] but a fringe of our Catholic people."[45] By the end of the 1940s, they recognized the need to expand their operations further outside the classroom.[46] Some directors urged the diocese to send brochures on the Church's social teachings to Connecticut's parochial schools, which could then be used in classroom instruction.[47] The institute's annual essay contest was its most lasting and widespread form of interaction with the Diocese of Hartford's youth. To mark the sixtieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, the institute promoted the contest in 1951 to encourage young students to explore the Church's social teachings.[48] By its sixth year, the essay contest had grown substantially, with 2,168 essays submitted from twelve diocesan secondary schools.[49] The contest never could have expanded as rapidly as it did without the support of a wide array of unions, which funded the prizes for the winning essays.[50]

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44. Frances McLeod, to Joseph F. Donnelly, August 20, 1955, Box 1, Folder 17, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; M. Geraldine O'Connor, to Joseph F. Donnelly, August 21, 1955, Box 1, Folder 17, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

45. "Summary Report of the Meeting of the Directors on January 28, 1947," Box 1, Folder 1, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

46. "Report—Meeting of the Directors of the Institute, New Haven, Connecticut," September 22, 1949, Box 2, Folder 33, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center. The institute eventually followed through with a plan to conduct a radio program to promote its work. See "Report—Meeting of the Directors of the Institute, New Haven, Connecticut," October 3, 1950, Box 2, Folder 34, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

47. Joseph F. Donnelly, to Arthur J. Heffernan, October 3, 1949, Box 1, Folder 7, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

48. Joseph F. Donnelly, March 19, 1951, Box 1, Folder 8, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center. For several examples of student essays, see Box 2, Folders 94–98 (Subject Files, Essay Contest, 1951–1955), Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

49. "A Report Submitted to His Excellency the Most Rev. Henry J. O'Brien, D.D.," July 1, 1955–June 30, 1956, Box 2, Folder 47, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

50. See the large series of correspondence from union locals in Box 2, Folder 92 (Subject Files, Donations and Records, Essay Contest, 1951–1957), Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

Also in 1951, the institute's priests convinced the diocese to participate in an annual Social Action Sunday commemoration, during which the bishop issued public statements on the Church's social teachings and on matters of social justice. Pastors delivered sermons on similar topics, for which they received assistance from the institute in the form of sermon notes. By Social Action Sunday of 1956, a remarkable "189,225 copies of the special literature prepared for the Sunday" were distributed free of charge to Catholic laypeople in an impressively coordinated campaign in Connecticut's three dioceses.[51]

The institute worked to cultivate ties with both labor and industry leaders. Beginning in 1949, the institute presented the annual McAuliffe Medal Award at a banquet attended by hundreds of individuals involved in labor relations. By recognizing members of both labor and management, the institute symbolically placed on the same plane these traditionally opposing camps. The institute's outreach efforts appear to have had some success. A management representative told Father Joseph F. Flanagan, the Torrington chapter's director, "'I definitely think it (the Institute) is a good thing and I have had more than a few non-Catholics compliment the Church for its progressiveness, interest and action in the labor-management situation, by conducting such institutes.'"[52] An issue of the institute's *Social Action Bulletin* in 1951 reported that another member of management attending an institute meeting, while disappointed "that Management was not given as much opportunity to express its views as was Organized Labor," was still confident "that the more Management people that can be attracted to these sessions the greater may be the understanding of the wage-earner's point-of-view and the greater may be the benefits therefrom to all concerned."[53]

The directors, however, were still disappointed with workers' responses to their educational efforts. They felt that after years of activity in the labor scene, they should have produced "500 . . . apostles devoted by intellectual conviction to the program of Catholic social action. . . .

51. "A Report Submitted to His Excellency the Most Rev. Henry J. O'Brien, D.D.," July 1, 1955–June 30, 1956, Box 2, Folder 47, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; "Brief Resume of the Program and Activities of the Diocesan Labor Institute," n.d. [ca. 1960/1961], Box 2, Folder 62, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

52. Joseph F. Flanagan, Report for the Month of November [1947], Box 1, Folder 5, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

53. "News and Notes of the Institute," *Social Action Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (January 15, 1951), 3, Box 4, Folder 188, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

[A]lthough we have done valuable work of substantial apostolic value with large groups, we do not have the 500." As early as 1948, the institute's sixth year of operation, the directors sensed that they needed to change course. Moving away from their previous strategy of educating as many workers as possible, the directors envisioned a new program in which they would narrow the scope of their classroom activities by selecting for the chapters only those workers perceived to have leadership potential.[54]

Chapter leaders now had the responsibility to reach out to other priests in their respective regions of the state in order to undertake "an earnest attempt to sell an interest in the program to the priests who are contacted." They, in turn, would contact labor and management leaders who were members of their parishes to encourage them to attend study groups. Through this multi-level, parochial process, the institute sought to draw students from several geographically and industrially diverse parishes.[55] By January 1951, several directors reported that the new model brought about better attendance and participation in the chapters' activities.[56]

The small group format also served to educate the institute's priests. Beginning in the 1954-55 school year and continuing the following term, the chapter directors undertook an extensive series of surveys, through which the institute sought to learn more about the work and personal lives of its students.[57] Priests recorded the thoughts of the labor and management representatives on a variety of topics, such as the job market in the chapter's city, the adequacy of current wage levels, local union affairs, workplace morals, and the place of women in the postwar workforce.[58] The students were ostensibly free to answer the questions honestly, but the possibility that priests may have exercised undue influence over students' responses should not be discounted. Directors were responsible, according to an institute report, for "guiding those in attendance to the proper moral conclusions."[59]

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54. "Report—Meeting of the Directors of the Institute," February 3, 1948, Box 1, Folder 5, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

55. "Regulations of Formal Program," October 3, 1950, Box 1, Folder 8, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

56. "Report—Meeting of the Institute Directors," January 9, 1951, Box 1, Folder 8, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

57. For a brief overview of the surveys, which includes some lengthy excerpts, see Ronald W. Schatz, "Connecticut's Working Class in the 1950s: A Catholic Perspective," *Labor History* 25 (1984), 83–101.

58. Diocesan Labor Institute, Diocese of Hartford, "Group Discussion Program, 1954-1955," September 29, 1954, Box 89, Folder 3, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

59. Diocesan Labor Institute, Diocese of Hartford, "Report—Meeting of Institute Directors, Hartford, Connecticut," September 29, 1954, Box 89, Folder 1, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

The survey series, however, was in many ways the last major innovation of the Diocesan Labor Institute. While the institute soldiered on until 1967, it never again attempted such a significant revision of its educational program and social mission. Even after its first decade of operation, its leadership already sensed an overall state of decline in both its activities and in the larger labor scene. In an annual report submitted to the bishop in 1953, the directors lamented a feeling of "[i]ndifference among the rank and file unionists; complete apathy among management generally; and interest dulled by years of industrial prosperity and now with little concern for socio-economic problems."[60] In light of the fact that this report was issued just six years after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947—a law that historian Nelson Lichtenstein argues "prefigured and codified much of labor's postwar retreat"—it should perhaps come as no surprise that the labor priests of the Diocese of Hartford found their students, especially the unionists among them, depressed and demoralized.[61]

Just as with its rise in the early 1940s, the decline of the Diocesan Labor Institute was part of larger national trends in the field of labor education. In 1953, Robert D. McGrath, director of the Hartford chapter, identified six factors that played a role in the waning popularity of Catholic labor schools:

1. Other professional groups have taken up the program—University of Connecticut, Yale, University of Bridgeport, University of Fairfield. These groups have finances and technical help necessary to carry out a much more organized program than we could attempt.
2. Contracts have become more or less stabilized.
3. National patterns have lessened local friction in negotiations.
4. Communist labor leadership has been eliminated in this area.
5. Unions have been accepted by management and conflict has been minimized.
6. Trained labor leadership has been increasing.[62]

If McGrath's assessment is accurate, then the Catholic schools were, in some respects, too successful for their own good. The fact that universities

60. "Diocesan Labor Institute: Diocese of Hartford: A report submitted to His Excellency the Most Reverend Henry J. O'Brien, D.D., July 1, 1952–June 30, 1953," Box 113, Folder 7, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

61. Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Princeton, NJ, 2002), 114.

62. Robert D. McGrath, "Report" [1953], Box 1, Folder 10, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

joined the cause of labor education demonstrated that the Catholic program was not conducted in vain. Contract stabilization was a blessing for workers, as was the legitimization of unions. Additionally, the replacement of left-leaning labor leaders with those more acceptable in the eyes of both the national labor establishment and Catholic officials signaled a victory for the anti-communist priests who exercised such a significant degree of influence over the Catholic labor school movement.

At its foundation, the Hartford institute's decline stemmed from a general weakness on the part of chapter directors in simply attracting students to the program. One of the chief reasons for such indifference from workers, according to the directors, was "years of industrial prosperity and now . . . little concern for socio-economic problems."[63] The students themselves would confirm this sentiment in the surveys that the institute designed to stem the tide of just such an exodus from the program. Some factors were entirely out of the hands of the institute and the wider Catholic labor school movement. One commentator supported McGrath's suspicions of labor education programs at non-Catholic universities. These schools' financial, professional, and technical resources far surpassed those of the Catholic labor institutes.[64] In perhaps the most distressing development, workers themselves often confirmed the priests' worst fears. According to the students surveyed by the Naugatuck Valley chapter in 1955, "[T]he rank and file employee still doesn't know why the Church is interested in the worker."[65] Similarly, students from Bristol felt that many of their fellow workers saw the Church primarily as a foe of communism rather than as a defender of workplace justice.[66]

Mostly overlooked, however, and serving as another central factor in the institute's decline, was the question of gender relations, specifically of women entering the workforce in greater numbers during and after World War II.[67] It is in this matter that the student surveys conducted by the

63. "Diocesan Labor Institute: Diocese of Hartford: A report submitted to His Excellency the Most Reverend Henry J. O'Brien, D.D., July 1, 1952–June 30, 1953," Box 113, Folder 7, Higgins Papers, ACUA.

64. Fitzsimons, "The Church and Worker Education in the U.S.A.," 425.

65. Naugatuck Valley Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 9, March 24, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

66. Bristol Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 9, April 25, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

67. Ronald Schatz also concludes that the priests and male students of the Hartford schools were dismayed by increased numbers of working women. See Schatz, "Connecticut's Working Class in the 1950s," 86–87.

institute from 1954 to 1956 prove particularly valuable. The students themselves provided unique insights into industrial relations. The surveys also reveal much about the motivations of Connecticut's labor priests, who included their own comments in the reports.

Chapter directors specifically asked the students to share their opinions on working women, and their answers and the priests' comments generally reveal profound fears that such extra-household labor would destroy familial harmony, cause children to become delinquents, and eventually lead to a loss of men's masculinity. In New Haven, a group of eight workers related that an overwhelming number of women sought jobs outside their homes. The director reported the workers' sentiment that working mothers were "a decidedly bad thing for the family and for the community."[68] Torrington's students were struck by the fact that children of families in which both parents worked were "running loose for an hour or two after school."[69] Waterbury's students recognized that many women needed to work to support their families, but alarmingly, the chapter director dismissed out-of-hand his students' recognition of the need for women workers. The priest fell back on a facile explanation for domestic dysfunction by noting that "[i]n practically all cases of delinquency in school the mothers of these children are working. The home is falling apart."[70]

In some chapters, the students grudgingly accepted that women workers had become a fact of life. The New Britain chapter admitted that women could become valuable employees and unionists in their own right, and in his report, the director highlighted a family in which a man had essentially become a stay-at-home father: "One wife, a nurse, makes more in 3 days work than her husband does in a whole week; the money is going to educate their 3 boys; the hours she works are such that the husband is home to take care of the family."[71] Workers from both Hartford and Naugatuck Valley also recognized the benefits of women working outside the home. The Hartford students regarded women as "good union members."[72]

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68. New Haven Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, February 17, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

69. Torrington Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, February 9, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

70. Waterbury Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, March 8, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

71. New Britain Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, April 4, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

72. Hartford Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, n.d., Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

Women students were especially vocal in the Naugatuck chapter meeting and defended the necessity of earning extra income because "in many cases the wife is the sole supporter of the family," perhaps reflecting a sense of the "labor feminism" that historian Dorothy Sue Cobble argues emerged in this period.[73] In the following week's report, it is possible that the priest may have inserted his own opinion in the written record of the workers' discussion: "*Strange as it may seem*, some women claim they have benefitted by working outside the home. They claim they mingle more socially among others, and overcome loneliness."[74] Perhaps stranger is the fact that when faced with repeated assertions from women workers themselves that their extra-household labor was beneficial, the priests and mostly male workers were frequently unable to come to grips with this new reality. The chapter directors seemed much more concerned with buttressing their male students' interrelated identities as men and workers. For several priests and male students, *worker* and *man* were inextricably connected roles, and a woman leaving the home to enter the workforce disrupted their masculine conceptions of labor. The Bristol director made his position clear, noting, "The old slogan, a woman's place is in the home, still holds."[75]

The labor schools were formed, in part, to help workers adjust to the changes wrought by industrialization, and they continued to operate through the years of wartime mobilization, the latter of which brought about the entry of more women into the workforce. A revitalized postwar economy allowed many workers to begin their long climb up the class ladder, and the ongoing transition of women from domestic to extra-household laborers helped fuel this occasionally jarring transition from working to middle class.[76] The institute's students often seemed generally satisfied with their worksites and jobs.[77] Workers in many chapters, how-

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73. Naugatuck Valley Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 7, March 10, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ, 2004).

74. Naugatuck Valley Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, March 17, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center [emphasis added].

75. Bristol Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, April 18, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

76. On the roles of women in the emergence of the Catholic middle class, see Robert A. Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven, CT, 1996).

77. New Haven Chapter Survey Reports, Topic No. 1 and Topic No. 2, October 28, 1954, and November 11, 1954, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; Torrington Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 1, January 5, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; New Britain Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 1, January 3, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

ever, demonstrated a palpable fear that their wages were too low, not so much from the perspective of a living wage necessary for basic survival but rather from the perspective that they would not be able to maintain for their families the improved lifestyles to which they were becoming accustomed. New Haven's students argued that some workers needed second jobs to bring in incomes sufficient to support their families, but most agreed "that people too often spend more than they can afford and do so follishly [*sic*]."[78] Torrington's workers expressed a similar sentiment, pointing out that "[w]orkers are going into debt. They are purchasing homes, autos, modern appliances. . . . [S]elfishness or keeping with the Jones' was not the motive for purchasing these modern appliances but rather the convenience and usefulness of the items themselves motivated their plunge into debt." Torrington's director believed that workers were, in fact, actively attempting to join the larger consumer revolution sweeping through the postwar U.S.[79] Several other chapters expressed similar sentiments. The Naugatuck Valley students, while recognizing the value of women workers, argued that these same women played a role in perpetuating the new consumer culture that encouraged workers to live beyond their means by relying on credit to purchase new "refrigerators, TV sets, furniture, etc.," all visible markers of a consumer-oriented middle class.[80] The Meriden group agreed with its counterpart in Naugatuck, arguing that workers entered into debt because they were "trying not to miss out on anything."[81] The New Britain chapter, perhaps due to the fact that the city was in much better financial shape in 1955 than other institute cities, argued two related points: first, women's wages were "not necessary to help the family," and second, the main reason women entered the workforce was to maintain a more privileged, middle-class lifestyle.[82]

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78. New Haven Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 3, November 14, 1954, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

79. Torrington Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 3, January 12, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center. On the rising consumer culture, see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, 2003); Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ, 2005); Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2008), 99–158.

80. Naugatuck Valley Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 3, February 10, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

81. Meriden Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 3, March [1955], Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

82. New Britain Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 8, April 4, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; New Britain Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 2, January 10, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

These workers, however, did not consider the possibilities that women enjoyed work, that they sought out new opportunities for personal improvement or increased sociability that they could not realize inside the home, or that they were not content with their present financial situations. In commenting on Bristol's rank-and-file workers, the chapter remarked that the workers' "ideas take more the materialistic form of economic necessity, of a sort of class warfare, of the law of supply and demand."[83] If this is indeed an accurate judgment, then it seems that workers in Bristol, and possibly in the remaining cities of Connecticut in which the institute maintained a presence, had internalized the consumerist ideology that historian Lawrence Glickman argues supplanted anti-wage-labor producerism around the turn of the twentieth century. Glickman also points out that early twentieth-century working men were distressed by what they perceived to be their loss of control over women, especially when the latter became consumers. This attitude is strikingly similar to those opinions expressed by Connecticut's labor school students in the mid-1950s.[84]

Problematic for the institute was the fact that many workers felt they had no need for further assistance from the church or from their unions following their perceived migration to the middle class. In New Haven, students reflected, "[M]ost workers are content but reserve [the] right to gripe," and the "[a]verage worker has good relations with owners or immediate superiors." The city's workers were happy to simply "[l]et [union] leaders do the work" and to only "[c]omplain when things do not suit them."[85] Similarly, Torrington's students lamented that "[u]nion workers are not active unionists. There is just a general indifference. They pay their dues and let it go at that." Compounding this indifference was an apparent "anti-clerical spirit" present among many workers.[86]

Of course, workers' very real fears of unsympathetic management should not be ignored. One chapter made these concerns abundantly clear

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83. Bristol Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 9, April 25, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

84. Lawrence B. Glickman, *A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society* (Ithaca, NY, 1997), 25, 116–24.

85. New Haven Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 1, October 28, 1954, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; New Haven Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 5, January 20, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

86. Torrington Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 5, January 19, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center; Torrington Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 9, February 9, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

in its finding that "the biggest drawback to organization is *fear* and the all too-real probability of being fired for being too 'pro-union.'"[87] Bristol's students complained that employers often fired workers capriciously.[88] It seems, then, that in several cities in Connecticut, especially those in which future economic prospects could not be easily discerned, workers were subjected to a carrot-and-stick treatment: they were offered the prospect of moving to the middle class but at the significant cost of incrementally losing their already tenuous ability to meet management as equals. As a consequence, the Diocesan Labor Institute lost much of its effectiveness in establishing meaningful relationships with Connecticut's workers.

Although the institute faded away by the late 1960s, its record was not one only of failure. While it may have lost its attractiveness to many of Connecticut's workers, its influence outside the state was substantial. It acted as a supplier of instructional materials, particularly the "Labor School Notes" series, to parishes, libraries, social action groups, Catholic colleges, and labor schools across the U.S. The institute also fielded several international requests for these materials.[89] George Higgins, for instance, passed on to Donnelly an appeal for multiple copies of notes from American missionaries in Central America, who were "anxious to receive as much material as possible in the field of labor education."[90] Manuel Velazquez, a priest in charge of foreign relations at the Secretariado Social Mexicano in Mexico City, explained to Donnelly that he was part of a "National Organization entrusted by the Mexican Hierarchy with the job of spreading out the Catholic Doctrine of the Church in our country. Being in sore need of literature to help us in our labor education program, we would be very grateful if you could provide us with the periodicals, lessons, newspapers, or any other material published or used in your work."[91] Thomas Joseph, a social action priest working in India and director of the Catholic Workers' Union in Madras, asked Donnelly for assistance in reaching out to members of the working class. Joseph expressed a desire to involve his organi-

87. Naugatuck Valley Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 6, March 3, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center [emphasis in original].

88. Bristol Chapter Survey Report, Topic No. 2, March 7, 1955, Box 2, Folder 83, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

89. See the various requests for "Labor School Notes," in Box 3, Folders 109–113, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

90. George G. Higgins, to Joseph F. Donnelly, November 30, 1950, Box 3, Folder 112, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

91. Manuel Velazquez, to Joseph F. Donnelly, September 13, 1952, Box 3, Folder 113, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

zation in the larger, international network of "persons engaged in this urgent task of improving the condition of workers."[92]

The history of the Diocesan Labor Institute and of the wider Catholic labor education movement is one of great success and great disappointment, of innovation and unrealized potential, and of the promise of the postwar labor movement and the enduring tragedy of an anti-union countermovement that has continued to the present day. The labor schools were at the center of several of the larger social trends of the postwar years, including anti-communism, urban deindustrialization, the growth of the middle class, and the rise of labor feminism, all of which shaped the schools' overall program and philosophy. The schools' lengthy record of engagement with workers provides compelling evidence of the importance of religion as a fundamental category of analysis when considering the history of the postwar working class. While the schools' efforts to educate and improve the lives of workers may have often fallen short of their goals, they demonstrated to representatives of labor and management that the Catholic Church offered important perspectives on workplace justice, social action, and the meaning and prospects of the industrial system.

92. Thomas Joseph, to Joseph F. Donnelly, May 15, 1950, Box 3, Folder 112, Diocesan Labor Institute Records, Dodd Center.

The Holy See's Eastern Policy— The Yugoslav Example

Miroslav Akmadža*

The Second Vatican Council, among other things, heralded the opening of the Catholic Church to atheist societies and the beginning of dialogue with communist regimes. It also ushered in a period of more intensive pursuit of the Holy See's Eastern Policy, whose objective was to improve the position of the Church in communist countries. Not being a part of the Soviet Bloc, Yugoslavia was considered the best place to start working towards this goal. This paper relies on original archival materials and relevant literature to elaborate on the implementation of the Holy See's policy and its bearing on the normalization of the relations between the Church and the government in Yugoslavia and between Yugoslavia and the Holy See.

Keywords: The Holy See, Yugoslavia, Eastern Policy, Agostino Casaroli, Josip Broz Tito

Introduction

Diplomatic ties between the Holy See and Yugoslavia were severed on December 17, 1952, after a period of very strained diplomatic relations between the Catholic Church and the communist regime in Yugoslavia. Following the end of the Second World War, the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia could hardly be expected to accept the new communist government, whose program was among other things based on atheist ideology,

*Dr. Akmadža is a senior research fellow with the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb, the Unit for the History of Slavonija, Srijem and Baranja, Slavonski Brod. He teaches courses in modern Croatian and world history at the Catholic University of Croatia in Zagreb, the Centre for Croatian Studies in Zagreb and the Dag Hammarskjöld University College of International Relations and Diplomacy in Zagreb. His research focuses on topics related to the relations between the government and the Church in communist Yugoslavia, about which he published ten scientific monographs and several dozen papers in relevant journals. This paper was written as a part of the scientific research project "Croatia in the Twentieth Century: Modernization in Circumstances of Pluralism and Monism," funded—co-funded by the Croatian Science Foundation, Project 3481.

Translated from Croatian to the English language by Ana Levak Sobolović.

which in its own right is unacceptable to the Church's teachings, but also because it was aware of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia's official position on the Church's standing in society. Moreover, the Church was aware that the Yugoslav government was under direct influence of the USSR's communist regime, which had been ruthlessly persecuting religious communities since the first day of coming to power. As early as 1936, the Yugoslav bishops warned about communism and stated a desire to protect the faithful from "this terrible danger for faith and civilisation."[1] In his Easter sermon on April 13, 1941, the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac stated that communism was a negation of all truth and justice, and as such was the biggest obstacle to peace.[2] Early in 1943, his circular letter to the clergy called for the Church to stand at the forefront of the fight against communism, which "had threatened not only Christianity but also humanity's positive values in their entirety."[3]

Stated attitudes were not characteristic only of the situation in Yugoslavia, but were in line with the standard views on communism expressed by the representatives of the Holy See and bishops in countries facing the greatest threat of communist activity against the Church.[4]

Prior to terminating diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See, the communist regime battled the Catholic Church openly, striving to undermine its power and influence and to form a government-controlled "people's church" that would not rely so heavily on the Holy See in its activities. When this plan failed in spite of many repressive measures launched by the communist regime to support it (priests imprisoned and murdered, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac convicted and imprisoned, religious education thrown out of state schools, church press banned, church properties confiscated etc.), the regime tried to disunite the Catholic Church by establishing class associations for priests with the help of its supporters among the clergy and the priests who succumbed to political pressures or were bribed with various privileges. Following the communist regime's establishment of priests' associations, the clergy in Bosnia and Herzegovina responded most positively. There almost one hundred percent

1. Josip Franulić, *Skrajnje pogubna zabluda: jedan pogled u komunističku prošlost* [Utterly Fatal Error: One Perspective into the Communist Past], (Makarska, 1994), 11.

2. *Alojzije Stepinac: Propovijedi, poruke, govori 1941–1946.* [Alojzije Stepinac: Sermons, Messages, Speeches 1941–1946], priredili Juraj Batelja i Celestin Tomić, (Zagreb, 1996), 23.

3. Franulić, *Skrajnje pogubna zabluda*, 23.

4. For the general standpoint of the Catholic Church toward Communism see: Andrea Riccardi, *Il Vaticano e Mosca, 1940–1990* (Roma, 1993); Philippe Chenaux, *L'Église catholique et le communisme en Europe (1917–1989), de Lénine à Jean-Paul II,* (Paris, 2009).

of members came from the Franciscan order. In Slovenia, bishops were more inclined towards cooperation with the communist government. On the other hand, a very modest positive response was achieved in Croatia, due to strong opposition from the majority of bishops and especially the imprisoned Archbishop Stepinac.[5]

When the bishops supported by the Holy See forbade priests to establish or join such associations, the Yugoslav government accused the Holy See of meddling in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and using the elevation of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac to cardinal as an excuse to sever diplomatic ties.

When diplomatic relations with the Holy See ended, the communist regime changed its policy toward the Catholic Church and abandoned open repressive methods, but efforts to weaken the Church and sow discord within its ranks continued. No serious efforts at reconciliation of the Church and the government were attempted until Cardinal Stepinac's death on February 10, 1960, when a new period in the relations between the Catholic Church and the communist regime in Yugoslavia as well as in the relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See began. The Holy See's Eastern Policy gradually took shape in this period, resulting in the signing of the Protocol on the Normalization of Relations between Yugoslavia and the Hoy See in 1966 and the restoration of diplomatic relations in 1970.[6]

The turnabout in the relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See and the relations between the government and the Church in Yugoslavia partly resulted from the Yugoslav government's agenda as one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement in the context of the Cold War and related events, which required it to improve the country's standing in the international community. Moreover, the Holy See needed to change its policy for this turnabout to happen. This change occurred as soon as Pope John XXIII was elected on October 28, 1958. In due course, the Second Vatican Council issued its guidelines about opening dialogue with the

5. On priests' association in Yugoslavia, see Miroslav Akmadža, "Staleško društvo katoličkih svećenika Hrvatske u službi komunističkog režima [Association of the Catholic Priests of Croatia in the Service of the Communist Regime]," in *Tkalčić*, 7/2003 (Zagreb, 2003), 47–156.

6. Concerning this topic see Radmila Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970* [The State and the Religious Communities 1945–1970], vol. 1 and 2 (Beograd, 2002); Zdenko Roter, *Katoliška cerkev in država v Jugoslaviji 1945–1973* [The Catholic Church and the state in Yugoslavia, 1945–1973] (Ljubljana, 1976); Miroslav Akmadža, *Katolička crkva u komunističkoj Hrvatskoj 1945–1980* [The Catholic Church in the Communist Croatia, 1945–1980] (Zagreb-Slavonski Brod, 2013).

communist regimes, and it culminated in the implementation of the Holy See's Eastern Policy, launched during Pope Paul VI's (1963–1978) pontificate and implemented at the time of John Paul II (1978–2005).[7]

This paper aims to narrate the implementation of the Holy See's Eastern Policy citing the example of Yugoslavia as a country outside the Soviet camp for purposes of comparison with the implementation of the same policy in countries under Soviet influence. The case of Yugoslavia provides a unique example of the Vatican's *Eastern policy* as implemented relatively quickly and successfully unlike the experience in other Eastern European communist countries. I will therefore not provide a detailed overview of the *Eastern policy* in general but highlight the Yugoslav case.[8]

Relations between the Church and Yugoslavia in the early 1960s

After Pope Pius XII died on October 9, 1958, and Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac followed on February 10, 1960, representatives of the Yugoslav government set their sights on placing most of the blame for the strained relations between the Church and the government and between Yugoslavia and the Holy See on the two late dignitaries, so they released a trial balloon announcing that the government wanted to improve its relations with the Catholic Church.

Yugoslav authorities judged that the Catholic bishops were becoming increasingly disinclined to strain their relations with the authorities any further. They noticed that the bishops were showing an increasing readiness to negotiate with the government, and that the Holy See was showing an increasing desire to normalize their relations, although it wanted to make the impression that Yugoslavia was succumbing to the pressure of religious masses. The authorities believed that three main issues to be resolved in dealings with the Church were religious instruction, religious press, and priest associations.[9] The authorities attempted to use their con-

7. „Problem ateizma u koncilskoj konstituciji «Gaudium et Spes»" [The Problem of Atheism in the Council Constitution 'Gaudium et Spes'] and "Kardinal Šeper o ateizmu" [Cardinal Šeper on Atheism], in: Glas Koncila, January 23; "Gaudium et Spes," for more details see: *Sto godina katoličkog socijalnog nauka, Socijalni dokumenti Crkve [Hundred Years of the Catholic Social Doctrine, Social Documents of the Church]*, Ed. Marijan Valković (Zagreb, 1991), 203–291; Vjekoslav Cvrlje, *Vatikanska diplomacija [The Diplomacy of the Holy See]* (Zagreb, 1992), 72–82.

8. For the general development Holy See's *Eastern Policy* see Giovanni Barberini, *L'Ostpolitik della Santa Sede: un dialogo lungo e faticoso*, (Bologna, 2007).

9. Croatian State Archives (hereinafter: CSA), The Fond of the Commission for the Relations with Religious Communities (hereinafter: CRRC), Box 40, 29/1960.

tacts with the bishops to inform them about the government's stands, which the bishops then forwarded to the Holy See.[10]

Catholic Church representatives started to meet with the authorities more often, and some of the tension was relieved. National authorities started to warn local governments about the illegalities arising from excessive, harsh, and forced measures undertaken by government officials in an attempt to curb artificially the activities of religious communities. They were instructed to tone down the "petty harassments" and the administrative measures because such measures could not help the Church adapt to the new social and political circumstances.[11] They were also instructed to replace administrative anti-Church measures with political measures whenever possible.[12]

The first informal contacts between the Holy See representatives and the Yugoslav embassy in Rome were established in early 1960 by the mediation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by newly appointed Foreign Minister Antonio Segni. The Yugoslav government instructed its ambassador to inform the prefect of the Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacraments, Cardinal Aloisi Masella, about several of the most important conditions Yugoslavia was going to insist on before it agreed to the normalization of relations. Yugoslavia wanted the Vatican to: 1) recognize the social and political system in Yugoslavia; 2) recognize the separation of Church and state; 3) stop its hostile propaganda against Yugoslavia; 4) not interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs; 5) cooperate with the officials on resolving some specific issues; 6) take no action against the social and political system in religious schools; 7) stop supporting and assisting the Ustasha emigrants; 8) abandon the possible beatification of Cardinal Stepinac; 9) depoliticize the Pontifical Croatian College of St. Jerome in Rome; and 10) define diocesan territories.[13]

On March 12, 1960 the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia issued instructions for its embassies, detailing how they should conduct possible talks with representatives of the Holy See. The instruc-

10. Minutes from the Meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the People's Republic of Croatia from April 21, 1960, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 2.

11. CSA, CRRC, Box 40, 8/1960, the copy of the Local People's Committee of Kutina.

12. "The Work Plan of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the People's Republic of Croatia for 1960," in CSA, CRRC, Box 40, 8/1960.

13. Report "Relations Vatican-Yugoslavia" 62, in CSA, CRRC, Box 41, 131/1960; Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970*, 2, 453, note 1515.

tions highlight that the Holy See had exhibited an obvious willingness to change its policy toward Yugoslavia as manifested in its less tolerant position regarding the émigrés, in more subdued tones of its press and radio programs, and in tolerance of the bishops' contacts with the Yugoslav authorities. They stress in particular that Cardinal Stepinac's death would contribute to more tolerant relations between the state and the Catholic Church. The Secretariat wanted the government to present a united front in possible talks, so it instructed Yugoslav representatives not to show any initiative or interest in negotiating about the restoration of diplomatic relations, but instead to use the talks as an opportunity to find out as many details as possible about the Holy See's positions and to dismiss the view that the termination of diplomatic relations had been Yugoslavia's fault.[14]

At a meeting held in late July, the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs concluded that the relations with Yugoslavia needed to be normalized. A modus vivendi between the bishops and the Yugoslav government was to be sought first, and diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia were to be reestablished later. Pope John XXIII voiced a personal interest in normalizing relations with Yugoslavia, and gave instructions to that effect to his Secretary of State Cardinal Domenico Tardini and to the acting president of the Bishops' Conference of Yugoslavia, Archbishop Josip Ujčić.[15]

Yugoslav Bishops and Normalizing Relations

After the government indicated its readiness to improve relations with the Church, the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia announced its first specific step on September 23, 1960. Responding to frequent statements of relevant Yugoslav government officials indicating that the government wanted to normalize its relations with the Catholic Church as soon as possible, the bishops sent a memorandum to the Federal Executive Council from their annual conference in Zagreb, voicing their agreement with officials of this department and their conviction that such a normalization of relations would benefit the Church and Yugoslavia alike, and that it would go a long way toward consolidating the situation in the country and thus improving the position of the Yugoslav nations and Yugoslavia in the international community. The bishops voiced their willingness to support all honest efforts to find and establish a truly healthy and permanent modus vivendi between the Church and the authorities. Moreover, they warned that the

14. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970*, 454.
15. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970*, 456.

Holy See, and not the bishops, was the ultimate authority in the Catholic Church, and that the bishops accordingly could not conduct negotiations about the relations between the Church and the government with government officials, or to enter into any kind of a final agreement. This assertion did not mean that the bishops were not able to participate actively in preparing the ground for successful negotiations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See. They emphasized that the government needed to make an effort to resolve certain issues, such as religious education, religious rights of soldiers and prisoners, celebration of religious holidays, suppression of religious schools, return of confiscated Church properties, construction of churches, return of the Church's sacramental registers, freedom of religious press, and the priest-associations issue.[16]

The reaction of government officials to the memorandum was for the most part positive. It was interpreted as an initiative on the bishops' part to open negotiations about the establishment of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See. Moreover, they believed the Holy See probably approved it.[17]

The officials told Archbishop Ujčić that they wanted to open negotiations with the bishops, and he passed on their views to Cardinal Tardini. Tardini refused to authorize the bishops to discuss any kind of an agreement with the Yugoslav government because such talks were in the Holy See's jurisdiction. He stated, however, that the bishops were allowed to discuss local issues with the authorities and assert their rights in the area under their jurisdiction. He suggested that the Yugoslav authorities could ask the Holy See to send a delegate authorized to negotiate with the Yugoslav government. This led the Yugoslav authorities to the conclusion that the Holy See was attempting to reestablish diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, but that it wanted Yugoslavia to make the first step, which they believed was a step backwards from the progress that had been accomplished. As far as the Pope's legate was concerned, they concluded that they should inform the Vatican that they could only speak about the normalization of relations with the bishops in Yugoslavia.[18]

Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, appointed Undersecretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1961 and the Holy See's chief negotiator with the Yugoslav and other socialist governments,

16. CSA, CRRC, Box 41, 130/1960.
17. CSA CRRC, Minutes, Book 2.
18. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 460–1.

described how Archbishop Ujčić, heartened by the Yugoslav government's reaction, rushed to the Vatican, but was received with much less optimism than he had expected. The question of opening talks about a modus vivendi had to be studied carefully because, in spite of the indications of leniency, which inspired hope that the Church might be able to secure a better position in Yugoslavia, too many matters still had to be resolved before the talks could even begin.[19]

After the Second Vatican Council opened in October 1962, initiatives for talks came to a halt. To Yugoslav officials, this halt occurred because the bishops were waiting for the Council to provide guidelines on how to proceed, especially in communist societies.[20]

It is important to stress that the Yugoslav government did not prevent a single bishop from attending the Council. The arrival of bishops not only from Yugoslavia but also from other Central and Eastern European countries under communist rule signaled to the Holy See that the communist regimes were prepared to accept the possibility of talks about the Church's position in these countries and negotiations with the Holy See. The implementation of the Eastern Policy could begin. Its co-designer and main enforcer, Casaroli, started his first journey in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Even though he maintained that the name Eastern Policy was inaccurate, he used it in his own communications, and the name was also widely accepted by the general public.[21]

Opening Negotiations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia

In early 1962 Yugoslav authorities considered the possibility of occasionally allowing the Holy See to send its representative to Yugoslavia for visitations consistent with its authority over the Catholic Church there. Initially this person was intended to be a Yugoslav citizen. However, the government dismissed the possibility of granting the Catholic Church a special privileged position, and the possibility of renewing diplomatic relations with the Holy See.[22]

The first signals that negotiations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See were a possibility were manifested in early 1963, when, according to

19. Agostino Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza. La Santa Sede e i paesi comunisti (1963–89)*, (Torino, 2000), 205–6.

20. CSA, CCRC, Box 46, 113/1962.

21. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 26–8.

22. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 467.

Casaroli, the Yugoslav ambassador to Italy, Ivo Vejvoda, voiced his government's desire to establish contact with the Holy See.[23] The Yugoslav government, on the other hand, maintained that the initiative for the negotiations had come from the Holy See through its mediator Nicolo Jaeger, a member of the Italian Constitutional Court, who had been close to the Holy See. The importance for the Yugoslav side was that the Holy See was exerting pressure on the Yugoslav bishops to normalize their relations with the authorities. The Yugoslav government instructed its embassy in Rome to tell Jaeger at their next meeting that the Yugoslav side expected to receive a direct invitation if the Holy See wanted to make contact. They also instructed the embassy to make clear that the specific issues of interest to the Church could and should be solved by dialogue between the Yugoslav bishops and the government.[24]

Officials at the Yugoslav embassy in Rome believed that establishing relations with the Holy See had fallen behind schedule and that the Council's influence over the Yugoslav bishops had been overestimated. Nonetheless, some of the highest-ranking Yugoslav officials believed that the embassy should only maintain informal contacts with the Holy See to pave the way for possible talks with the representatives of the Yugoslav government.[25]

The first informal, probing meetings between representatives of Yugoslavia and the Holy See occurred in May 1963. Pope Paul VI, who succeeded the Pope John XXIII in June 1963, authorized his associates to continue the informal contacts with Yugoslav authorities.[26] On the occasion of his inauguration on June 21, 1963, he asked the Yugoslav ambassador Vejvoda to convey the following message to President Josip Broz Tito: "I greatly appreciate the presence of Yugoslavia's representatives at my papal inauguration as a token of respect and considerable tact. I hope that my pontificate will lead to an improvement in the relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia. Pray tell President Tito that I care very deeply about Yugoslavia." In the meantime Ambassador Vejvoda learned from Jaeger that Pope Paul VI had initiated their contacts even before he had become the Pope.[27]

23. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 208.
24. CSA, CCRC, Box 49, 24/1963.
25. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 486.
26. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 208.
27. CSA, CCRC, Box 51, 130/1963.

Casaroli and Nikola Mandić, representing the Yugoslav embassy in Rome, continued their talks on October 18, 1963. On this occasion Casaroli expressed the Pope's wish to normalize the relations with Yugoslavia but made it clear that the Holy See wanted to know what the other side was expecting from their talks. He stated the Holy See no longer insisted that diplomatic relations had to be renewed first. Instead, he said, in the first stage the Holy See was prepared to renew relations on consular level or in the form of occasional visits of a papal delegate to Yugoslavia. Mandić said that the talks with the bishops were not progressing at the same pace as the talks with the Holy See, and voiced his displeasure with the position of the Zagreb Archbishop Franjo Šeper in particular.[28]

There were quandaries in the Roman Curia, in the College of Cardinals, and among the church officials in the communist countries if it would better suit the Church's purposes to fight communism to its last breath, or if the resistance—albeit firm in principle—could still allow for certain limited agreements to give religious life some more freedom, but entail the potential danger of turning the whole thing into an illusion to benefit only the reputations of the communist regimes without producing lasting benefits for the Church.[29] Hungarian Cardinal József Mindszenty thus wondered in his discussions with Casaroli why the Church should negotiate with the Hungarian communist authorities if the agreement would only bring an illusion of improvement, considering that the position of the Hungarian Church was so bad that it could hardly get any worse. He believed a complete destruction of communism was the only solution.[30]

Understandably, similar dilemmas troubled the Polish, Czechoslovakian, and Yugoslav bishops and made them fearful of possible consequences. Most Yugoslav bishops were reserved about the Eastern Policy. Their reserve was manifested, among other things, in accusations that the Holy See, although with a well-meaning intent to protect the Church's general interests in the communist East, sacrificed the particular interests of the national churches in their immediate environment. A smaller group of bishops heartily supported the Eastern Policy, believing that the Church needed to come to terms with the reality of the socialist system and not expect it to collapse anytime soon. They believed an arrangement with the authorities was needed for the Church to function normally. Incompatible

28. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 494.

29. Cardinal Achille Silvestrini in the "Introduction" of Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, XII-XIII.

30. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 53–4.

as these opposing views may have seemed, in time most bishops would side with the latter view, especially under the influence of the Council reforms. Still a considerable dose of caution and suspicion remained that the Holy See was not doing enough to protect the interests of the national Church.

Pope John XXIII firmly believed that something appearing unacceptable or unfruitful at one moment can undergo a radical change overnight. He never stopped believing this, not even in the last days of his life, when he received Casaroli, who had in May 1963 returned from his first mission in Eastern European countries with communist regimes (Czechoslovakia, Hungary), and informed him of his satisfaction to see dialogue opened with this hostile world. He held that "nothing would ever be able to mend the crack that he managed to make in the Iron Curtain." However, the Pope let Casaroli know that he should proceed with good will but without haste.[31] His successor Pope Paul VI, a great diplomacy enthusiast, also believed that the Church should not shy away from talking with communist regimes, but was initially very skeptical about the chances of success. Yet, he embraced his predecessor's view that something appearing impossible at one moment could become very much possible over time and eagerly continued to guide the Holy See's policy with this idea in mind.[32]

Since it was a so-called "softer socialism" country, Yugoslavia was considered a good starting point for realizing the Holy See's plans. The Yugoslav authorities, however, believed that the conditions for a more complete normalization of relations had not yet been fulfilled even though the bishops' position on relations with the authorities had taken a positive turn. They also held that it would not be a good idea to establish relations with the Holy See, either on the diplomatic level or on the level of apostolic delegate, because it would strengthen the Church and contribute to its affirmation as a political power. The normalization of relations with the Church was considered an internal affair and not a matter to be regulated by an agreement with the Holy See. The Yugoslav authorities' analyses maintained that the Holy See's primary goals were to reinforce the Church's position in the country, pave the way for possible normalization of relations with the other socialist countries, and alleviate the difficulties the Church faced worldwide. As far as Yugoslav interests were concerned, it was believed a normalization of relations with the Holy See would strengthen the positive trends in the Catholic Church and globally, and

31. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 63–4.

32. Cardinal Achille Silvestrini in the "Introduction" of Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, XIII–XV.

support the more moderate streams and tendencies in the Holy See's policy. It would also partly neutralize the activity of the reactionary circles in the Holy See and globally, anti-communist propaganda, and the activities of the émigrés.[33]

In late November 1963 Pope Paul VI received in audience the bishops of Yugoslavia. On this occasion he voiced his pleasure with the improvement of relations between the Church and the Yugoslav authorities. He authorized them to inform the authorities about the Holy See's stands regarding the Church's situation and the relations between the Church and the authorities and to make it clear that the Catholic Church was asking for nothing more but the fundamental church liberties. He asked the bishops to cooperate on the improvement of relations between the Church and the government.[34]

Casaroli continued his informal talks with the Yugoslav representative Mandić in Rome in early 1964. Casaroli suggested that they start a new phase in their talks and discuss specific aspects of important issues and asked what the Yugoslav side was hoping to accomplish with their talks and what goals it had set. Mandić repeated that they were not planning to reestablish diplomatic relations yet.[35]

Ambassador Vejvoda advocated the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See at an extended meeting of the Federal Commission for Religious Affairs on May 18, 1964. His views did not receive much support there. The prevalent view was that it was still too early to reestablish diplomatic relations, and that possible reactions in the country, in particular the reaction of the Serbian Orthodox Church, had to be considered.[36]

The Federal Commission for Religious Affairs believed it very important for their mutual relations that the Church profess its loyalty regarding issues related to the unity of the Yugoslav nations' federation and integrity of the country, that it would not instigate or promote religious and national intolerance, that it would not abuse religion for purposes it was not allowed to, and that it would not infringe upon citizens' constitutional rights and liberties.[37]

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33. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 496–9.

34. The note about the conversation Vito Dobrila, the secretary of the Yugoslav embassy in Rome, had with the Skopje Bishop Smiljan Čekada at the embassy in Rome on December 21, 1963, in CSA, CRRC, Box 52, 22/1964.

35. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 501–-2.

36. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 503–4.

37. CSA, CRRC, Box 56, no file number.

In order to find and maintain a modus vivendi with the Holy See, the Yugoslav government in mid-1964 decided to open negotiations for the establishment of relations through an apostolic delegate who would represent the Holy See in Yugoslavia. In the beginning the apostolic delegate was intended to act primarily as the representative of the Holy See in dealings with the Church in Yugoslavia, but he was also authorized to discuss problems in the area of church-state relations with representatives of the authorities. At that time seventeen national churches maintained such diplomatic relations with the Holy See including the United States, Mexico, and Great Britain.[38]

Launching Official Negotiations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See

Negotiations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See became official in June 1964, when the two sides exchanged memoranda sketching the points that they wished to discuss.[39] The Holy See's list of priorities included application of the principle of freedom of conscience and religion to all citizens and adherence to these principles, the government's neutrality in the relations between anti-religious and atheistic organizations on the one hand and religious organizations on the other, the issue of religious education, seminaries, novitiates, military service for priests, freedom to perform religious rites, administration of sacraments, the Catholic press, priest associations, the return of Church buildings and places of worship, the equality of priests before the law, and the freedom of Church representatives to communicate with the Holy See. The priorities on the Yugoslav side included the matter of the government's permission for the appointment of bishops, the demarcation of diocesan borders, the condemnation of the priests' political activities, especially the emigrant priests, the issue of priest associations, and status of the College of St. Jerome in Rome.[40]

The activities of Croatian émigrés, especially priests, were one of the key issues for the Yugoslav side. According to the Croatian authorities, Casaroli maintained that the émigrés' activities were based on foundations that included national and separatist elements, alluding to the unsolved Croatian issue. However, the Yugoslav side refused to acknowledge that such an issue even existed. The Vatican was prepared to condemn the terrorist activities of the émigrés but not their political activities.[41]

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38. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 506.
39. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza,* 208.
40. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 505–6.
41. Minutes from the meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia held on September 10 and 25, 1964, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 6.

As much as the Yugoslav bishops worried about the outcome of the negotiations, they still warned and advised the Holy See not to stop them, concluding that reestablishing diplomatic relations would benefit the Catholic Church. The Yugoslav side, on the other hand, insisted on some form an agreement, albeit excluding the possibility that the general and unilateral regulations governing the Catholic Church's legal position could be changed. The government made this agreement a condition for reestablishing official relations with the Holy See. The negotiating issues specified by the government corresponded almost entirely with those about which the bishops voiced their concerns.[42]

In late 1964 Casaroli proposed to Yugoslav representatives that they could continue their negotiations after the Holy See wrapped up its negotiations with Czechoslovakia.[43] Since there was no headway in negotiations with Czechoslovakia, and the situation in Hungary[44] was similar in spite of certain minor successes, the Holy See decided to intensify the negotiations with Yugoslavia after all. Pope Paul VI received Ivo Vejvoda, the Yugoslav ambassador to Italy, on January 15, 1965. On this occasion the Pope stated that the Church had no ambition to interfere in the political situation in the country and that it was asking for no privileges. He voiced his hopes that negotiations would be concluded successfully, and insisted that the Church needed to be allowed to participate in the education of the youth.[45]

According to Casaroli, the first true and proper negotiations between the Holy See and the Yugoslav authorities were opened in Belgrade on that same day. In his memoirs he described these talks as very open and wrote that the excessive cordiality of his collocutors, who acted as if the Church and the government had never been in a conflict, occasionally inspired doubts in him.[46]

The negotiations continued in April 1965, but in this round Yugoslav authorities got the impression that the Holy See had backed away from its

42. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 211.

43. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 510–11.

44. The Holy See signed a document with Hungary on September 15, 1964, that aimed to represent the first step in the normalization of relations between the Church and the state, but the Holy See soon realized that the position of the Hungarian Church had not improved at all. On the contrary, several priests were soon arrested, and Casaroli had to urgently open new talks with representatives of the Hungarian government. See Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 89-103.

45. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 511.

46. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 212–23.

original stand and had reservations regarding the final document. It was believed that this was partly influenced by the opinions of the Yugoslav bishops, who had visited Rome and asked the Holy See not to accept the demands of the Yugoslav side.[47]

As the negotiations continued, the two sides agreed on a draft agreement. They also agreed to coordinate the texts of their statements about issues they had not been able to come to terms about, and that had not been included in the agreement. The Yugoslav government held the view that an effort should be made to sign some kind of an agreement while not backing down in any general issue because it would be of major political significance.[48]

Casaroli states that the result of this round of negotiations, plus some later additions and modifications, in essence represented the final text of the Protocol that was signed later along with most of the "spoken statements" that had been exchanged on the occasion. The discussion about youth education at schools had been the fiercest. At one point Casaroli stopped the talks and, having lost his patience, said during a break that the pressure the Yugoslav authorities were putting on the youth could prove counterproductive for them one day. Even though the government wanted the document to be signed as soon as possible, the Holy See postponed the signing until the views of the Yugoslav bishops had been heard. In their response, the bishops were rather reserved about the agreement, fearing that the Holy See could be tricked. Cardinal Šeper and other bishops believed the agreement was of no use because it changed nothing of importance, since the government insisted on the general legal framework without any kind of a special agreement with the Catholic Church. The bishops favored the idea of exchanging envoys now and signing the agreement later, after the Holy See's delegate had a chance to see for himself if any progress had been made as far as the Church's position in Yugoslavia was concerned. They also disliked certain spoken statements that the Holy See reputedly made, especially the statements about the priest associations and the emigrant priests. But the bishops did not want the talks to stop under any circumstances.[49]

47. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 513.

48. The Summary of the Negotiations between the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the Holy See, the draft for the meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, on June 18, 1965, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 7.

49. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 227–33.

Increasingly frequent complaints could be heard in the Vatican circles too, maintaining that negotiations with communist regimes were useless because communism was strong and deeply rooted in these countries, and that talks with these regimes would have a negative impact on the Church because they would be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the communists' reliability. The results of the negotiations were deemed ridiculous because the concessions to the Church were minimal and were not implemented in practice. The negotiations, then, meant the Church was abandoning everyone in its own ranks who had suffered persecution and had proven heroic in their resistance. It was also believed that the negotiations deprived the Holy See of its liberty to protest the persecution of the Church in these countries. Pope Paul VI, nonetheless, believed the Church was facing one of its historical duties that required wisdom and foresight but also courage.[50] He admitted that he was refraining from more frequent and harsher, albeit justified protests and condemnations, not because he was ignoring or neglecting the actual circumstances, but because he was exercising Christian patience so as to avoid causing even greater evils. His statement, made on September 12, 1965, threw the communist regimes into an uproar. The Czechoslovakian government used it as an excuse to postpone talks with the Holy See until the end of the Council. In reality they resumed much later with much stalling and with no results.[51]

Yugoslav authorities concluded that the Holy See had taken a rather firm stand in the belief that Yugoslavia needed the agreement more than the Holy See did and that firmness would force the Yugoslav side to be more lenient. Religious education at schools was the subject of the most heated debates. The Holy See demanded the anti-religious education at schools be stopped and the Church be allowed to participate in the education process. Tensions were so high over this issue that it even seemed at one point the talks would fall apart. The Yugoslav bishops were particularly insistent about this issue. The Holy See refused to condemn the emigrant priests too. The former only agreed to a general phrase stating that the Holy See was opposed to all acts of political terrorism and that the priests were not allowed to abuse faith for political purposes, with the disclaimer that a priest was allowed to hold personal political views. The Yugoslav authorities were divided as to whether they should attempt to establish full diplomatic relations or not. Eventually, the view prevailed that it would be

50. Cardinal Achille Silvestrini in the "Introduction" of Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, XV–XVI.

51. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 73.

better not to pursue establishing diplomatic relations because it would be too risky. Relations could become strained again, and the Yugoslav government would be in a very awkward position then. In the initial provisional period they therefore decided to establish relations with the Holy See through an apostolic delegate as its representative to the Church not to the government, although he would be able to maintain contacts with the government too. Yugoslavia would be represented at the Holy See by an official of the Yugoslav government who would not be a diplomat and would not have diplomatic status.[52]

Concluding Negotiations and Signing the Protocol

In late 1965 the Yugoslav ambassador to Italy Ivo Vejvoda notified the Federal Commission for Religious Affairs that negotiations were finished and that all that remained to be done was to sign the agreement. He believed that Pope Paul VI did not want to sign the agreement before the end of the Council because it would be difficult to explain why he signed it when the Church was not obtaining anything apart from the promise that the government would uphold the law and the Constitution.[53]

The Yugoslav bishops attended several meetings in Rome at which the draft Protocol was discussed at the Holy See's request. In their reply to the Holy See, the bishops opposed the proposed inclusion of statements about emigrant priests in the agreement because it would give Yugoslav authorities too much liberty to meddle in the activities of the priests abroad and to pressure the bishops regarding their activities. They devoted special attention to the issue of the Holy See's representative in Yugoslavia, on whose appointment, they insisted, was the only benefit of the negotiations with Yugoslavia. The Holy See was satisfied with their stand.[54]

At a meeting with Mandić in Rome on December 4, 1965, Casaroli said that the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs raised certain difficulties regarding the text of the Protocol and the statements issued from Belgrade. Their main complaints were that the documents contained no concessions to the Church other than what was already written in the Yugoslav Constitution and the law, whereas the Holy See was expected to accept new obligations in issues that the Yugoslav bishops considered very sensitive (religious education, priest

52. CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 7.
53. CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 7.
54. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 521.

associations, emigrants, and the College of St. Jerome). Casaroli said that Pope Paul VI personally voiced some complaints. Yet, he stated that everything would in general remain as it was agreed, and only the form would change, i.e., the statements would be made in speech rather than in writing. Mandić said that this was a step backwards, and the Yugoslav side might conclude that conditions were not yet ready for the agreement. He also said that it was apparent that the bishops were influencing the negotiations with their negative opinions, and raised the possibility negotiations could be postponed indefinitely. Casaroli said it was not necessary because a normalization of relations could have a positive effect on the bishops too. He suggested that both delegations meet in Rome soon and discuss the proposed changes.[55]

The Second Vatican Council closed on December 8, 1965. Its messages about opening dialogue with atheists and atheist societies were of special importance. All the Council's debates and its documents opened up new opportunities for the Catholic Church to address contemporary developments around the globe. The Council's work was thus bound to reflect on the relations of the Catholic Church with Yugoslavia too: a new, more conciliatory approach had to be employed to try and improve the Church's position in Yugoslavia, even though the bishops in Yugoslavia were not happy with the text of the Protocol, and even though the Church was well aware that the communist authorities would try to pass the Protocol off as their victory.

The negotiations continued in Rome on December 9 and 10, 1965, when Casaroli suggested two possible conclusions to the negotiations. The first was to reestablish diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See by exchanging letters detailing the points about which the two sides were in agreement. The second was to accept the Protocol, but without the statement about the College of St. Jerome and with some slight stylistic corrections. The Yugoslav government dismissed the suggestion to reestablish diplomatic relations without signing the agreement. Because Yugoslavia and the Holy See were unprepared to provide additional guarantees about several issues in the agreement itself, the guarantees in question were to be expressed in the form of verbal statements (the Yugoslav government's guarantees about schools, the Holy See's guarantees about the College of St. Jerome. . .). Casaroli wrote in his memoirs that the only option left at the moment had been either to let the negotiation fall through and give up on the presence of the Holy See's representative in

55. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970*, 2, 522–3.

Yugoslavia or to try and improve the strenuously negotiated and renegotiated result of the negotiations, as Cardinal Šeper suggested, and which was ultimately accepted. [56]

After the texts were reconciled to some extent, another round of talks was held in Rome between April 18 and April 23, 1966, when the points about property issues and the College of St. Jerome were deleted from the agreement and regulated by verbal statements instead. The latter were not a part of the Protocol. They only carried a moral obligation and had no legal force. The Yugoslav authorities believed that the most important issue was that they had not backed down in the matter of youth education. The Protocol was to be signed in mid-June after the meeting of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia had concluded.[57]

On May 26, 1966, Pope Paul VI received Cardinal Šeper, who presented him with the bishops' petition against the signing of the Protocol, and suggested a postponement and a reexamination of the entire issue. Eventually Šeper, abiding by the Pope's wishes, asked that the bishops be allowed to make a statement indicating that their suggestions had not been taken into account, and that they had not been consulted during the formulation of the Protocol. The decision to sign the Protocol, nevertheless, was made because it was believed that a failure to sign it would place the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia in an even more difficult position than before.[58]

Casaroli and Mandić met one more time on June 6, 1966 in Rome to discuss the content of the letters that the Holy See's Secretary of State's office and the Yugoslav State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs were to exchange about the exchange of delegates, the text of the minutes about the act of signing the negotiation Protocol, and the date for its signing. On this occasion Casaroli informed Mandić that trouble had been stirred by the reactions of certain Vatican circles and Yugoslav bishops to the press reports suggesting that the Yugoslav government had made the text of the Protocol available to the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church for its

56. Information about the Continuation of Negotiations with the Holy See, addendum to the meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on January 19, 1966, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 8; Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 233–4.

57. Minutes from the Meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on May 19, 1966, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 8.

58. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 240–3.

consideration. Casaroli pledged to address the newly arisen troubles by sending one of his emissaries to Cardinal Šeper, aiming to respond to the bishops' complaint that they had not been informed about the content of the agreement, unlike the Episcopate of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Mandić denied that the government had made the text of the agreement available to the Serbian Orthodox Church for its consideration and stated that Casaroli had not mentioned the real reasons why the signing of the agreement was being postponed: the resistance of Yugoslav bishops and the political émigrés to it. Casaroli appealed for patience and requested a written statement confirming that the agreement had not been made available to the Serbian Orthodox Church for consideration. This statement was then sent to Casaroli.[59] The Holy See's Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs accepted all the proposed statements about the agreement on June 10, 1966.[60]

A day before the Protocol's signing in Belgrade on June 25, 1966, the Pope addressed the cardinals in Rome that it constituted "a fair, albeit incomplete regulation of the relations between the Church and the state," adding that he had "very gladly" granted his consent and provided guidelines for the talks "that the civilian authorities indicated they wanted to open with the Holy See."[61]

The Protocol states that the governments of Yugoslavia and the Holy See had agreed to exchange semi-official representatives. Under the agreement, the Holy See was to appoint an apostolic delegate residing in Belgrade to serve as envoy to the Yugoslav government, and the Yugoslav government was to appoint its delegate to the Holy See. Both delegates would enjoy the privileges and the immunity proper to diplomatic representatives.[62]

In signing the agreement, Casaroli stressed "the essential brevity" of the document that nevertheless reflected efforts undertaken over a longer period of time. He said that they "could not delete and did not wish to forget" the past, but he also observed that they needed to "keep their eyes

59. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 530–1.

60. Minutes from the Meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on July 5, 1966, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 8.

61. *Glas Koncila*, July 17, 1966.

62. Addendum to Item 1 on the Agenda of the meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on July 5, 1966, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 8.

trained on the present and the future in a perspective of hope and good will, rather than on the past." [63]

The text of the Protocol states among other things that the Yugoslav government guarantees to the Catholic Church the freedom to tend to religious affairs and perform religious ceremonies within the confines of legal and constitutional principles, and the relevant authorities would make sure the laws protecting the freedom of conscience and the freedom of religion were applied consistently to all citizens. The government voiced its readiness to consider any cases the Holy See noted in relation to this issue. The government also acknowledged the Holy See's competencies and jurisdiction over the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia in church matters, provided that they did not contradict the internal order in the country. Yugoslav bishops were promised the possibility of maintaining contacts with the Holy See under the assumption that this interaction would be of a religious nature only.

The Holy See, on the other hand, confirmed the general expectation that the activity of Catholic priests should be confined to church and religion, and they could not abuse their religious and church offices for purposes of a political nature. The Holy See also voiced its willingness to consider any cases the Yugoslav government might deem obligated to bring to its attention. In accordance with principles of Catholic morality, the Holy See disapproved and condemned all acts of political terrorism and similar criminal forms of violence regardless of the perpetrator. Accordingly, if the Yugoslav government found that priests participated in such activities aimed against the government, it was obligated to bring this to the Holy See's attention. The Holy See was prepared to examine such occurrences and decree possible measures as Canon Law prescribed in such cases.

In the end the Protocol established that Yugoslavia and the Holy See were prepared to exchange delegates. [64]

Reactions to the Protocol's signing varied. Casaroli viewed it as establishing the prerequisites for discussion and for a gradual resolution of the remaining open issues in the relations between the Church and the government.[65] The Yugoslav side used its public media to paint the agreement

63. „Izjave potpisnika protokola o razgovorima vođenim između SFRJ i Svete Stolice" [The Statements of the Signatories of Protocol on the Talks Held Between SFRY and the Holy See], in *Glas Koncila*, July 3, 1966.

64. *Official Gazette of the Zagreb Diocese,* no. VI, 1966.

65. Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, 245.

as its victory and a result of the correctness of its policy toward the Catholic Church. The authorities were very pleased with the commentaries about the Protocol that appeared in the foreign press and believed that this was likely the most positive publicity Yugoslavia ever received in foreign press about one of its foreign affairs issues. Serbian émigrés were critical of the agreement, and the Serbian Orthodox Church was not very pleased with it either, considering the Protocol a new concordat that gave the Catholic Church special privileges in comparison with the other religious communities. Moreover, Yugoslav authorities fully controlled the Serbian Orthodox Church, and its leaders had not protested the agreement openly.[66] Some Catholic bishops intended to pen letters to the Holy See opposing the Protocol, but they did not do so after the message Pope Paul VI sent through Cardinal Šeper and after the latter's assurances.[67]

Cardinal Šeper supported the agreement in principle but believed that its biggest weakness was its failure to solve the issue of religious education at schools. He hoped, however, that this issue would be solved adequately as the relations between the Church and the government gradually improved.[68]

Croatian emigrant priests were the loudest in their protests against the Protocol. Croatian priests convened in Königstein, Germany, on August 7, 1966, and issued a declaration about the Protocol whose purpose was to provide "accurate information to the international public." The declaration maintained that the Communist Party was above the Constitution in Yugoslavia and that it openly worked to destroy religion in accordance with its ideology, irrespective of its occasional maneuvering. The declaration also stated that there was no freedom of conscience and no freedom of religion in Yugoslavia, that the citizens were not equal, and that the Croatian people and Catholics in particular were subjected to inhumane pressures and discrimination. However, after Šeper's assurances, the Alliance of Croatian Priests in the U.S. and Canada issued a "joint statement" in October 1966, voicing their loyalty to the Catholic Church and to the Pope, acknowledging the Holy See's right to negotiate issues related to the protection of faith with the communist governments, and voicing their agreement with the Catholic Church's stand on political actions, political terrorism, and various forms of violence. After this statement the emigrant press became more tolerant in its reports about of the Protocol. Unlike the Croatian emigrant

66. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 533–4.

67. CSA, CRRC, Box 66, 28/1966.

68. Minutes from the Meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on July 5, 1966, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 8.

communities, the Serbian emigrants believed the Protocol was a new concordat and proved their thesis that Croats were "increasingly taking hold of positions in Yugoslavia" and thus compromising the interests of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian people.[69]

To appease the dissatisfaction of the Serbian Orthodox Church's with the Protocol, the government decided to reinforce its financial and other supports to the Church.[70]

Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito, viewing the reestablishment of relations with the Holy See as a positive step, believed development of relations would depend on the behavior of the Holy See's representative in Yugoslavia. What really concerned him was whether the Holy See's representative would interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, or if he would help to normalize the relations between the Catholic Church and the government. He believed that Pope Paul VI was more progressive than the bishops in Yugoslavia and that this fact was to be considered while formulating the government's policy toward the Church. He stressed the need to monitor the Catholic Church's activities in the period after the Council and to involve all social and political factors for as long and as much as was necessary to control the increasingly offensive activities of the Church, which had stepped out of the confines of religion and started increasingly to interfere in social life, primarily fighting for an influence over the youth. He explained that reestablishing full diplomatic relations with the Church had to be postponed because of the sensitivity of the Serbian Orthodox Church. He believed, however, that full diplomatic relations could be considered at some point if the situation developed favorably.[71]

Reestablishing Diplomatic Relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See

For the Holy See, the Protocol and efforts to reestablish full diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia were starting points for similar efforts in other European socialist countries, especially in Czechoslovakia, but the Soviet military intervention in 1968 impeded the process there. Yugoslav authorities welcomed the Pope's condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. Pope Paul VI described the Soviet actions as an act of violence that

69. CSA, CRRC, Box 70, 211/1966.

70. Radić, *Država i verske zajednice 1945–1970,* 2, 535.

71. The note about the conversation of J. B. Tito and V. Cvrlje on November 1, 1966, in CSA, CRRC, Box 70, 208/1966.

infringed upon fundamental principles, jeopardized the peace in Europe and globally, and set back positive processes in Europe. Similarly, the Yugoslav condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia was welcomed in Vatican circles. The Holy See also had useful perspectives for the normalization of relations with Hungary, while relations with Poland were troubled by the conflict between the Polish Church and the government.[72]

Yugoslav authorities monitored the Holy See's international activities with special interest, in particular its peacekeeping efforts, an area in which Yugoslavia wanted to play an important role through the Nonaligned Movement. Josip Broz Tito thus tried to promote his peace initiative for the resolution of the Middle Eastern crisis in September 1967 by circulating his proposals to all important world leaders. Among others, he sent a letter to Pope Paul VI. The Pope praised Tito's dedication to solving the crisis but did not take a clear stand regarding his plan.[73]

The visit of the Yugoslav Prime Minister Mika Špiljak to Pope Paul VI on January 10, 1968, a part of his official visit to Italy, was an important breakthrough in the development of the relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See. It was the first time that a prime minister of a socialist country visited the Pope. During their meeting the Pope stressed that he considered Špiljak's visit a reflection of the good relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia, pointing out that he had been informed about the improving relations between the Yugoslav authorities and the Church, which did not mean that all problems had been solved. Yet he voiced his conviction that matters were headed in a positive direction. He expressed interest in the expansion of religious education rights, which would help citizens become more cultured and perfect, inspired by Christian principles and as such loyal to the Church and to their country. Špiljak, too, voiced hopes that his visit would be a new step in improving relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See as well as the relations between the Church and the government in Yugoslavia. These relations had been positively affected by the Council's decisions headed in a direction supported by the Yugoslav government. Regarding the Pope's remark about religious education, Špiljak pointed to the constitutional separation of Church and state, adding that there was still enough room and plenty of opportunities for expanding religious education within the framework of existing regulations.[74]

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72. CSA, CRRC, Box 79, 226/1968.

73. The Pope's letter to Tito and other related files, in CSA, CRRC, Box 74, 195/1967.

74. Information about M. Špiljak's visit to Pope Paul VI, in CSA, CRRC, Box 75, 9/1968.

Yugoslav authorities also believed that the improved relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia made some bishops more favorably disposed toward them.[75] These authorities attempted to take advantage of the normalization of the relations with the Holy See to influence the appointment of new bishops in Yugoslav dioceses but to no avail. [76]

Yugoslav authorities were pleased with the Holy See's policy toward the relations between the Church and the government because the bishops were allowed to resolve some disputes on their own. That the Holy See had not once officially intervened toward the Yugoslav side in connection with a dispute between the Church and the authorities since the Protocol was signed in 1966 and until late 1969 was believed to be the result of the Holy See's policy.[77]

At its meeting on October 17, 1969, the Federal Commission for Religious Affairs concluded that an improvement in the relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia would reinforce the existing division within the Catholic Church in the country and strengthen its more progressive element, which was expected to have a favorable impact on the development of the relations between the Church and the authorities in the country and on the activities of emigrant priests. They believed that other religious communities would not react too harshly to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See, although the Serbian Orthodox Church could have been expected to react more coldly than others. The Commission's general stand was that full diplomatic relations should be reestablished with the Holy See, but that the public should be informed beforehand with the clear message that the Catholic Church was not being favored over other religious communities. Accordingly, the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs proposed to the Federal Executive Council that the Yugoslav ambassador to Italy should be authorized to resume, this time officially, the talks about the establishment of full diplomatic relations and the elevation of both delegations to embassy and nunciature level.[78]

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75. CSA, CRRC, Box 79, 226/1968.

76. The report that the President of the Federal Commission for Religious Affairs Mile Jovićević delivered to the Executive Council of the Sabor of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, no. 402, from November 6, 1968, in CSA, CRRC, Box 79, 224/1968.

77. File of the SFRY's Delegation with the Holy See from October 16, 1966, title "Some Characteristics of the Development of Relations between Yugoslavia and the Vatican," in CSA, CRRC, Box 85, 14/1970.

78. CSA, CRRC, Box 85, 14/1970.

Fearing a possible negative reaction of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Milo Jovićević, the President of the Federal Commission for Religious Affairs, spoke to Patriarch German on November 19, 1969, and informed him about the Yugoslav government's intent to establish full diplomatic relations with the Holy See, emphasizing that the Catholic Church would not have a preferential treatment in Yugoslavia in comparison with the other religious communities. The Patriarch thanked him for letting him know and only asked if a special document would be signed on the occasion. Jovićević told him that there were no plans to sign a special document.[79]

The Holy See also wanted to raise its relations with Yugoslavia to full diplomatic level, about which Pope Paul VI informed the Yugoslav ambassador Vjekoslav Cvrlje during a reception the Holy See organized for the diplomatic corps on January 12, 1970. The Pope asked Cvrlje to inform Tito about the Holy See's wishes, and voiced hopes that the plan could be put to work sometime that year.[80]

In April 1970 the Federal Executive Council concluded that the negotiations with the Holy See about raising relations to the diplomatic level would be opened in Rome in May 1970.[81] On August 14, 1970 the Holy See and Yugoslavia announced the decision to upgrade their diplomatic relations.[82]

The establishment of full diplomatic relations garnered a lot of attention in western media, and almost all reports announced the possibility that Tito might visit Paul VI during his official visit to Italy in 1971. The media also announced the possibility that the Pope might visit Belgrade during the International Marian and Mariological Congress in Zagreb in 1974.[83] However, while Tito indeed visited the Pope, the Pope never came to Yugoslavia.

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79. CSA, CRRC, Box 82, 61/1969.

80. CSA, CRRC, Box 85, Conf. 14/1970.

81. Minutes from the Meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia from April 24, 1970, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 12.

82. "Establishment of Full Diplomatic Relations Vatican-Yugoslavia," *Glas Koncila*, August 30, 1970, 1; *Informative Bulletin* of the Commission for Religious Affairs of Socialist Republic of Croatia, no. 4/1970, October 5, 1970, 1–2, in CSA, CRRC, Box 86, 36/1970.

83. "Information about the Upgrade of Diplomatic Relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia. . . ," addendum to the meeting of the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on September 29, 1960, in CSA, CRRC, Minutes, Book 12.

Josip Broz Tito's Visit to Pope Paul VI

During talks on the Brijuni Islands on August 26, 1970, Tito told Casaroli that he was going to visit Italy next year and that he had not yet had a chance to meet Pope Paul VI, whom he thought very highly of. He thus indirectly let him know that he would like to visit with the Pope, and Casaroli apparently got the message and said that he felt Tito's remark had been meant as a polite gesture. The Pope sent word to Tito that he could visit him whenever he liked. The Yugoslav authorities believed that Tito's visit with the Pope would be well received in the Demochristian and Catholic communities, and that it would support the progressive currents in the Roman Curia.[84]

Tito visited the Pope on March 29, 1971, and they spoke alone, with no one else present. Both sides voiced their satisfaction with the progress achieved in the relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See and between the Church and the authorities in Yugoslavia.[85]

It had been the first time that a president of a socialist country paid an official visit to the Holy See. Tito told the Pope how much he respected his efforts to contribute to a peaceful resolution of international conflicts and global social and economic problems as well as his support to the peoples fighting against colonialism and for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. He also voiced his satisfaction that the Holy See's views about the said issues were mostly aligned with Yugoslavia's. The Pope, on his part, spoke about the long-lasting spiritual and cultural connections between the Holy See and the peoples of Yugoslavia in his address. He stressed that the Yugoslav peoples, considering their unique position in Europe at the confluence of different and often opposing civilizations, were "tasked by Providence to try and become a bond of communication and understanding" so as to avoid new conflicts and work with others in paving the way for "more complete progress and a brotherly civilization." He added that the practice had shown that closer relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See produced "some positive effects and promised even more positive results." He stated that the Church was asking for nothing for itself apart from legal freedom to pursue its spiritual mission and offer its loyal service to the individual and the community, devoid of any other interest clashing with its religious or moral mission. He

84. Peđa Radosavljević, *Odnosi između Jugoslavije i Svete Stolice 1963–1978.* [Relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See 1963-1978.] (Belgrade, 2012), 133–7.

85. File "President Tito's Visit to the Holy See," in CSA, CRRC, Box 91, 58/1971.

said there was no reason to fear that the Church would interfere in matters under sovereign and legal jurisdiction of the state without a good cause.[86]

Overall, Tito's visit to the Pope was the result of progress in the relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See after the Protocol was signed in 1966. It was also an important breakthrough in implementing the Holy See's Eastern Policy in the other European communist countries. Cardinal Franjo Šeper would perform an important role on this path, since his appointment as the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith helped to keep the Roman Curia better informed about the Church's position in communist countries and the available courses of action there. The involvement of the bishops from communist countries in implementing the Eastern Policy eventually resulted in the election of a Pole, Cardinal Karol Józef Wojtyła, as Pope John Paul II on October 16, 1978. During his pontificate the communist regimes in Eastern Europe would collapse, and the Church would regain full freedom of action in this region.

In implementing its Eastern Policy, the Holy See did not rely so much on its efficiency, as indisputable it may have been in some cases, as on the loyalty of the Church's mission, which Pope Paul VI explained with the following words in the speech he delivered before the consistory of cardinals on June 21, 1976:

> To mend this sad state of affairs and to steer its course in the direction of justice, the Holy See engaged in an active and relentless, patient and open dialogue, as firm in confirming the principles and the full rights of the Church and the faithful as it was prepared to enter into honest and loyal agreements in accordance with these principles.[87]

Conclusion

The Catholic clergy and the religious communities in Croatia and other former Yugoslav countries hold differing opinions as to whether the Holy See's Eastern Policy had a beneficial effect on their work at the time of the totalitarian communist regime. Some of the participants in these events from the Church's ranks will do their best to underrate the results of the Eastern Policy in Yugoslavia, criticizing the Holy See for sacrificing the interests of the national churches, the Croatian Church in particular, to

86. The texts of Pope Paul VI's and Tito's speeches, in CSA, CRRC, Box 91, 64/1971.

87. *Insegnamenti di Paolo VI*, XIV, 1976, 505–506; Cardinal Achille Silvestrini in the "Introduction" of Casaroli, *Il martiro della pazienza*, XXVI.

general church interests, but the results of the Eastern Policy were indisputably very much in evidence. Even though priests were still occasionally put on trial and incarcerated after the relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See were normalized, such cases became an exception rather than a rule compared to the earlier period. The Catholic Church enjoyed a much greater freedom in its public work. More and more churches were built in spite of the attempts of the bureaucratic apparatus to obstruct their construction. The religious press, which had been practically nonexistent before the *Glas Koncila* appeared in 1962, increased in number and availability, and we could also say it enjoyed a greater freedom, as much as the authorities were careful not to allow the religious press to venture outside of the confines of religious topics and address political matters. The regime was prepared to make concessions to the Church in many areas of its activity under the condition that the Church stayed away from politics. The bishops did not manage to secure a victory in the matter that had been the most important to the Church and reinstate religious education in schools, but religious education classes organized at churches undeniably faced less and less opposition. Many other aspects of religious freedoms became more visible, which does not mean that the regime abandoned its main objective of weakening the Church and religion as such. However, as far as measures to further this objective were concerned, the regime stopped its open war against the Church and its repressive actions, turning to an ideological war waged through the state media's propaganda system, its influence on the youth through its strict control of the school system, and various political and administrative measures designed to make the Church's activity more difficult and undermine its influence in the public. Yugoslavia, however, did not escape the general anti-communist revolt in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and the other European countries under communist rule, and the Catholic Church reaped the fruits of democracy born from these changes that had been, among other things and in some segments, the result of the Holy See's controverted Eastern Policy.

Forum Essay

Robin Darling Young, Jon F. Dechow,
David Maldonado Rivera,
Andrew S. Jacobs, Young Richard Kim

Andrew S. Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: A Cultural Biography of Late Antiquity*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016. xiv + 335; $95.00.

Young Richard Kim, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: Imagining an Orthodox World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015. Xvi + 278; $85.00.

Introduction by Robin Darling Young

Blessed with a steely temperament and a remarkably long life for his own era, Epiphanius of Salamis (310/20-403), monk, bishop, author and controversialist, was a man whose vast ambition was disproportionate to his moderate learning. Epiphanius came from a wealthy family in Palestine and made the most of imperial toleration for Christianity, expanding his power and influence not only by cannily associating with ambitious Christian leaders, but also—and with great labor—by assembling a book (The *Panarion*) cataloging heresies for the increasingly prominent church. The fourth century saw the defeat of one major heresy, with imperial assistance, and the birth of others; Epiphanius presciently had written an outline of orthodoxy, the *Ancoratus*, and he stuck to leadership and diplomacy, avoiding the perils of philosophy.

Both Kim's and Jacobs' book are thorough, polished and intriguing accounts of a man whom most historians of the later Roman Empire, and historians of Christianity, have found odious. Both take a biographical approach to the man, and follow Epiphanius in his career; both express some wonder at his success and at the reactions to him—they remark on the cultural differences between Epiphanius and his more learned contemporary writers; and both accord him the same grudging recognition that he has received from earlier historians, pious or not.

Kim, trained as a classicist, bases his understanding of Epiphanius upon his deep familiarity with the text of the *Panarion*, a translation of which he had earlier published. He reviews Epiphanius' life as a thoroughly

monastic one; reviews the proto-orthodoxy of the Panarion, and treats it as a work of history rooted in a particular knowledge of Judaism. Epiphanius early recognized the importance of monastic discipline, orthodox faith, and the city of Jerusalem within the newly-Christian Holy Land. Epiphanius developed the episcopal power he had been granted; as an old man he travelled with Jerome to Rome to exercise their mutual influence, and was defeated only by the superior machinations of Theophilus of Alexandria—a successor to the bishop Epiphanius admired most, Athanasius.

Jacobs takes a different approach to Epiphanius. A historian of Christianity, he employs theory to perform cultural analyses of Epiphanius' life and works as represented in literary remains, continually placing the resulting portraits of Epiphanius in juxtaposition to contemporary understanding of the topics he has chosen. Placing the ancient figure and his writings in conversation with postmodern literary studies, he considers Epiphanius under five categories: celebrity studies; conversion; scripture; salvation; and "afterlives"—two hagiographical treatments of Epiphanius, one from the fifth and one from the early twentieth centuries.

Using these literary-analytical tools, Jacobs notes the way in which Epiphanius turns his celebrity into power. Jacobs asserts that celebrity is different from fame, a well-known ancient quality, in its improvisational, collective and somewhat accidental or fortuitous quality; for Epiphanius, his ambition and priesthood coincided with historical circumstances he might not have foreseen, but without which he never would have become a star. As a scripture scholar, Epiphanius was not a philosopher or a textual critic in his exegesis; rather, he employed an aesthetics of antiquarianism. His construal of salvation, he—like the even longer-lived Shenoute of Atripe—centered on the human body, unlike the followers of Origen, with their thinly-veiled neoplatonist metaphysic. Finally, Epiphanius might unknowingly provide contemporary historians with a certain salvation. Writes Jacobs: "It may be that, at the end of the day, remembering Epiphanius will allow us not only to bring historiographic nuance to the field of late antiquity, but ethical nuance to our own considerations of the past, and the present."

Both Kim and Jacobs acknowledge that Epiphanius was clever; both evince slight surprise at his success. Thanks to Epiphanius' alignment with fourth-century orthodoxy, and for his defense of the perpetual virginity of Mary, he is a saint in east and west, and his icon adorns Kim's book; but in each book his skill as an ecclesiastical maneuverer provides thematic unity.

Kim approaches Epiphanius through a series of autobiographical anecdotes that appear in the *Panarion*. He finds interwoven in each a formative historical experience and its later rhetorical elaboration, which, through judicious reading, he unravels to reveal both the historical Epiphanius and his carefully crafted rhetorical persona. The attempt by Gnostic women to seduce the young Epiphanius, for example, serves initially as the basis for an account of the bishop's confrontation with heresy ("his first act of heresy-hunting"), which Kim then expands in a following chapter (2) to explore Epiphanius as a historian who creatively reimagined the biblical and classical past as historical trajectories of depravity into which current aberrations of the faith fit as contemporary examples. Subsequent anecdotes couple accounts of Epiphanius's monastic phase to his imagination of himself as a successor to Athanasius (chs. 3–4), and his life as a bishop confronting heresies to his reimagining of the conflict through the image of wilderness (chs. 5–6).

Jacobs, while covering much of the same ground, approaches the material with a more sophisticated methodology that aims to use Epiphanius to write a cultural biography of his times, which in turn serves to challenge many underlying assumptions in late antique historiography. Jacobs views Epiphanius as a window into "the times he reflected and shaped." He serves as the basis for intriguing analyses of the understanding and place of celebrity, conversion, discipline, scripture, and salvation in the late forth century. In a fascinating chapter that explores the bishop's fame through the lens of modern celebrity studies, for example, Jacobs unmoors Epiphanius's renown from his specific accomplishments, challenging scholars to think outside their academically trained box that posits a directed correlation between the two. The chapter seemed remarkably relevant in view of the current political situation in America. Subsequent chapters explore conversion in terms of the "exteriorized management of difference," discipline through a lens of improvisation, scripture as evidence of the power of knowledge, and salvation understood in terms of the moral unity of human and divine. A final chapter, "Afterlives," traces the treatment of Epiphanius in two later sources from the sixth and nineteenth centuries.

These volumes, each in its own way, establish Epiphanius as a significant player in late antiquity. He emerges as an educated person imbued with classical interests (antiquarianism and improvisation) and an ability to use them to further his ecclesiastical and political goals. While Kim's analysis brings Epiphanius more fully to life as a player in late antiquity, Jacobs uses the bishop to complicate and thereby enhance our understanding of the cultural world in which he lived and worked. Together these two

authors offer a powerful example of how much of the past remains hidden beneath the layers of our assumptions about it.

Comments of Jon F. Dechow[1]

Epiphanius in his writings, particularly the *Ancoratus* (374 CE) and *Panarion* (375–377), has a great deal to say about variety, mostly that he doesn't like it. But to the historian he provides a wealth of information on what he does not like—a veritable feast. This is confirmed by the alleged heresies he posits in the early Christian centuries, culminating in his vehement polemic against the great theologian Origen and Origen's monastic followers in Egypt and Palestine, whom he considered the worst of heretics.[2] The primary merit of the books on him by Young Richard Kim and Andrew S. Jacobs is that they move the study of him from heresy to history, from the heresies he imagined to the actual historical situation of Christianity and Christian Roman Empire in his time.

If we take my research, although including much biographical data about Epiphanius, as more a vertical study (sources, development of heresiological tradition from first to fourth century, the significance of what he has to say about Jewish, Christian, and religious pluralism, etc.), we may consider the books for our review as primarily horizontal, fleshing out the detailed picture of Epiphanius as a major figure in late antiquity. That they do remarkably well, advancing the study of Epiphanius with modern scholarly methodologies and deconstructing in the best sense. The French word *déconstruction*, according to Merriam Webster (merriam-webster.com), "doesn't actually mean 'demolition'; instead it means 'breaking down' or analyzing something (especially the words in a work of fiction or nonfiction) to discover its true significance, which is supposedly almost never exactly what the author intended." With a demurrer on Epiphanius because he certainly did *intend* to demolish heresy too, we can say that our

1. Chronologically, in order of publication, Young Richard Kim, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: Imagining an Orthodox World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015); and Andrew S. Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: A Cultural Biography of Late Antiquity*; NAPS, Christianity in Late Antiquity (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

2. See my *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity: Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen (DM)*, with Preface by Henri Crouzel; NAPS.PMS 13 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988); "From Methodius to Epiphanius in Anti-Origenist Polemic," *Adamantius: Journal of the Italian Research Group on "Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition"* 19 (2013): 10–29; and "Methodius' Conceptual World in His Treatise *De resurrectione*," in *Methodius of Olympus: State of the Art and New Perspectives,* ed. Katharina Bracht; TUGAL 178 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017 [or early 2018?]), 125–148.

authors have done well in prying Epiphanius' mind apart, and getting at many of his underlying motives.[3]

So much bibliographical support is provided that the involvement of Epiphanius with practically every major aspect of fourth-century Christianity can be affirmed, and at least some linkage with peripheral issues. Each of our authors has made an original selection of characteristic episodes from Epiphanius' life, Kim drawing more directly from the orthodoxy/heresy repertoire of Epiphanius' imagination, and Jacobs correlating typical themes of "late antiquity" as a category with their expression in the heresiologist's life and writings. It would have been useful if the authors had provided an index of references to these and other contemporary writings, the better to appreciate the comprehensiveness of the coverage, but the germ of each author's work is clearly in Epiphanius' text. I liked Kim's persistence in making understandable how Epiphanius used orthodoxy as a personal, though in the end "imagined," method of self-definition. I found Jacobs' late-antique cultural sensitivity exemplary, including a useful description and overview of Epiphanius' writings, while extending the perspective to analysis of the hagiographical tradition. Thus Kim and Jacobs, with appropriate reservations, have "anchored" Epiphanius well in the foundations of our culture, just as, in a different sense, his *Ancoratus* attempted to anchor an ultra-right version of the Christian faith.

But I come away from Epiphanius and the two biographies with the sense that something more may be said about how terribly unfair Epiphanius' attitude was—and is. One is reminded of Martin Luther King's quotation from the nineteenth-century clergyman Theodore Parker, "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." We have already mentioned Epiphanius' distaste for Christian variety, which might more justly be understood, within wider limits than he allows, as witness to the dynamic creativity of a great religion. In the *Panarion* he not only condemns the Arians (chapter 69), but even the Semi-Arians (73), literally "Half-Arians," whom he considers "rabid dogs."[4] A more mainstream view might recognize their contribution to the reaffirmation of orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople in 381, and hence the Nicene synthesis. Such extensive intolerance, except of evil, is not really a virtue, despite Epiphanius' example otherwise. "Separating out" is what he and the heresiological tradition "tried so hard to do—I think unsuccessfully, if Christianity is taken in its total cultural manifestations and not simply in terms of Western Christian institu-

3. On the fear of perishing aspect, see note 9 below.

4. *Pan*. 73.1.7. See my "From Methodius to Epiphanius," 13.

tionalization. . . . [T]he narrowing of Christianity—on the one hand for heresiological polemics or apologetics, or on the other hand for philosophical and sociological critique of Christian claims where officially expressed—is sometimes hard pressed to do justice to the facts of history."[5]

"Separating out" goes against what a more mature Christianity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries tries to realize in reaching understanding of other Christian and religious views, i.e., modern ecumenism. Epiphanius would rather attack Origen's and the Origenists' "universalism," as if the mere mention of it should condemn them automatically.[6] Scholarship today, as our two books here show, is moving toward a more comprehensive picture—from heresy to actual history—of the first four centuries of Christianity, including its parent Judaism's place in that picture, while recognizing the often pejorative meandering of Epiphanius and other heresiologists. The unfairness was strongly felt by many in Epiphanius' day and its fifth-century aftermath, even if the ecclesiopolitical direction of late antiquity often tended otherwise, as we can see from the way Evagrius Ponticus' spirit seems to have haunted Palladius' remembrances of early monasticism.[7] The persistence of Origen's heritage, Epiphanius' main target in the *Panarion,* remains strong today anyway, and along with it, of course, the lingering cloud of Epiphanius' misguided criticisms.[8]

Kim and Jacobs have provided us two books now basic to the study of late antiquity, the Origenist controversies, and early Christian pluralism. They say many good things about Epiphanius. Yet one feature from Epiphanius' text against Origen does not come through, and a second, not very well, that persists through Epiphanius' life and writings. The first shows Epiphanius' genuine mean streak, a meanness of spirit, a nastiness

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5. See my "The Nag Hammadi Milieu: An Assessment in the Light of the Origenist Controversies ([1982] with Appendix 2015)," in *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt,* ed. Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott; STAC (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017 [at press, forthcoming 2017 or early 2018]).

6. On universalism, see *DM*, 19, 421–423, and the other references in Index 6, 583. For a sound discussion of many biblical passages stressing universalism, see Gerald O'Collins, *Salvation for All: God's Other Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

7. See my review, featuring Evagrius' influence, of Demetrios S. Katos, *Palladius of Helenopolis: The Origenist Advocate*; Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); *RBL* 13 March 2015.

8. See the quadrennial Origen colloquia research, most recently *Origeniana Undecima: Origen and Origenism in the History of Western Thought*, ed. Anders-Christian Jacobsen (BETL 279; 2013; Leuven: Peeters, 2016, including my "Origen's Shadow over the Erasmus/Luther Debate, Part II," 367–394.

even. He tries to justify it under the aegis of opposition to heresy, lest he "perish," as he says.[9] How mean? I invite the reader to listen to Epiphanius at his worst. At the heart of the *Panarion* is chapter 64 against Origen, and at the heart of 64 is Epiphanius' association of Origen's "deeper meaning (ὑπόνοια)" with the sexual Eucharist of the obscene Borborites in *Panarion* 26, the heresy that he alleges tried to lead him astray as a youth in Egypt.[10] Not only does he associate it (obliquely) with Origen by cleverly sequencing the obscene Origenists of *Panarion* 63 right before chapter 64, though admitting the historical connection with Origen is dubious, but he also makes the outrageous assertion that Origen's "deeper meaning (ὑπόνοια)" is actually worse.

The heresiologist "has woven a thread through the *Panarion* associating many heresies with the 'obscenity (αἰσχρότης),' which becomes a kind of code-word for sexual immorality," especially the Borborites' Eucharist,[11] "the mucky (βορβορώδης) perversity of the scummy obscenity (αἰσχρουργίας)."[12] He praises Origen for in-depth scriptural study and the huge six-column *Hexapla* comparing major Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament:

> But in the end, "from the [summit] of his great experience (πολυπειρίας)" he had a "great fall (μέγα πτῶμα)" (*Pan*. 64.3.8). And here Epiphanius presents what he has been getting at, with innuendo here and there, the downfall of Origen because of something worse than the obscenity: "(64.3.9) For from that purpose itself, wanting to leave nothing of the sacred scriptures go unexplained, he reverted from his own purpose to [the] introduction of error and expounded words that kill. (64.3.10) From this [practice] the Origenists (Ὠριγενιασταὶ) get their name, not the prior ones [who practiced] the obscenity (αἰσχρουργίαν). Of course, I do not have to speak about them, since I have already done so, whether they originate from this Origen, surnamed Adamantius, or they have some other founder, <and he> [is] called Origen. . . . (64.4.1) The heresy

9. *Pan*. 69.72.9. See "From Methodius to Epiphanius," 15, 24.

10. Kim (*Epiphanius*, 35–37) translates the obscenity account (*Pan*. 26.17.1–26.18.6) as the thematic episode of his first chapter, on the youthful Epiphanius in Egypt, titling it "But the Merciful God Rescued Me from Their Depravity" (*Pan*. 29.17.8). Jacobs cites Bart Ehrman (*Forgery and Counter-Forgery in Early Christian Polemics: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 22), who argues that, in Jacobs' words, "one of the most famous incidents in the *Panarion* . . . was invented out of whole cloth" (*Epiphanius*, 2).

11. "From Methodius to Epiphanius," 24.

12. As Frank Williams translates, *The 'Panarion' of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (Sects 1–46)*, NHMS 63 (Leiden: Brill, 20092), 93.

> that sprang from him first began in the land of the Egyptians, but it is now found among highly prominent [people] who are reputed to have taken up the monastic life, among those who literally withdraw to the wilderness and choose poverty. In addition, this [heresy is] dangerous and more wicked than all the ancient ones, and it expresses a mentality like them. (2) Even if it does not prepare its adherents to engage in [the] obscenity (αἰσχρότητος), it nevertheless hurls [the] wicked 'deeper meaning (ὑπόνοιαν),' more wicked than [the] obscenity (αἰσχρότητος), against divinity itself (εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον)."
>
> So to Epiphanius, worse than the obscenity is deeper meaning, ὑπόνοια, defined in the best patristic dictionary as "underlying meaning, deeper sense . . . hence allegory" (*PGL* [1961] definition 3., 1452).[13]

A second feature not prominent in our two authors is Epiphanius' self-contradiction about Christianity's Hellenistic heritage. In the *Panarion* and other writings, Epiphanius frequently rails against Hellenism. His anti-Hellenism regarding Origen is well expressed at the end of the chapter against Origen, appealing to Methodius of Olympus: "We considered the presentation of [the section] here to be sufficient for opposing his [Origen's] fooleries and the subversion [done] *[*when*]* he *[*destroys the hope*]* of human life by means of a malignant disposition under a façade of Greek superstition."[14] Kim and Jacobs both give some regard to a proper appropriation of Hellenistic education and tradition, and the many individuals who successfully integrate culture and faith,[15] but more could be made of this.

Epiphanius' reliance on Methodius as anti-Hellenistic is not supported by current research. Detailed study of Methodius' relation to philosophical tradition shows strong, though selective, use of it together with sometimes conciliatory engagement with Origen.[16] In interpreting Methodius, one does not need to go, at least so extensively and maliciously, the Epiphanius route. According to Nathanael Bonwetsch's index of church and pagan writers referenced or alluded to in the Methodian corpus, only eleven are to Aristotle, while fully two three-column pages reference Plato.[17] Our two books on Epiphanius contribute to the pro-

13. "From Methodius to Epiphanius," 25–26.

14. *Pan*. 64.63.1 in *DM*, 364–365; see also *DM* index 6, 571, s.v. "Hellenism."

15. See Kim, *Epiphanius*, 63–67, and Index, s.v. "education," 274; "Greek culture" and "Hellenism," 275; *paideia*, 277; also Jacobs, *Epiphanius*, s.v. *paideia*, 328.

16. See my "Methodius' Conceptual World," 137.

17. Nathanael Bonwetsch, ed., *Methodius* (GCS 27; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1917), 532, 535–537.

Hellenistic reassessment of early Christianity and late antiquity, but this point deserves to be expressed more strongly. On the whole, however, our two authors succeed remarkably well in moving the study of Epiphanius from heresy to history, and their books are highly recommended.

COMMENTS OF DAVID MALDONADO RIVERA

Jerome of Stridon's catalog of intellectuals, *On Illustrious Men* (which includes Christians of various persuasions, plus authors like Philo, Seneca, and Josephus *honoris causa*), offers a contemporary appraisal of Epiphanius of Cyprus's work and reputation. There Epiphanius's literary works are described as "eagerly read by the learned, on account of their subject matter, and also by the plain people, on account of their language."[18] Subject matter (particularly heresy-hunting and antiquarian treatment of biblical lore) and language (which is noted to lack Attic elegance at least since Photius) did not sustain Epiphanius's early fame, as his name became a virtual synecdoche of the repressive and unenlightened traits of late antiquity. The catalog of insults to which Epiphanius has been subject is directly proportional to the amount of heresies (eighty in total) described and refuted in the *Panarion*, the work of heresiology that takes center stage in most explorations of Epiphanius's work. Young Richard Kim and Andrew S. Jacobs share the toil of countering the apprehension that eclipsed Epiphanius's earlier popularity with kindred but importantly distinct outlooks.

The opening salvo of Kim's book, "Epiphanius of Cyprus was late antiquity" (1), provocatively summons the stakes of this study: a reappraisal of the nuances of Epiphanius's career in the broader landscape of late ancient Christianity. Kim's biographic style juxtaposes chronological and thematic explorations that give us different progressions and clashes in Epiphanius's *personae*: from curious (almost heretical!) ascetic to seasoned monastic; from denouncer of heresy to continuator of a pro-Nicene lineage; from historian and naturalist to eager pastor seeking to deploy his churchmanship. Kim's Epiphanius possesses a proto-Quixotic quality built on the fractured autobiographical repository of the *Panarion*, which conflates maps and territories and imagines entire populations as abject realities with which Epiphanius has to besmirch himself. It is fitting then that Kim devotes the latter part of his book to Epiphanius's involvement in the

18. Jerome, *On Illustrious Men* 114 (E. C. Richardson, ed., *Hieronymus. Liber de viris inlustribus. Gennadius. Liber de viris inlustribus*, Texte und Untersuchungen 14 [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1896], 51; Thomas Halton, trans., *Jerome: On Illustrious Men*, FC 100 [Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999], 148).

Origenist controversy of the early fifth century. The denouement of his participation in the conflict is itself worthy of the *Panarion*: Epiphanius died on a boat ride leaving Constantinople (and his rivalry with John Chrysostom) in an odd place, more vanquished than victor. His immediate literary fortune, however, was different: the *Panarion*, completed in the late 370s, influenced a cadre of fellow heresy-hunters including Augustine, Theodoret, John of Damascus and others. "Epiphanius" would become a textbook case of the Foucault's "author function" as it became linked to the erudition of encyclopedic and reference works as diverse as collections of proof texts, prophets' lives, and the intricate traditions of the *Physiologus*.

Jacobs's treatment of the bishop of Cyprus is a broader reflection on the culture(s) of empire and the "threads of that Christian culture deconstructed" (47). Epiphanius showcased a cultural capital anchored in a "rustic *paideia*" (59) that was not only a vehicle of self-promotion to foster a plural "celebrity" effect but also a form of self-preservation in a wider, highly competitive milieu. This insight is further developed in Jacobs's discussion of Epiphanius's antiquarian modality of reading Scripture, which itemized the sacred text through different means: lists, compartmentalized histories, and manifold areas of focus that are featured in the *Panarion* and more prominently in *On Weights and Measures* and *On Gems*. This mode of reading generated a space for a form of erudition at odds with other contemporary alternatives (Origen's allegorizing being one of them). The supplement to this reading practice was a pastoral/disciplinarian style that found in improvisation a versatile and adaptable performance of power in search of authority. A theology of the moral continuity of the human person brings these vectors together in a repetitive practice that rather than obliterating otherness cultivates it, as Jacobs asserts: "For Epiphanius, otherness is to be collected, catalogued, memorialized, even publicly condemned, but it will never—can never—be eradicated" (272).

An ethics of remembering relates these two projects. Recalibrating the memory of Epiphanius is not a naïve campaign of rehabilitation but rather a commitment to explore how certain forms of thought and action invented relevance, created audiences, and reshaped communities (of experts, amateurs, and those interpellated as "heretic" or any other form of subjectivity identifiable in this late ancient context). There is also a shared insight in these two books which, to borrow from Corey Robin's title, show how the reactionary mind rehearses its own grammar, aspirations, violence, and frustrations in a relational manner that may not mirror contemporary sensibilities—or perhaps mirrors some of them in uncomfortable ways—but serves as a reminder that late antiquity—or any experiment in periodization—sub-

sists as a joint venture of material circumstances, ideas, literatures, hegemonies, vulnerabilities, and struggles that invite rethinking.

RESPONSE OF ANDREW S. JACOBS

Elizabeth A. Clark, in her enormously important book on the Origenist controversy, explicitly and unabashedly set out "to give a sympathetic reading to the Origenist side of the debate. Evagrius Ponticus, Rufinus, and the Pelagians are thus the 'heroes' of my account—not Epiphanius, Jerome, and Augustine" (*The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* [Princeton University Press, 1992], 10). My first encounter with Epiphanius was, in fact, in Dr. Clark's graduate course on Origen where I, too—like many of us who toil in the fields of late antiquity—learned to think of Epiphanius as one of the villains of late antiquity, to view him (in Robin Darling Young's words) as "odious."

Having published a book on Epiphanius many years later, I cannot say my personal feelings for the bishop of Cyprus have changed. I do not imagine I would find his company pleasant, nor he mine. I thoroughly concur with Jon F. Dechow's assessment of "Epiphanius's genuine mean streak, a meanness of spirit, a nastiness even"; if I have somehow managed to convey otherwise I apologize here. (I would also point out, however, that Epiphanius's nastiness is not unique to him among our canon of late ancient Christian authors.) My interest in Epiphanius has never been in rehabilitation but rather, as David Maldonado Rivera so aptly phrases it, to "recalibrate the memory of Epiphanius." To see his villainy not as a reason to marginalize him but rather as an opportunity to deepen our understanding of a key historical moment and its lessons for today.

Given that my first encounter with Epiphanius took place deep in the last millennium, why attempt this recalibration now? What about our present moment has impelled not one but two books about the reactionary purveyor of (in Dechow's words) "an ultra-right version of the Christian faith"? Partly I was fortunate to follow a path made easier to traverse by Young Kim, first in his excellent dissertation, then in his remarkably lucid translation of Epiphanius's *Ancoratus*, and finally in his own monograph. Without Dr. Kim's intellectual leadership and companionship, my own work might never have progressed.

Moreover I think my attempt to (as James Goehring puts it) "bring Epiphanius back to life" and "raise him up from the bottom of the page as a footnoted source" speaks more directly to my desire to come to terms

with our own complicated—and, at times, complicit—roles as historians in creating histories that do particular work in our present moments. Allowing Epiphanius to remain comfortably and safely at the bottom of the page, even as we hold our noses and mine his work for otherwise lost sources for early Christian history, might grant his nastiness the cover of indifference and allow his "meanness" to flourish in other quarters. (As Robin Darling Young reminds us, after all, Epiphanius remains a saint in the east and the west.) To the extent that we as scholars have been unwilling to confront Epiphanius not merely as a busybody and a crank but as a *popular* and *successful* busybody and crank we have not fully acknowledged the persistence of his legacy.

I continue to think of Epiphanius, in some ways, as a villain from our own twenty-first century perspective due to his mendacity, his narrowness, his meanness, and his intolerance (characteristics, I remind us once more, not unique to Epiphanius in his time, or in our own). Yet reorienting Epiphanius toward the center of late fourth-century imperial Christian culture has been, for me, an exercise in recalibrating late antiquity more broadly and disclosing its uncomfortable echoes with our own cultural moment. It is, perhaps, not enough for us to point out the villainy of intolerance and nastiness, but to map out its contours and grasp its enduring and unfortunate appeal.

Let me express my thanks for the esteemed scholars who have taken time to offer thoughts on my recent book on Epiphanius in its efforts to learn from a late ancient villain without capitulating to its logic.

Response of Young Richard Kim

For the last eight years, Andrew Jacobs has been an invaluable conversation partner on the life, work, and legacy of Epiphanius, and so it is particularly gratifying to have our books reviewed together in this journal. I sincerely believe that our studies of this fascinating and frustrating figure from the fourth century are complements that reflect different but mutually reinforcing approaches and interpretations, and we have been amused by our initiation of an "Epiphanian Renaissance" (with due respect to the earlier work of Dummer, Riggi, Dechow, Pourkier, Lyman, and Kösters) and our roles as "Epiphaniacs," who arranged for the first time (to my knowledge) panels solely dedicated to Epiphanius at the 2014 annual meeting of the North American Patristics Society and participated in an Epiphanius session at the 2015 International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford. So far, no Epiphanius handbook or companion volume is in the works.

My first encounter with Epiphanius occurred in the spring of 2000, during my first year of graduate school, at the behest of my advisor Raymond Van Dam, who (I believe intentionally so) suggested that I read the *Panarion* and study Epiphanius as a potential research subject. My deep engagement with this text thoroughly challenged my own (perhaps naïve) understanding of the development of orthodoxy and heresy in early Christianity and the role that powerful individuals in the church influenced and shaped its beliefs and practices. So in some sense, my own personal deconstruction/reconstruction opened the door for me to attempt the same with Epiphanius, and both the strengths and shortcomings of my book ultimately reflect the tension that we scholars bear as we apply our methodologies on subjects that captivate our curiosity and at times when our personal convictions intersect with our professional endeavors.

Nine years is a relatively long time to move from dissertation to monograph, but the extended interval enabled me first to reckon meaningfully with Epiphanius's other major writing, the *Ancoratus*, resulting in the first English-language translation, in the Fathers of the Church series (CUA Press, 2014), and second, to really mature as a scholar. Robin Darling Young is right to observe that my reading of Epiphanius is very much informed by my training in classics and ancient history, and I resonate with Jon Dechow's observation that my work on Epiphanius has tried to bring him "from heresy to history," however problematic that notion may be. My decision to juxtapose a series of chapter pairs, one biographical with one thematic, was my attempt to move beyond a traditional diachronic biography to explore themes that we often associate with the late antique world: revisions of history, Christian totalizing discourse, and the rhetoric of exclusion and violence. At the same time, Jim Goehring makes an important critical observation that my own methodology lacks the sophistication of Andrew's masterful application of postmodern theoretical frameworks to present his Epiphanius. David Maldonado-Rivera's remark is astute, that the opening line of my book is provocative, and as such has been critiqued elsewhere by other reviewers. I stand by the argument that "Epiphanius was late antiquity," but in retrospect I also wonder if this should have been qualified. Epiphanius was undoubtedly one important part (of many) of what we understand Late Antiquity to have been, and it would have been most fitting (that is, if the timing was right) to have placed a footnote at the end of that first sentence, with a reference to the entirety of Andrew's book. Nevertheless, I am honored that my book will often be read together with his, and I hope that they indeed have challenged our readers to think differently about Epiphanius.

Book Reviews

Medieval

The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain. By Darío Fernández-Morera. (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute. 2016. Pp. xii, 358. $29.95. ISBN 978-1-610-7095-4.)

In 1986, I published an article, "Islam and the Jews: Myth, Counter-Myth, History" (*The Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 38). I explained then, and later on in the first chapter of my book, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1994; new edition, 2008) (a book that Darío Fernández-Morera admires—p. 243), that the old, originally nineteenth-century Central European Jewish "myth" of a harmonious, interfaith utopia of Jews and Muslims in Islamic Spain—which in the book under review is represented by the "*convivencia*" of Muslims, Christians, and Jews—had come under assault after the Six-Day War of June 1967 by a new, Jewish "countermyth" of Islamic persecution. The countermyth was aimed at Arab writers and politicians who blamed Israel for whatever hatred of the Jews Muslims harbored. In my book I explained, through a multifactorial, comparative juxtaposition of Jewish life in northern Christian Europe and the Islamic world, why, though not an interfaith utopia, Jews had lived more securely under Islam than under Christianity.

Fernández-Morera has written an unrelenting countermyth history of Muslim treatment of Christians and Jews during the "Golden Age" of the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate of Spain (tenth century)—aimed at dispelling the myth of Islamic tolerance. The book is intended as a precautionary tale. One commentator on the book jacket calls it "desperately needed . . . shed[ding] much-needed light on current debates about the relationship between the West and Islam."

The root problem with the book is that it holds "tolerance" to a modern standard. In fact, before early modern times in Europe, tolerance among the three western monotheistic faiths was not regarded as a virtue, but a weakness, and no one practiced it in the modern sense of the term. If anything, it was a virtue to be *intolerant*, since God himself was viewed as having rejected one religion in favor of another, and it was the duty of followers of the replacement religion to subordinate, if not sometimes persecute, those who had forfeited their claim to the truth. None of the three monotheistic faiths practiced tolerance in the way Fernández-Morera understands it. The ancient Israelites, acting on God's will, the Bible tells us (Deuteronomy 7:1–6), extirpated the seven pagan nations of the Land of Canaan. Medieval Christians massacred Jews. Islam offered pagans the choice of Islam or the sword, but a term and an institution that more closely approximated tolerance

than Christianity did: *dhimma,* "protection," meaning, "security," in exchange for humble demeanor, respect for the superiority of Islam, and payment of an annual poll-tax—not a "gangster-like 'protection racket'" (p. 210).

The author has nothing redeeming to say about Islam. Rather, he points to what he insists is the *jihād*-ist essence of the religion. The fusion of politics and religion differed from what he considers the salutary separation of the two in Christendom, which created a more tolerant environment for Muslims living under northern Catholic rule. The Islamic conquest, he claims, echoing Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, interrupted the organic, progressive, Catholic fusion of Visigothic and Hispano-Roman societies (pp. 78–82), disrupting the development of a high Catholic culture in the Iberian Peninsula. Islam's contribution to intellectual life in Spain, on the other hand, was wholly derivative, through Arabic translations of Greek literature.

The author deserves credit for exploiting the bountiful translations of Islamic legal texts and the plethora of Spanish sources on the subject, but his methodology raises questions. He cites the rigid policy of Islamic Maliki law as counter-evidence of *convivencia.* But methodologically, it could equally be argued that legists were actually trying to stamp out a pervasive Muslim/non-Muslim coexistence. "Exclusionary" (the author's term) legislation in Jewish and Christian law could be interpreted as a sign that Jews and Christians were identifying too closely with Muslims and Muslim-Arabic culture. The violent executions of the "martyrs of Córdoba," he emphasizes, stemmed from Islamic intolerance of blasphemy, but the martyrs themselves, as has been argued by Jessica Coope, were protesting Iberian Christian assimilation to Muslim ways. The adoption of Arabic by Jews and Christians, what the author calls the result of "Islamic colonization" (p. 214), explains, better than anything, the thoroughgoing linguistic and cultural coexistence between Muslims and their Jewish and Christian neighbors.

The author explains Islamic rigidity as a necessary policy "to keep under control the boiling cauldron that was 'multiethnic' and 'multireligious' al-Andalus" (p. 138). He contrasts this with the "relatively more ethnically and religiously uniform Catholic kingdoms [which] did not present the same problems for their rulers and therefore did not encourage the same drastic solutions." But historically, it has been cogently argued by many scholars, multiethnicity and religious pluralism have counteracted intolerance. In the multiethnic Germanic society of early medieval northern Europe, for instance, when Catholicism penetrated little more than the ruling class, Jews experienced substantial security. Only when Catholic and monastic Christianity trickled down to the masses in the eleventh century, leading to the First Crusade, did the first major massacres of Jews occur—in the Rhineland in the summer of 1096. Only when Christian Spain moved toward territorial, Catholic unity, did society begin to rid itself of its Jews, through the pogroms of 1391, through the Spanish Inquisition's persecution of the *conversos*, and ultimately through the expulsion of all professing Jews in 1492.

In the multiethnic, multireligious society of medieval Islam, *dhimmī* Jews, *dhimmī* Christians, and *dhimmī* Zoroastrians intermingled with Muslims, such that

no one group bore the brunt of Islamic exclusivism. Berbers, Turks, Armenians, Slavs, Arabs, Jews, Christians (of many denominations), and Persians gave society a multiethnic hue, in which individuals, even *dhimmīs,* could exist in peace most of the time. Violent, Islamic radicalism in the twenty-first century may seem to some readers and reviewers to echo the characteristics that the author finds in tenth-century Spanish Islam, but his implicit analogy is highly questionable and, at least to this writer, unproven.

Princeton University (Emeritus) Mark R. Cohen

The History of Courts and Procedure in Medieval Canon Law. Edited by Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington. [History of Medieval Canon Law.] (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2016. Pp. xiv, 506. $75.00. ISBN 978-0813229041.)

This long-awaited volume addresses church courts in western and central Europe between about 1100 and 1500. Bringing together an international group of senior scholars, it contains fourteen essays divided into two parts.

The basic story is familiar. In the first half of the twelfth century, academic jurists at the nascent universities developed a set of procedural rules derived from newly discovered texts of Roman law. These rules—known as the *ordo iudiciorum*—standardized the stages of litigation, modes of proof (namely, witness testimony), and rendering of judgments. The *ordo* was quickly adopted by the papacy and incorporated into the canon law of the Church, giving birth to a joint "Romano-canonical procedure" that replaced older forms of proof such as the ordeal and oath-compurgation. Between 1150 and 1250, bishops across Europe adopted the *ordo* and established fixed courts (consistory courts, officialities, etc.) whose jurisdiction included—but was not limited to—marriage, sexual crimes, church property, injury to clerics, and oaths/contracts. Part of an appellate network which reached all the way to the pope in Rome, these courts survived well into the early modern period.

Essays in this volume explore aspects of the Romano-canonical legal system, including its procedure, personnel, jurisdiction, physical location, documentation, and regional variation. Kenneth Pennington and Charles Donahue explain its procedural norms as described by jurisprudential treatises and papal decretals. Barbara Diemling addresses the location of church courts, identifying a transition around the year 1200 away from church portals and toward separate civic courtrooms. James Brundage charts the development of legal professionals, including advocates, proctors, and notaries. Brigide Schwarz describes the papal court and its officials, while Charles Duggan explains the rise and fall of the papal judge delegate between 1150 and 1250. Essays in the second part focus on the records of individual regions: France and adjoining territories (Charles Donahue and Sara McDougall), England and Scotland (Richard Helmholz), Spain (Antonio García y García), and Poland and Hungary (Péter Cardinal Erdő).

The main question that this volume seeks to answer is whether the procedural rules of *ordo iudiciorum* were actually applied in practice. In other words: do the proceedings described in church court records reflect the procedural norms described in academic treatises and papal decretals? While this question might seem trivial to the non-specialist, it is hugely important and has never actually been answered in a comprehensive way. The essays assembled here make a strong case that legal practice does, in fact, reflect legal theory. Allowing for some practical and local flexibility, the authors conclude that bishops' courts from the thirteenth century onwards did generally follow the *ordo*. Other recurring topics throughout the volume include regional variation in jurisdiction, conflicts with secular courts, the use of torture, and summary procedure. In general, the authors present a positive view of the *ordo*, which offered protection to the accused through its requirement of due process.

Given the scale of this project, it is not surprising that logistical issues occasionally impede the reader. Essays range in length from the admirably succinct (Duggan) to the tediously long (Schwarz), and topical overlap sometimes results in repetition. This reviewer would also like to know more about ecclesiastical tribunals such as synods and archdeacons' courts which may not have employed the *ordo*. Brundage and Donahue point out that the *ordo* was expensive, requiring lengthy proceedings, extensive documentation, and trained personnel. Would the average peasant really have been able to access these courts? What were the alternatives? Helmholz points out that some major kinds of cases, such as the trials of accused clerics, almost never appear in the records of consistory courts/officialities. Such cases were surely tried at episcopal synods, which, as García y García notes, do not always follow the *ordo*. Do other kinds of cases follow a similar pattern?

This volume provides a firm foundation upon which we might explore such questions. The editors and authors should be praised for undertaking and completing such a monumental project, which will be enormously edifying to scholars of medieval law and religion for years to come.

University of Notre Dame JOHN BURDEN

The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance: Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning. By Christopher S. Celenza. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2018. Pp. xvi, 438. $120.00. ISBN 978-1-107-00362-0.)

In *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance,* Christopher Celenza provides a priceless vademecum for the study of Italian humanism. It rolls up in a delectable ball all that has come before: Garin and Kristeller; Burckhardt, Baron, and Martines; Fubini and Vasoli; Hankins, Allen, and the others. It presents in depth and with exquisite clarity the major works of nine leading humanists from Petrarch to Poliziano (plus many others introduced in discursive "parentheses"), culminating with the writer and critic Pietro Bembo, who translates the humanist heritage into a new language of art, a Latinized Tuscan. The lucidity of the *expli-*

cation de textes is matched by the precision with which Celenza profiles his cast of characters, who are presented with full dimensionality in their psychological, social, and cultural contexts: the careerist Poggio, the brawler Valla, the self-made man and Medici servitor Poliziano.

Celenza's work offers more than a series of text summaries and intellectual portraits, although these would be sufficient. It unravels a complex of interlocking themes, with three in particular rising to prominence. The first is the nature of philosophy as it is transformed by the humanists, who energize its study with new translations from the Greek of Aristotle and Plato, reject the metaphysical preoccupations of the university-based professionals, and, as philologists rather than as logicians, crossing disciplinary and cultural boundaries, seek a mode of living more than a theory of being. The second is the humanist understanding of Christianity, which is not slighted but affirmed, most notably by Petrarch, Ficino, and Valla, by its integration with the classical tradition on the one hand and philosophy on the other, even as doctrinal technicalities are avoided. The third and predominant theme is that of language, also central to Celenza's earlier volume *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (2004). Celenza explores the departure from the vernacular stream initiated by the "three crowns," Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio (all three of whom wrote also in Latin), through the honing of Latin prose by the Ciceronian whetstone, to the eventual triumph of a reinvented Italian vernacular, disciplined and polished by humanist Latinity, and equipped to reach a national and even international audience for whom the specialized Latin of the humanists was inaccessible. Machiavelli, Castiglione, and Galileo, the inheritors of this language revolution, employed the Latinized Tuscan Bembo crafted, the gift of humanism to the early modern era.

But does the title work? Celenza gives a nod to "vernacular classicism" and the "polyphony" of Florentine culture, which featured a rambunctious Pulci alongside a complaisant Poliziano. But many corners of "the intellectual world of the Italian Renaissance" do not register here: Florence massively dominates, and while some scope is given to Rome, virtually none is given to Venice, Milan, and Naples, let alone Ferrara, Mantua, or Urbino, in which centers humanism thrived; learned women are mentioned, but not one makes it to the index; devotional works, memoirs, and private letters, all vigorous and important genres, are invisible. But though the title overreaches, we may let it pass. It is in the sub-title that we find a better key to Celenza's objective: he is concerned with the "language, philosophy, and the search for meaning." He has searched for the meaning of the humanist episode—the Latin "parenthesis" in Italian history, the long fifteenth century in which intellectuals captivated by classical texts devoured, circulated, and imitated them—and presents it in this volume. Five generations of humanists achieved, in effect, Rome's final conquest of Europe, synthesizing and structuring that continent's civilization as it was about to leap forward on the next five hundred years of unparalleled productivity; and they achieved, as well, the final conquest of Rome by the barbarians, completing the advance begun in the first five centuries of the Christian era, absorbing, appropriating, and exploiting what Rome had achieved; and by way of Rome, also Greece.

A final observation: If Celenza's real achievement is expressed in his subtitle more than in his title, the identity of his real hero, one of the nine humanist worthies he examines and brilliantly portrays, is also hidden. It is Lorenzo Valla—that great disruptor, that human engine of creative destruction who wanted to reform "everything," who smashed the boundaries of philosophy, faith, and language, for whom Latinity, Christianity, and all of human culture were one essence—who jumps forth from these pages.

Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York (Emerita) MARGARET L. KING

Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany. By Claire Taylor Jones. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2017. Pp. viii, 224. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4955-2.)

The religious orders of women in Germany associated with the mendicant friars are at times portrayed as experiencing rapid decline and decadence during the late Middle Ages, beginning soon after their foundation in the early thirteenth century and well before being swept away, mostly in the aftermath of the Reformation. Yet, this view has been increasingly discredited by recent scholarship that has highlighted the aspirations and vitality of the movements of reform of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially as manifested by the Observant branches of these orders. Claire Taylor Jones, who displays close acquaintance with this scholarship, focuses on some of the monasteries of the cloistered, women's branch of the Dominican order that fell within the orbit of the Observant movement active in the friars' Province of Teutonia, primarily St. Katherine in Nuremberg, at first an Augustinian foundation but soon associated with the Dominicans and integrated into the Observance in 1428. On the basis of a meticulous investigation of the suviving evidence of these monasteries' rich library resources, Jones argues for a close connection between the friars' governance and spiritual direction and the sisters' devotional and liturgical practices. The sisters responded to the friars' proposal of the ideals of the Dominican order, especially obedience, by appropriating a didactic approach that stressed a high level of Latin literacy as a prerequisite for the solemn recitation of the Divine Office as a vehicle for genuine piety and even the attainment of ecstatic prayer.

The book comprises six chapters, each of which reiterates its principal argument while presenting the various sources employed in a flexible chronological order. It opens with an examination of the discrepancies in liturgical practice between the sisters' and the friars' branches at the order's beginnings and concludes with the legislation (1259) of master general Humbert of Romans that sought to introduce uniformity. The second chapter evaluates the impact on the sisters of the linkage of the spiritual and the liturgical life proposed in the works of the Dominican preachers and mystics Heinrich Seuse (c. 1300–1361) and JohannesTauler (1295-1366). The third considers the "sistersbooks"—collections of biographies

compiled for the edification of future generations of sisters—that reveal a persistent tension between formal liturgical practice and affective, mystical manifestations of piety, factors ultimately reconciled by the Observance's emphasis on obedience. The fourth chapter turns to the legislative material (Acts of general and provincial chapters, visitation charges) implementing the spread of the Observance among both the friars and the sisters and shows the centrality accorded to the liturgy in the dynamics of reform by both branches. The fifth chapter focuses on some works of the Dominican reformer Johannes Nider (1380–1438)—his German translation of the *Conferences* of John Cassian and his reworking of these as a cycle of sermons, *The Twenty—Four Golden Harps*—and concludes that while Nider held that visual piety sufficed for the devotion of lay women, the recitation of the Divine Office was indispensable to the spirituality of cloistered nuns. The final chapter considers two works of another Observant Dominican, Johannes Meyer (1423–1485), intended expressly for Dominican religious women: the *Book of Duties* and the *Book of the Reformation*. For Meyer the most important aspect of religious life is community, and it finds its foremost expression in liturgical functions that, at the same time, both separate and unite a religious house and civic society. Jones offers us a work of serious scholarship that merits close reading. Yet the book might have benefited from a more defined conclusion, bringing the narrative neatly to the eve of the Reformation—perhaps a discussion of the section on liturgy (Chapter I) in the *Constitutiones monialium O.P.* first edited by master general Vincenzo Bandello and promulgated at the general chapter of Milan in 1505.

Pontifical University of St. Thomas, Rome (Emeritus) Michael Tavuzzi, O.P.

Early Modern European

Renaissance Woman: The Life of Vittoria Colonna. By Ramie Targoff. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2018. Pp. x, 342. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-374-14094-6.)

The title of Ramie Targoff's biography of Vittoria Colonna, *Renaissance Woman*, alludes to Jacob Burckhardt's celebration of the Renaissance Man. And as Targoff reminds the reader, Burckhardt considered Colonna "the most famous woman of Italy" (p. 8). Vittoria Colonna's fame today rests, for the general audience of this biography, with her friendship with Michelangelo. Targoff goes beyond that expectation and places Colonna within a Renaissance society that identified greatness in family connections and personal accomplishments. Burckhardt would recognize the Vittoria Colonna we meet in these pages and delight in the details of her Renaissance life. But writing the life of an early modern woman is problematic. Like most women of her time, Vittoria's life is known to us primarily through connections her family made for her for the family's profit. It was the death of her husband, Ferrante Francesco d'Avalos, in 1525 that allowed Vittoria to engage as an individual in her own right, or at least as much "right" as a woman could then possess.

Targoff presents Colonna as a significant member of notable courts and ecclesiastical centers. Colonna came of age when it was more likely for a female child to receive some level of education. One gathers from Colonna's later accomplishments as a poet praised by humanists Pietro Bembo and Paolo Giovio that the young Vittoria voraciously consumed biblical and classical texts and developed a critical ear for language. Further, Colonna's friendship and correspondence with Michelangelo suggests her eye was no less cultivated, and Targoff's analysis of their correspondence suggests that Colonna was a demanding as well as discerning patron.

The location of Colonna's coming of age was equally auspicious. The heart of Christian Europe, Rome, had long been the center of Colonna family power. Colonna was aware of the secularism of early sixteenth-century popes and was deeply engaged with compatriots who sought Church reform. Targoff presents Colonna as boldly writing of her Christian faith and desire for directness of communication with God. Colonna's writings on the importance of faith combined with good works support Targoff's view that Colonna not only promoted the teachings of her close friends, Bernardino Ochino and Reginald Pole, but also was surely aware of the work of Martin Luther and Juan Valdés.

Targoff compellingly presents Colonna as more emotional and sensitive, and hence more human, than the figure we encounter in traditional academic texts. One example stands out. While Colonna shared her poetry with friends in manuscript form, as was customary in the sixteenth century, her sonnets were not printed until a "pirated edition" of 1538 (p. 161). As the first published female poet, Colonna could have responded with trepidation to her sonnets receiving public scrutiny. According to Pietro Bembo, Colonna felt she deserved "'the injury and villainy . . . for worrying about vain things'" (p. 166). Targoff accepts Bembo's account as accurately representing Colonna's response, writing that it was "an act of self-flagellation" to have taken personal joy in her writing. According to Targoff, "the printing of the poems seemed to her a just punishment for wasting her time in the first place" on "'vain things'" (p. 167). But Bembo wrote what his culture expected: that Colonna felt some shame or guilt in being presented in such a public manner. We have no record of Colonna's response to this publication, but she did not stop sharing her sonnets even as it became clear they would be published.

The first and still essential biography of Colonna in English is Maud F. Jerrold's *Vittoria Colonna, with some account of her friends and her times* (1906), which, like Julia Cartwright Ady's *Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Milan, 1475–1497, a study of the Renaissance* (1899) and *Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, 1474–1539, a study of the Renaissance* (1903), raised public awareness of great women in history for a British public embroiled in the women's suffrage movement. Ramie Targoff's biography, coming more than a century later and embedded within Burckhardt's concept of Renaissance, is directed to an audience comfortable with female heroes. This is an accessible biography of a *great woman*, a *Renaissance Woman* of the title, that will inspire general readers and scholars alike.

University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg, Virginia MARJORIE OCH

A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany. By Bridget Heal. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2017. Pp. xviii, 305. $105.00. ISBN 978-0-19-873757-5.)

Dealing with the relation between Lutheran visual culture and confessional identity in the Holy Roman Empire, this book aims to explain the significance of the image in Lutheran confessional culture and to incorporate visual evidence into the broader framework of Reformation history. Without attempting to be a history of Lutheran Art, the book seeks to analyze images—and textual accounts of their creation and use—to enrich current debates concerning confessional culture and identity, which were profoundly shaped by the Empire's fragmented political structures and remarkable regional diversity. Within a broad chronological span, ranging from the 1520s to the early eighteenth century, the book examines comparatively two case studies with very different confessional and political histories, Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg. Demonstrating subtlety in its analysis, the book does not ask whether there was a Lutheran confessional culture and identity but rather "why it was expressed in particular ways, at particular times and in particular places, why it was felt and articulated more intensely by some individuals and groups than others and how far it extended beyond the sphere of doctrine and devotion." In order to answer such questions, this book deploys a wide variety of sources and approaches. As the core of the analysis demonstrates, the book uses images and attitudes toward the visual as a lens though which to examine Lutheran self-awareness/self-understanding and as a yardstick to measure the development of Lutheran confessional culture. The book manages to sidestep the hegemonic presence of the confessionalization paradigm, sometimes overwhelming in German historiography, by refining its understanding and by not reducing it to the role played by religious confessions in state-building. Confessionalization is thus seen throughout this book, not simply as a religious or political policy but rather as a cultural process of identification and self-fashioning. Although aware of the possible dangers, such as the implication that culture and identity exist as abstract concepts outside of the individuals or groups that articulated them, bestowing a uniform confessional consciousness upon passive recipients, the book privileges these terms because they have the potential to bridge the conceptual gap between church history and social and cultural history. As a consequence, the book takes into account the thoughts, feelings, and actions not only of the educated elite but also of the 'common' man and woman. The book moves between the elite cultures of the princes, nobles, and educated theologians and the 'popular' cultures of the simple folk, examining the fate of images within a broader Lutheran confessional identity. Structured in three parts, dedicated to the confessional image, the devotional image, and the magnificent image—in a manner suggesting that images truly reflected the *Zeitgeist*—the book has the merit of emphasizing the complexity and contingent nature of confessional and identity constructs. The comparison between the two territories highlights the extent to which the development of a rich Lutheran visual culture was not predetermined by the events and ideas of the Reformation itself, but was instead the result of long-term changes and particular local circumstances. The book persuasively argues that Lutheran identity was heavily

dependent upon immediate socio-political contexts, locating religious belonging within complex patterns of allegiance and identification, developed within a broad chronological span. The book privileges methods and approaches that are reminiscent of the French school of the Annales, the comparative method heralded by Marc Bloch and the *longue durée* pioneered by Fernand Braudel. Carefully researched, cleverly crafted, and clearly written, the book is a magnificent read to be enjoyed by both scholarly and broader readerships.

Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj, Romania MARIA CRĂCIUN

Pedro de Ribadeneyra's 'Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England': A Spanish Jesuit's History of the English Reformation. Edited and translated by Spencer J. Weinreich. [Jesuit Studies, volume 8.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2017. Pp. xxvi, 839. $253.00. ISBN 978-90-04-32395-7.)

Spencer J. Weinreich describes his translation of Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica* as a "labor of love" (p. 103), springing from a desire to commend its merits and interest to scholars. Some have dismissed the *Historia* as a rhetorical monstrosity, of little value in its own right, useful only as a source of information about Spanish attitudes to England, the run-up to the Armada of 1588, and curiosities and myths of English reformation history. Weinreich urges us not to raid the work but to read it as a whole. His fluent and readable translation is an admirable incentive.

Why, then, should we read the *Historia*? Most English-language scholarship has treated the First Part (1588) as an adaptation of Nicholas Sander's *De schismate Anglicano* (1585; revised and expanded 1586) and an extension of William Allen and Robert Persons's project to raise awareness of the plight of Catholics in England and drum up support for the Armada. But, as Weinreich argues in the introduction, it is important to see it as a Spanish work in a Spanish context. It elaborates a Spanish vision of English tyranny and Catholic martyrdom, and its Second Part (1593) reflects on the failure of the Armada, complementing Ribadeneyra's *Tratado de la tribulacion* (1589). If we read it as a continuous narrative-cum-treatise, suspending judgment on historical accuracy and impartiality, we are able to engage with a compelling version of how the English reformation appeared to a devout continental observer. The perspective is largely shared with English exiles such as Sander, Allen, and Persons, but the eulogies of Catherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor, and Mary Queen of Scots, and the prefatory epistles to the future King Philip III, give it a Spanish edge. The description of Mary Stuart's sad end left Luis de Granada in tears.

The First Part goes beyond even the English source in its anticipation of the Armada. It dramatizes the state of England on the brink of ruin, after all the folly, injustice, and profanation of reform. It is intended as a final snapshot before divine retribution overwhelms the kingdom—and so it stimulates the historical imagination, to see events through partial contemporary eyes and to envisage what might have been. The Second Part deserves more attention than it has received thus far.

It does not offer a continuation of the narrative from 1588 to 1593, but focuses on the royal proclamation of 1591 against seminary priests and Jesuits, defending the seminaries, excoriating Leicester and Burghley, commiserating Hatton, and portraying Queen Elizabeth at her worst. It is largely a recension of Persons's so-called *Philopater* (1592), a work that is also badly in need of translation. But what distinguishes Ribadeneyra's version is that the argument about the legitimacy of English Catholic resistance is embedded in a profound and often moving meditation on the experience of defeat.

Weinreich's extensive introduction ranges widely from biography to textual history and the treatment of women. The account of the 1586 edition of Sander's *De schismate Anglicano*, Ribadeneyra's chief source, is particularly welcome, because so much writing about Sander's book focuses on the less influential 1585 edition. The treatment of historical, biographical, and bibliographical context is extremely thorough, in both the introduction and the annotations. Weinreich's diligence reintroduces an eloquent voice into the debate about late sixteenth-century European politics and religious history.

University of the Witwatersrand Victor Houliston

The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606. "Lest Our Lamp be Entirely Extinguished." By Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700; Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, Volume 78.] (Leiden and Rome: Brill and Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. 2017. Pp. xiv, 612. $160.00. ISBN: 978-90-04-33044-3.)

Thomas McCoog, S.J., has achieved two historical feats in his books on Elizabethan Jesuits. First, he has provided the most thoroughly researched, even-handed account of early modern English Jesuit activities to date. Second, and just as importantly, his work hearkens back to (unfortunately) bygone days of history-writing that was meticulous, exhaustive, and confident in its ability to describe events as they were, or better put, as the sources suggest they were. His "trilogy" on Elizabethan Catholicism is a testament to McCoog's exemplary scholarship steeped in a rich mix of secondary sources and an unmatched intimacy with Jesuit primary sources, especially those at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. The third installment of his *magnum opus* under review here only confirms that his work should be essential reading for anyone interested in early modern (English) Catholicism, Jesuits, and Elizabethan political culture.

Here McCoog starts where he left off in a previous volume, in 1598, when Philip II of Spain died, and describes Jesuit activities in Ireland, England, and Scotland through the third year of James I's reign in 1606. Eight years are covered in over five hundred pages of lucid prose and leisurely summary of (mostly) Jesuit letters, memorials, and printed polemic. The book focuses on two large themes. First, it tells of the many and varied tensions within the English Catholic community centering on arguments for and against Jesuit efforts in England. These ten-

sions were not new to the period in question, but they reached a fever pitch during the so-called Appellant Controversy, a moment of polemical viciousness between secular priests and Jesuits that spread in print, manuscript, rumor, and face-to-face quarrels throughout England, Flanders, and Rome among several different English Catholic factions. Second, the book studies in great detail the politics of succession leading up to James I's accession to the English throne and the ways in which a range of wary Catholics dealt with that reality after years of wrangling over whom to support when Elizabeth died. A prominent thread used to tie these two themes comes in the form of the indefatigable and perennially controversial figure of Robert Parsons, whose various historical personae as inveterate politico and man of solid faith inspired awe and disdain in equal measure from different quarters.

McCoog's contribution is essential amid a historiography that until recently has been confessionally motivated. A thorough reading of the sources has revealed just how lacking black and white portraits (or caricatures) of the past have been. Just as scholarship on Jesuits in general has moved away from a simplified corporate or even military model of the Society, McCoog has shown that British members of the order often disagreed among themselves and that their responses to British questions were varied. In describing this, the author takes issue with one of the great historians of English Catholicism: John Bossy. While Bossy ultimately emphasized the stagnation of "Elizabethan Catholicism," McCoog emphasizes dynamism. Throughout, McCoog ably shows that instead, the sources on Jesuits reveals "flexibility and adaptability more than inertia" (p. 542). There is no greater example of this than Parsons who, though knee deep in political contrivances of all sorts, was nevertheless quite malleable and far from the monochromatic schemer of legend.

Each subsequent volume in McCoog's (mostly) Elizabethan trilogy has been bigger than the last. What each has gained in rich description and scholarly rigor has, however, been at the expense of other elements. McCoog, from the first volume of this series, has admitted that there would be an English focus to his work, as demanded by the sources and the importance of the English story for a broader British one. Here, however, sections on Scotland and Ireland appear more parenthetical than in previous volumes, creating a noticeable imbalance throughout. More troubling, McCoog's emphasis on source description has increasingly muted the author's interpretive voice. There is still, here and there, the sharp wit and cutting historiographical intervention that made the first volume, and to a certain extent, the second volume a joy to read. McCoog knows so much, has read so extensively, is a scholar of such incisive thought, that I wish he hadspent a bit more time discussing how each element of his narrative adds up to something greater than itself in terms of both the historiography and the historical moment in question. But this might be asking too much. It is almost embarrassing to quibble with a book—a series of books—that border on the unsurpassable.

University of Arkansas–Fayetteville FREDDY C. DOMINGUEZ

Late Modern European

Pie XI: Le Pape de l'Action Catholique. By Marcel Launay. (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf. 2018. Pp. 238. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-126266-7.)

After Benedict XVI's *Motu proprio* in 2006, which established the opening of the Vatican Secret Archives to the documents related to Pius XI's pontificate, several scholars from all over the world went to Rome to get access to the new records. From then onwards, numerous books and conference proceedings were published, pointing out historians' strong interest for the position of the Holy See in the international arena in the decades between the two world wars.

In the Introduction of this new monograph on Pius XI, Launey avows that the new Curial documents allowed a renewal of the research with what has been qualified as a "historical zeal" (p. 8). Unfortunately, this book has no critical apparatus; therefore it is not possible to understand whether the author had the opportunity to make use of his own research exploiting the Vatican Archives or he only employed secondhand bibliography (edited sources and existing historiography) to write this book. Besides, as he admits, he preferred to use only French-language sources (p. 225). Considering the vast literature published in many languages on the subject (at least in Italian, English, German, and Spanish) the choice of the author was quite disappointing.

The subtitle of the volume, "The Pope of the Catholic Action," finds no explanation in the biography of Pius XI sketched by Launey since he rightly touches various important aspects of Achille Ratti's life from his birth to his years as Vicar of Christ: his education, his career as nuncio in Poland, professor, prefect of the Ambrosiana Library and of the Vatican Library, archbishop of Milan. His pontificate is told by taking briefly into account the political, religious, and spiritual questions Pius XI had to face during the Twenties and the Thirties. Hence, the book does not put a special focus on Ratti's interest for the apostolate of laypeople. In fact, as the author demonstrates, despite the undeniable attention that the Pope reserved to what he called "the pupil of my eyes," his government of the Church had many other ramifications (e.g., Ratti could be called the Pope of the concordats, the Pope of missions, the Pope of modern tools of communication, etc.).

Nonetheless, even if this biography lacks a strong historical interpretation, it could be considered a specimen of a cultivated literature that has no pretentions of bringing about new elements in the analysis of the pontificate, but just aims to tell the story of a Pope and remains adherent to a critical scientific method. For this reason, Launey's book represents a good summary in French for anyone who approaches Pius XI for the first time.

Catholic University of Sacred Heart, Milan Raffaella Perin

Pio XI nella crisi europea // Pius XI. im Kontext der europäischen Krise. Atti del Colloquio di Villa Vigoni, 4–6 maggio 2015 // Beiträge zum Villa Vigoni—Gespräch, 4–6. Mai 2015. Edited by Raffaella Perin. [Studi di storia, vol. 2.] (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari. 2016. Pp. 297. ISBN 978-88-6969-9).

A conference at the Italo-German Center at Villa Vigoni (Lake Como) yielded the collection of essays in this volume. Some are written in German and some in Italian but all begin with English summaries. Raffaella Perin, who edited the collection, begins with an introduction that asks "why another conference on Pius XI?" One can locate, she states, much of the answer in the recent flurry of information released with the Vatican's opening of Pius' archives a few years ago. The current thinking, however, has not resolved the controversies related to Pius, the Holy See, and antisemitism, and the first three of the volume's contributions reflect this: Dominik Burkard's on the Holy See's condemnation of Alfred Rosenberg's racist-tinged manifesto, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, which, incidentally, contains much information on the infamous Alois Hudal, Perin's on the development of Pius' thinking regarding antisemitism, and Paolo Zanini's on the Palestinian question. Toward the end, the collection returns to the question with an interesting piece from Giovanni Vian that focuses on the end of Pius' life and his renewed emphasis on Catholicism's incompatibility with German racism. During that final half-year, Benito Mussolini added salt to Pius' wound (and anger) with his adoption of a watered down but still ugly Italian program against the Jews. Citing Emma Fattorini's research, Vian quotes the pontiff who, on hearing that Italian papers would not refer to the *Osservatore Romano*'s criticisms of Fascist racism, said "I'm ashamed of myself . . . ashamed of being an Italian."

As the book's German title reminds us, context is one of its aims, and a number of essays go beyond the Pius/antisemitism question. Marie Levant on Pius and continuity in facing the Nazi revolution and Florian Heinritzi on the Bavarian concordat, for instance, add to the context a bit. The discussion broadens to the Soviet Union in essays from Sascha Hinkel and Laura Pettinaroli, who writes how Communism's treatment of women, children, and the family informed the Holy See's judgment of the regime. Paolo Valvo's fascinating discussion of Rome and the *Cristero* wars in Mexico extends the book's coverage to the New World. Along with Perin's introduction, the assortment boasts eighteen essays, some more complicated and demanding than others. Finally, two pieces merit particular attention, one by Gianmaria Zamagni concerning Pius' differences with the more aggressive Spanish bishops during the Civil War. Just War theory is central to her study, which forms part of the University of Münster's "D9 project" on religion and violence. Another piece, "Pius XI's pontificate and political violence" by Lucia Ceci, raises similar issues. One can locate, she claims, Catholic "oscillation" regarding violence, such as a point in early Fascism, August of 1922, when in the highly charged era before Mussolini took office as prime minister, the *Civiltà Cattolica* explicitly condemned outrages committed by his blackshirts. Exactly two years later, however, in August, 1924, writing about the murder of the Socialist Giacomo Matteotti by the Fascists, the same review spread the blame—that the Socialists and the Regime shared the guilt because of a culture of

violence that they both fostered. Rejection of violence, Ceci disturbingly concludes, "did not figure among the Holy See's non-negotiable values."

The University of Scranton Roy Domenico

American

Anti-Catholicism in America, 1620–1860. By Maura Jane Farrelly. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2017. Pp. xviii, 205. $24.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-316-61636-9.)

Professor Maura Jane Farrelly has written a short, yet significant new book on an old topic, anti-Catholicism in antebellum America. Eighty years ago, Ray Allen Billington and Sister Mary Augustine Ray addressed this topic, yet it has certainly drawn real academic interest over the past two decades. Although anti-Catholicism has dissipated over the last half-century, it has not altogether disappeared. As Farrelly observes, for much of the nation's early history, American religious and political leaders viewed Catholicism as a threat to "national identity individual liberty, personal salvation, and the stability of free government" (p. xi.). Certainly the Catholic Church represented different threats to various Americans during distinct eras. Over the course of the colonial and early national period however, one anti-Catholic theme remained constant, the Church and its adherents represented a major threat to American freedom. (p. xii).

This book is more thematic than a comprehensive retelling of the vast amount of anti-Catholic statements in the U.S. prior to 1860. Divided into six chapter, the opening one retells of story of Catholicism from Old to New England. Despite the fears and outright persecution of the Church, Catholics did exist in seventeenth-century colonial America, primarily in Maryland. Farrelly's third chapter is her most important in that she portrays Catholicism within the context of the American Revolution. The fourth chapter surveys the surprising lack of anti-Catholicism as the church leadership sought to find its place in the new republic. However, a large influx of Catholic immigrants ignited a firestorm against the Church in the three decades prior to the Civil War.

This book is based on strong research in the primary and secondary sources. Her thesis is really contained in chapters two and three, where she builds upon her earlier book *Papist Patriots: The Making of American Catholic Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Farrelly maintains that the colonial Americans identified with Protestantism in a way that Catholics could not. Before the political revolution erupted against British hegemony, colonial Catholics had decades earlier already cast off any association with England. In their minds and hearts, Catholics had already declared their independence long before their Protestant countrymen ever attempted the effort. Simultaneously, there was another revolution taking place in the American Catholic perspectives regarding religious freedom. Catholics not only rejected American identity with Protestantism; they also rejected the con-

fessional state idea that church and state should be one. While I have not emphasized it in my own book, I agree with Farrelly. In my treatment of southern Catholicism, I quoted Charles Carroll, the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, as stating that he supported religious toleration for all. "Based on an earlier Maryland tradition, Carroll supported religious freedom, no religious tests, and the separation of church and state, positions that the Second Vatican Council would accept almost two hundred years later" (Woods, *A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513–1900* [Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011], p. 149).

This Americanization process then extended into the early national period regarding the trustee controversy. Many Catholic parishes followed the example of Protestants in having a board of trustees manage and even run the local church. This went against a Catholic tradition of clerical control. This caused some major conflicts between the American clergy and the laity, especially in places like Norfolk, Charleston, and even more dramatically, Philadelphia. Moreover, the early founders of our government did not mind if the people were religious, "they also wanted the American people's religiosity to be a choice" (p. 112). Then Bishop, later (after 1808) Archbishop of Baltimore, John Carroll certainly supported this situation. Carroll believed that the reasonableness of the Faith, plus a respectful approach to their fellow non-Catholic countrymen, would win souls for the Church.

All of this changed abruptly with the massive, mainly Irish Catholic, migration after 1830. As Professor Farrelly points out, for the last three decades of the antebellum era, the Catholic Church sustained an incredible assault from preachers, pulpits, and many publications. This "Protestant Crusade," as Ray Allen Billington termed it, sometimes spilled over into violence. A convent was burned in Massachusetts; riots took place in Philadelphia and other places. One set of disturbances Ms. Farrelly omits was the riotous reception that the Papal Nuncio Archbishop Gaetano Bedini received during his visit to the U.S. in 1853–1854. A mob in Washington, D.C., seized a block of marble Pope Pius IX had sent to be placed in the George Washington monument and then pushed it into the Potomac River on March 6, 1854. Yet most of the rioting took place above the Mason-Dixon Line, the area of U.S. most impacted by the invasion of Irish immigrants. These immigrants also impacted the Church as the hierarchy became mainly Hibernian, with a decidedly more hostile approach to American Protestants. This shift was especially epitomized by the episcopal career of Archbishop John Hughes of New York. By the 1850s Catholics were viewed much like the Communists a century later. Like the Communists, Catholics were tied to a foreign leader opposed to republican government and religious freedom.

Intolerance against different groups can move in several directions. Although the Republican Party during this period was more sympathetic to the plight of the African Americans, it was also profoundly anti-Catholic. President Abraham Lincoln's cabinet contained no Catholics or Jews, yet President Jefferson Davis's Confederate cabinet contained a Catholic (Stephen Mallory) and a Jew (Judah P. Benjamin). Ms. Farrelly

is to be commended for producing this significant contribution to the history of the American Catholic Church during the colonial and antebellum eras.

Georgia Southern University James M. Woods

Dagger John: Archbishop John Hughes and the Making of Irish America. By John Loughery. (Ithaca, NY: Three Hills, an imprint of Cornell University Press. 2018. Pp. x, 407. $32.95. ISBN 978-1-5017-0774-2.)

Four decades have elapsed since a serious study of New York's fourth bishop and first archbishop appeared (*Dagger John: The Unquiet Life and Times of Archbishop John Hughes of New York*, by Richard Shaw [New York: Paulist Press, 1977]). John Loughery, an already accomplished author, has revisited the major events comprising Archbishop Hughes' career, and sees in those events not only the ecclesial rise of one man, but a similar circumstance for his largely Irish flock. The political, social, and religious controversy that always followed him, or that he himself created in his bully pulpit, made the already formidable Irish presence in America all the more a force to be reckoned with.

Such events as the New York City School Controversy, the City's Draft Riots during the Civil War, the ongoing anti–Catholic antagonism of American culture, the diplomatic mission to France, and so many others are given fresh, scholarly light. Loughery has convincingly painted a portrait of both Catholic New York, as well as the larger American culture of the mid-nineteenth century, while also weaving into his tapestry, the strengths and weaknesses, triumphs and failures of the prelate who led the archdiocese for over two decades. One easily perceives the importance of Hughes in the American Church, something his adversaries were as quick to realize as his supporters.

Of particular interest is the author's concentration on the Hughes–Seward friendship, which had its origins when the comparatively new bishop made the acquaintance of New York's Whig governor, who, as a man truly principled and of high integrity came to the defense of the bishop in his fight for financial aid for his city's and diocese's parochial schools. As a politician who early on entered the newly formed Republican Party, one which, as with his former affiliation, had been significantly hostile to Catholic interests, Seward contributed, at least to a degree, in breaking the stranglehold the Democrat party had on the nation's newly arriving immigrants. Hughes had hoped for two decades, we are told, that his friend would one day enter the White House, and he equally believed the peculiar institution of slavery would die a natural death without the "melancholy strife" that ultimately became a reality. The archbishop was extremely careful not to make political recommendations on voting to his flock, and was just as insistent that his clergy follow suit; nonetheless, the author contends that the prelate was very cautious about the election of Lincoln over the proven record of his New York ally. Fort Sumpter changed all this. Hughes became an ardent patriot, strongly encouraged Catholic men to enlist in the Union Army, flew the Stars and Stripes over Saint Patrick's

Old Cathedral much to the chagrin of some of his coreligionists who were of Southern sympathy, and carried on a significant correspondence with Seward on his thoughts—political and military—during the course of the conflict, a correspondence which Seward gladly shared with Abraham Lincoln. Though Hughes had significant differences with his Southern hierarchical colleagues over the compact versus states' rights theory of government, this study, as do so many others, underscores the unity of Catholic faith, which was never for one moment broken in the four years.

It is the freshness of approach more than the discovery of new information that characterizes this work. Eminently fair to the subject of his study, the author has also underscored the contributions of one ethnic group whose leader was a County Tyrone product. *Dagger John* is a considerable contribution to United States Catholic history, the role of the Irish in it, and the character of one who never shied from controversy.

Mount Saint Mary's Seminary CHARLES P. CONNOR
Emmitsburg, Maryland

Catholic Borderlands: Mapping Catholicism onto American Empire, 1905–1935. By Anne M. Martínez. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2014. Pp. xviii, 293. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-8032-4877-9.)

In *Catholic Borderlands: Mapping Catholicism onto American Empire, 1905–1935*, Anne M. Martínez examines the reasons why the Reverend Francis Clement Kelley and the Catholic Church Extension Society embraced the Spanish Catholic legacy of North America and the impact of their activities in the former Spanish territories. Feeling alienated as anti-Catholic sentiment increased in the United States, Kelley sought to formulate and incorporate Catholic identity into the Protestant-dominated American historical narrative. Martínez's work illustrates how Kelley intended to restrict the growing Protestant influence in historically Catholic regions by embracing the Spanish Catholic heritage. Furthermore, Martínez demonstrates how Kelley's work had both international and political components reflective of religious imperialism as he sought to bring Mexico under American religious influence as well as safeguard Catholicism in the recently acquired Philippines and Puerto Rico.

Martínez weaves a narrative that begins with Kelley's campaign in the American southwest and the ceded territories before transitioning to American Catholic diplomacy in Mexico. The Catholic culture of the southwest provided Kelley with a historical account that would justify activities in the west aimed at revitalizing Catholicism, particularly among the Mexican/Mexican-American communities. Through *Extension Magazine*, the Extension Society's publication, Kelley called on American Catholics to protect landmarks, such as Spanish missions, and to support Catholic schools in the face of Protestant inroads in these communities. Martínez examines Kelley's actions within the premise of two conflicting national narratives:

one of American Manifest Destiny rooted in Protestantism in which Spain's influence was almost inconsequential, and another in which Spain's religious mission provided American Catholics with a claim to the religious history of the North American continent.

For Kelley and the Extension Society, the Catholic borderlands extended beyond the southwest. The imperialism of the period provided them with a new vision of protecting and expanding Catholicism outside the continental mainland. Once again faced with the Protestant threat, this time in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, Kelley designed a mission that not only emphasized protecting the Catholic legacy but also uplifting the conquered populations. While Catholic rhetoric and actions in Puerto Rico and the Philippines resembled those used in reference to the southwest, Martínez sets this section apart by delving deeper into racial views. Kelley, like the vast majority who justified imperialism as a humanitarian duty, generally considered the colonized populations inferior. Although Martínez does discuss race issues in her coverage of the southwest, she provides a richer exploration of racial perceptions in this section her work.

While Martínez's exploration of American Catholic activity in the southwest, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines is instructive, her examination of Kelley's activities as related to Mexico is what makes *Catholic Borderlands* invaluable. The turmoil of the Mexican Revolution and the anticlericalism/anti-Catholicism that threatened the Catholic Church in Mexico prompted action from Kelley and the Extension Society. Kelley's call for the American government's intervention in Mexico thrusted him into the political realm and in tangible ways politicized the Church and fostered an American Catholic agenda with an international scope. As Martínez notes, Kelley promoted discussion of U.S. involvement in Mexico and at times negotiated American endeavors in Mexico. Embracing an imperialist stance, Kelley and the Extension Society sought to rescue Mexico (i.e., a Catholic Mexico) from the chaos and effects of the revolution. Utilizing the concept of political and religious imperialism, Martinez places Kelley within a transnational historical interpretation.

Catholic Borderlands is an excellent book in which each chapter further develops subjects introduced in the previous chapter. Although the work revolves primarily around Kelley, Martínez does an extraordinary job of positioning his activities and rhetoric in broader historical themes.

The University of Texas of the Permian Basin Ana Martinez-Catsam

Minor Setback or Major Disaster? The Rise and Demise of Minor Seminaries in the United States, 1958–1983. By Robert L. Anello, M.S.A. (St. Louis: En Route Books and Media. 2018. Pp. xxiv, 591. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-9998814-2-2.)

This great tome of almost 600 pages fills an important gap in the institutional story of Catholicism in the United States. Reworking his doctoral dissertation, Anello admits the difficulty of creating a coherent narrative since there is no one

accepted definition of a minor seminary. There are four-year high schools and four-year colleges. There are six-year programs encompassing high school and junior college. Finally, one might include the first two years of a philosophical-theological program. Minor seminaries were sponsored by dioceses and religious communities. Some served seminarians exclusively and some included lay students. Many were residential programs, while others were day programs or a combination of the two.

The lengthy bibliography and the copious footnotes testify that Anello mastered the pertinent literature. Not only does he frequently cite various articles found in seminary and educational journals, but also the publications of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (later the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops), the National Catholic Educational Association, and subsidiary minor seminary organizations. Further, he has mastered the seemingly endless data on seminaries produced by these organizations and the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate. This gathering and analysis of data alone is a great service. Anello goes even further. He addresses and astutely analyzes the mass of information and data on vocations over a fifty-year period. In this, he offers a significant corrective. He resurrects the concern over a drop in vocations proportionate to the growth of the Catholic population that was heralded in the 1950s. This allows him to contextualize the vocations issue within the culture and to separate it from the effects of the Second Vatican Council. He shows the impact of the Second Vatican Council on the decline in vocations but allows us to reflect without any preconceived biases on the great power of the culture on vocations.

After introducing us to the world of seminaries of the mid-twentieth century, Anello divides his narrative into four sections, each accompanied by two case studies. In each section, the external context of the minor seminary is well documented. The first is "'Future Shock': The Beginning of the Demise." In this chapter, covering the years 1960–1966, the pedagogical and administrative issues of the period are addressed as seminaries begin to absorb *Optatam totius.* The case studies are of St. Charles College (Catonsville, Maryland) and Queen of Apostles Seminary (Madison, Wisconsin). The influence on vocations of St. Paul VI's encyclical *Sacerdotalis Caelibatus* is analyzed.

The second chapter comes as a bit of a surprise. It is still the mid-sixties but several new minor seminaries are being established. Anello does not miss this and gives us "Newer Minor Seminaries as 'Short-lived Phenomena.'" The case studies are Bishop's Latin School (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) and Mount St. Paul College (Waukesha, Wisconsin). Again, Anello does not forget Rome and explains how the impact on clergy, especially younger clergy, of St. Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae vitae,* negatively affected vocations. The evidence leads Anello to conclude that college seminaries are in transition, while high school seminaries are in freefall.

Moving into the seventies, we come to "Minor Seminaries as 'Endangered Species.'" In this period, the first edition of the *Program of Priestly Formation* neglects minor seminaries in comparison to its attention to the theologate, a sign of

growing ambivalence toward these institutions. The stories of Quigley North and Quigley South Preparatory Seminaries (Chicago, Illinois), and Holy Apostles College and Seminary (Cromwell, Connecticut) provide the case studies for this period, which Anello describes as a time of decline and disorder.

Anello's final historical chapter, "The Survivors," reviews the 1980s. The survivors chronicled are St. Lawrence Seminary High School (Mount Calvary, Wisconsin) and Cathedral Preparatory Seminary (Queens, New York). Anello's review of minor seminaries in the 1980s concludes this chapter. Throughout we are assisted by numerous helpful graphs and charts. They sadly depict the decreasing numbers of various institutions until their final disappearance.

There is little in the story of the minor seminaries that Anello does not address. Throughout he is fair and balanced. Even his case studies are chosen to reflect the variety of structures and sponsorships of these institutions. I recommend this book to those in seminary administration, major and minor, as well as to those in the apostolate of vocations. Almost all of the questions and issues concerning minor seminaries that are being asked today are addressed by Anello in this fine work.

Immaculate Conception Seminary ROBERT WISTER
South Orange, New Jersey

LATIN AMERICA

The Politics of Religion and the Rise of Social Catholicism in Peru (1884–1935): Faith, Workers and Race before Liberation Theology. By Ricardo Daniel Cubas Ramacciotti. [Religion in the Americas Series. Vol. 18.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2018. Pp. 297. ISBN 978-90-04-35567-5 hardback; ISBN 978-90-04-35569-9 e-book.)

Ricardo Daniel Cubas Ramacciotti's well-researched study insists that the story of Catholicism in Peru cannot be understood without tracing the complex evolution of church-state relations in this ethnically diverse country. It also argues that the formation of its national identity is tied to this story.

Engagement with social issues that liberationists place at the center of faith became a pivotal concern of the Peruvian church as it struggled for autonomy at the close of the nineteenth century. This struggle was enjoined with Spanish regalism (royal supremacy over the Church), during colonization, through late-eighteenth century Enlightenment reform, and up to the declaration of Peruvian independence in 1821. Succeeding republican governments exercised power over the Church through the mechanism of the *patronato,* offering the church establishment status and financial support while restricting appointment of bishops to state-approved candidates and controlling papal communications with them.

Ramacciotti recounts policy moves that entrapped church and state alike in contradictions. In short, the Church's attempt to assert its independence ran up

against its reliance on government financial aid while the government needed church legitimation in an overwhelmingly Catholic nation. In fact, a concordat with the Vatican definitively severed the Church from the Peruvian state only in 1980.

A focal theme in this context is Peruvian church resistance to secularization entailed in liberal politics, modernizing economics, and the sway of positivism among the nation's elite. Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and other papal social teaching, along with writings by European Catholics such as León Bloy and Jacques Maritain, emboldened Peru's Catholic intellectuals to counter the influence of modernist thought as well as socialism and radical politics. A succession of Catholic organizations—from the lay-led *Unión Católica* in 1886 through *Acción Católica* in 1935—further raised the Church's profile in the public sphere. Episcopal letters following inauguration of the National Assembly of Bishops in 1899 effectively ratified the "rise of social Catholicism" in Peru. Notably, apologetic defense of the "rights of the Church" figured prominently in this development, while advancement of Catholic social thought depended on widely distributed local Catholic newspapers.

Ramacciotti emphasizes ecclesial condemnation of slavery in mining and rubber production and defense of industrial labor rights. Animated by papal teaching and European examples, the Church sought to imbue Peru's emergent working class with Catholic values through "Circle(s) of Catholic Workers" (CCW), which sponsored night schools, mutual aid societies, and other welfare groups. Bishops and Catholic intellectuals, especially Víctor Andrés Belaunde, criticized capitalism but remained resolutely apolitical, favoring "true reformism," equidistant from "timid conservatism" and Marxism (p. 178). Thus, the Church forestalled anticlericalism but also retarded unionization and postponed formation of a Christian democratic party in Peru until 1955.

As elsewhere in Latin America, the Church represented the nation in the absence of the state in Peru, particularly among marginalized Quechua and Aymara peoples in the remote Andes and Amazon. What Ramacciotti calls "ecclesiastical *indigenismo*" affirmed the human dignity of indigenous Peruvians against overt racism, theoretical (Spencer, Peruvian Darwinists) and practical (enslavement, expropriation). Activist bishops promoted clerical reform and seminary classes in native languages to enhance indigenous mission while insisting on integration of native people in the "living synthesis of western and native values" advocated by Balaunde as *Peruanidad* (Peruvian-ness) (p. 219). Still, with most Peruvians the Church assumed the need for indigenous "regeneration" (p. 209), their tutelage in "farm schools" (p. 233), and (ironically) the government's paternalistic *Patronato de la Raza Indígena* (pp. 231–36).

Despite numerous repetitions, an often-confusing labyrinth of detail, and arguably flawed organization, this specialized monograph establishes the Church's indispensability to Peruvian identity as well as specific agenda items and ample bibliography for further research.

De Paul University, Mundelein Seminary RUTH CHOJNACKI

To Sin No More: Franciscans and Conversion in the Hispanic World, 1683–1830. By David Rex Galindo. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Oceanside, CA: The Academy of American Franciscan History. 2018. Pp. xvii, 330. $65.00. ISBN 978-1-5036-0-3264.)

During the last thirty years, historians, anthropologists, theologians, and scholars in other disciplines have greatly expanded our knowledge of Franciscan missions in the Iberian world. Their studies analyze not only the well-known frontier missions in the Americas and Asia but also the so-called "popular missions" that Franciscans conducted in cities and rural areas of Europe, often in preparation for their work in the overseas empire. In *To Sin No More*, David Rex Galindo draws on this new scholarship (his introduction provides an excellent survey of the literature), on classic studies of the Franciscan order, and, most importantly, on deep archival work on three continents in order to analyze the theory and practice of the Franciscan missionary enterprise. He argues that this enterprise "contributed to [the] globalization of the Catholic Church and shaped early modern Catholicism" (p. 289).

Rex Galindo focuses on the twenty-nine Franciscan Colleges for the Propagation of the Faith in Spain and America. The most famous of these institutions was the Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Querétaro, Mexico, from which generations of missionaries, including the recently canonized Junípero Serra, set off for missions throughout the Americas. Rex Galindo argues that the colleges "invigorated the Franciscan evangelical ministry through missionary instruction and a renovated commitment to pastoral work among both Catholic and non-Christian flocks in Spain and in its American territories and peripheries" (p. 9).

The continuity between missionary work in Europe and the Americas is a major theme of the book. The Franciscan missionary enterprise predated that of the Society of Jesus, and the two orders were sometimes at odds. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish empire in 1767, the Franciscans and other orders took over the Jesuit missions, reviving and expanding the scope of the Franciscans' work, especially in the Americas.

Building on Francisco Morales's pioneering prosopographical studies of Franciscans in colonial Mexico, Rex Galindo provides an overview of the qualities of the ideal missionary. In addition to the requisite moral and physical qualities, the Franciscans, like other religious orders of the day, sought candidates who could demonstrate their purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*). Whenever possible, the Franciscans excluded men who had Muslim, Jewish, native American, or African ancestors. Like Maria Elena Martinez, whose *Genealogical Fictions* (2008) studies the importation of *limpieza* statutes to colonial Mexico, Rex Galindo argues that peninsular-born Spaniards were associated with purity of blood and thus received preferential treatment in admission to the Franciscan order (p. 83).

Although no collection of documents comparable to the Jesuit *Indipitae* (petitions to be sent to overseas missions) exists in the Franciscan archives, Rex Galindo succeeds in reconstructing the motives that led young men to petition to be

assigned to the missions. In general, candidates were more concerned with attaining their own salvation than with converting non-Catholics or with achieving martyrdom (p. 104).

Missionaries in America faced language barriers that were difficult to overcome, in part because of the diversity of native languages. Franciscans became adept at recruiting native converts to preach to indigenous peoples. Yet this strategy provoked controversy within the Franciscan community, and native collaborators encountered strict limits on the scope of their pastoral work: "most Franciscans were hesitant to recruit native people to the *colegios* or seminaries . . . and only in special cases did visionary religious foresee the formation of a Franciscan native clergy" (p. 162).

Rex Galindo provides a vivid account of life in the propaganda fide colleges, which "took their study programs to new levels of proficiency and commitment. . . . A stringent daily timetable included time for mental prayer, hours of study, classes, dedication to community material needs, and practical preparation for the evangelical ministry" (p. 119). Members of the colleges participated in daily meetings (*conferencias*) on moral theology.

Rex Galindo analyzes in detail the Franciscans' preoccupation with sin in general and with sexual sin in particular. "To sin no more," he writes, was a guiding precept of Franciscan instruction. Rex Galindo's study of Franciscan attitudes toward sin draws on the work of Jean Delumeau, Thomas N. Tentler, and Michel Foucault, and on studies of sin and sexuality in colonial Spanish America, including works by Francisco Cervantes and Ann Twinam.

Although Franciscans were closely aligned with the crown and with colonial elites, they sometimes spoke out on behalf of oppressed peoples. Fray Ángel Alonso de Prado, for example, in a sermon given to hacienda owners in early-eighteenth-century Querétaro, preached that these men had grown rich "at the cost of the feasts and the sweat of the poor. . . . [P]aying them with goods [rather than money, and] tricking them with excessive prices and false promises by which you drink their blood" (p. 213). *To Sin No More* contains similar examples of Franciscan preaching in the "plain style" (in contrast to the ornate *conceptista* style that many Baroque preachers adopted). Most of these examples are from archival manuscripts that have been read but not systematically studied by a handful of earlier historians. Rex Galindo's analysis of the theory and practice of Franciscan preaching in Spain and the Americas is comparable only to the studies of Lino Gómez Canedo, who did pioneering work in the same archives in which Rex Galindo has worked.

Rex Galindo devotes sustained attention to the efforts of the post-Tridentine Catholic church to "sacramentalize" the world. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Jesuits played a central role in advancing these efforts both in Europe and in the Iberian overseas empires. Rex Galindo argues that "the eighteenth century was the turn of the Franciscan apostolic seminaries for the propa-

gation of the faith" (p. 217). *To Sin No More* provides a compelling portrait of Franciscan ideals and of the men who put them into practice throughout the Hispanic world.

The Catholic University of America Thomas M. Cohen

Volunteering for a Cause: Gender, Faith, and Charity in Mexico from the Reform to the Revolution. By Silvia Marina Arrom. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2016. Pp. xiii, 279. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-8263-4188-4.)

Catholic charity in nineteenth-century Mexico flourished (instead of shrinking) in the presence of state-sponsored anticlerical liberalism. This success came as male and female lay members of the St. Vincent De Paul charitable organization functioned in complimentary roles to improve the lives of poor Mexicans. So argues historian Silvia Arrom in this readable and well-organized volume on the overlooked history of charitable programs in Mexico between Independence (1821) and the 1910 Revolution.

Having done research in Paris and Mexico City as well as regional archives, Arrom uses a clear, concise style in this work, which shores up weaknesses on the topic of charity. The introduction and chapter one counter the francocentric history of St. Vincenet De Paul in Mexico, showing how the organization adapted to local conditions and used organizational strategies better suited to Mexico than to France. Arrom also demonstrates that women were key to the establishment of the charity from the start, contrary to chronicles generated by the male laity and Catholic clergy associated with St. Vincent De Paul in Mexico.

Chapters two, three, and four continue chronologically with an eye toward gendered variations that occurred in the organization over time. The author counters the narrative created by Mexico's nineteenth-century liberal scholars, demonstrating that St. Vincent De Paul was not feminized in the late 1800s, but instead developed complimentary branches of service that allowed the organization to extend its tendrils deeper into the world of Mexico's poor. Certainly, members of St. Vincent De Paul supported the struggle against secularization, but their work among people not reached by state institutions allowed the group to avoid state persecution and thrive during a time scholars traditionally see as hostile to Catholicism.

In chapter five, Arrom uses the case study of the state of Jalisco to confirm her argument about Mexico as a whole. However, her look at the local archives brings insights she would have missed using sources from Mexico City alone. The Jalisco case study enriches existing work on the National Catholic Party and clarifies why Catholic networks during the Cristero War (1926–29) functioned so well. She caps off the work with a discussion in chapter six of how Catholicism served as a modernizing force in Mexico by modeling public welfare and encouraging public health, not the backwards opponent to progress as painted by the ruling elite of

Mexico at the time. In this regard, Arrom shores up recent research by other scholars who, over the last two decades, have deepened our understanding of the multifaceted work of the Catholic Church in Mexico, particularly its link to public policy and modernization. It also has implications for scholarship that examines why women felt empowered by conservative movements that otherwise restricted their role in society.

Volunteering for a Cause is a well-researched, clearly written book that—while not path-making—is a solid contribution to the historical understanding of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Mexico. Scholars of religion, conservatism, women, and liberalism in Mexico should consult this work as should graduate students with specialties in modern Mexico. While the book is situated in a larger historiographic conversation that might make it difficult to include in undergraduate courses on Modern Mexico, courses on Latin American religion would benefit from its inclusion, particularly in discussions on the role of Catholicism in debates on women in society, state power, or modernization.

Central Washington University JASON H. DORMADY

Notes and Comments

Association News

The 99th annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA), inaugurating its centennial year, will be held with the American Historical Association in Chicago, January 3–6, 2019 at the Chicago Hilton Hotel. The Executive Council meeting of the Association will be held Thursday, January 3 at 3:30 p.m. Dr. James T. Carroll of Iona College serves as program chair. The ACHA program consists of twenty-one sessions with over eighty scholars participating. Registration is open until December 15 on the ACHA website: acha@achahistory.org

In March, 2018, the Executive Council accepted the resignation of the Reverend R. Bentley Anderson, S.J., of Fordham University as executive secretary-treasurer of the Association. After the appropriate search, the Executive Council has appointed Dr. Charles T. Strauss, assistant professor of history, Mount St. Mary's University, Emmitsburg, MD, as executive secretary-treasurer. During the summer the office of the Association was relocated from Fordham University to Mount St. Mary's University, whose officials warmly welcomed its arrival and provided ample office space. The new address of the Association's executive offices: American Catholic Historical Association, Mount St. Mary's University, 16300 Old Emmitsburg Road, Emmitsburg, MD 21227.

Causes of Saints

At a public ordinary consistory on July 19, 2018, Pope Francis announced that he will canonize Blessed Nunzio Sulprizio (1817–1836), a young Italian layperson, on October 14, 2018 during the Synod of Bishops on Youth held in Rome.

Born on April 13, 1817, in Pescosansonesco, Italy, Blessed Nunzio was orphaned early in life. He lived with a very violent uncle who beat him. Because of this violence, the young craftsman of Naples suffered from a wound in the leg, earning him the nickname "the little saint lame." In spite of illness, the young man assisted others especially relieving the misery of the poor. He spent the last two year of his life at Naples' hospital for incurables, where he died on May 5, 1836 at age nineteen.

Blessed Nunzio Sulprizio's canonization on October 14 has been added to the canonizations of Pope Paul VI, Archbishop Oscar Romero, Father Francesco Spinelli, Father Vincent Romano, Mother Maria-Katherina Kasper, and Mother Nazaria Ignacia of Santa Teresa de Jesus. Their canonizations on that date had previously been announced.

On May 26, 2018, Pope Francis appointed Cardinal Giovanni Angelo Becciu prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. He assumed the office at the end of August. He was created a cardinal along with thirteen other prelates at a consistory on June 29, 2018. He succeeded Cardinal Angelo Amato, who served as prefect since 2008. Cardinal Becciu was born in Pattada, Italy, on June 2, 1948. After graduating in Canon Law he was ordained a priest of the Diocese of Ozieri in 1972. He joined the diplomatic service of the Holy See in 1984, and worked for many years in various missions, including in the Central African Republic, New Zealand, Liberia, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States.

In 2001, Pope John Paul II appointed him Apostolic Nuncio to Angola and to São Tomé and Príncipe. On December 1, that year, he was consecrated bishop. In 2009, Pope Benedict XVI transferred him to the Apostolic Nunciature of Cuba, from which he was recalled to the Vatican to serve as the Substitute for General Affairs of the Secretariat of State. New-elected pontiff, Pope Francis confirmed him in the post in 2013. On February 2, 2017, the Pope appointed him special delegate to the Knights of Malta to resolve the crisis in the order.

Joint Effort to Advance Causes of Black Sainthood

New Orleans, LA—An effort to unite the causes and respective guilds working toward the canonization of five Catholic African Americans was announced during a special event held at the St. Katharine Drexel Chapel on the campus of Xavier University of Louisiana.

Xavier and its Institute for Black Catholic Studies (IBCS) served as the host and administrator for the event, which set as its goal the goal the gathering of scholarly work and relevant academic studies for the purpose of elevating the respective causes for each of the candidates for Sainthood: the Venerable Pierre Toussaint, Venerable Henriette Delille S.S.F., Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange, O.S.P., Father Augustus Tolton, and Julia Greeley.

Attendees at the event included members of the Joint Conference of Black Catholic Clergy, Black Sisters, Black Catholic Seminarians, and Black Catholic Deacons.

"It is both appropriate and significant that this joint effort to promote the cause of Sainthood for these five extraordinary individuals should originate here at Xavier University of Louisiana, the only historically Black and Catholic University in this nation and the home of the Institute for Black Catholic Studies," said Xavier President Dr. Reynold Verret.

Also announced was a plan to establish a resource center at Xavier which will house relevant and educational scholarly work focusing on the lives of the five candidates for Sainthood, as well as that of Xavier University of Louisiana foundress St. Katharine Drexel and St. Kateri Tekakwitha.

The Causes are as follows:

Venerable Pierre Toussaint (1766–1853), a New York City hairdresser who was also a former slave. He purchased his freedom with the earnings he made from his trade.

Venerable Henriette Delille (1813–1862), the daughter of a white man and mixed-race woman who lived in a common-law relationship, since blacks and whites could not legally marry at the time. Her parents encouraged her to pursue the same path. Instead, she founded the Sisters of the Holy Family in New Orleans, and these women attended to the needs of slaves and poor free blacks. As she prayed, "I believe in God; I hope in God; I love. I want to live and die for God."

Servant of God Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange (ca. 1794–1882), another former slave, founded and served as the first superior general of the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore. She founded the order so that black women would have a means by which to enter religious life. Its other purpose was to educate African-American children.

Servant of God Father Augustus Tolton (1854–1897) was America's first black priest. He had to travel to Rome to conduct his priestly training because no U.S. seminary would take him. Back home, his ministry at his church in Quincy, Illinois, was so successful that he drew congregants from the nearby white parish. He later moved to Chicago, where he founded St. Monica's, the city's first black parish.

Servant of God Julia Greeley, Denver's Angel of Charity, was born into slavery at Hannibal, Missouri, sometime between 1833 and 1848. While she was still a young child, a cruel slavemaster, while beating her mother, caught Julia's right eye with his whip and destroyed it. Freed by Missouri's Emancipation Act in 1865, Julia subsequently earned a living serving white families in Missouri, Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico—though mostly in the Denver area. Whatever she did not need for herself, Julia spent assisting poor families in her neighborhood. She entered the Catholic Church at Sacred Heart Parish in Denver in 1880 and actively supported parish activities. She joined the Secular Franciscan Order in 1901 and was active in it till her death in 1918.

Conferences

The Tibesar Lecture and Colloquium on Culture and Religion in La Florida takes place October 26–28, 2018, at Flagler College, St. Augustine, FL. The conference is part of the Flagler College Ideas & Images series offering lectures and readings from a variety of renowned scholars, artists, and authors in the fields of history, archaeology, anthropology, and religion. Lectures are free and open to the public. John Worth, University of West Florida, gave the annual Tibesar Lecture (October 26): "Exploring the Franciscan Legacy in Spanish Florida: Historical and Archaeological Evidence."

At the Colloquium on Culture and Religion in La Florida: October 27–28, the following lectures were presented: "Are They Christians? Timucuans, Theology, and

the Necessity of the Sacraments," Timothy J. Johnson, Flagler College, Religion; "Additions, Corrections, and Deletions: A Comparison of the 1612 and 1627 Spanish-Timucuan Catechisms," Lisa Noetzel, College of Coastal Georgia, Spanish; "Timucua Christian Texts on Idolatry," George Aaron Broadwell, University of Florida, Anthropology; "Manufacturing Sin: The Inquisition in Cuba and Florida between 1604 and 1614," Leonardo Falcon, Florida International University, History; "Asymmetries of Power: Timucua-Apalachee Relations in the early 18th Century," Alejandra Dubcovsky, University of California-Riverside, History; "Yamasee Missions in Saint Augustine," Denise Bossy, University of North Florida, History; "Geronimo de Oré's Relación de la Florida," Noble David Cook, Florida International University, History; "Florida through European Eyes: Theodor de Bry and the Tradition of Grand Voyages," Helmut Flachenecker, University of Würzburg, History; "Before the Churches: Pre-Contact Mocama/Timucua Culture and Religion," Keith Ashley, University of North Florida, Archeology, and Robert Thunen, University of North Florida, Anthropology; "America's First Parish Church: Nuestra Señora de los Remedios Yesterday and Today," Kathleen Deagan, University of Florida, Archeology, and Carl Halbirt, HSARI Associate, Archaeology; "America's First Mission Church? Mission Santa Catalina de Guale Yesterday and Today," David Hurst Thomas, American Museum of Natural History, Anthropology.

The faculty of theology of the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross (Rome), Römisches Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft, and la Società per la Ricerca della Storia dei Concili are convening an international symposium, "Councils and the Minority," which takes place in Rome October 10–14, 2018. International scholars representing a wide range of universities and nations from Europe and North America addressed aspects of the Church's Conciliar tradition and the role of minorities in them.

Johannes Grohe, Pontificia Università della Santa Croce, Roma, and Thomas Prügl, Universität Wien, introduce the conference with "Minorities at Church Councils. Historical reality and ecclesiological impact." Other presentations:

Klaus M. Girardet, Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken, "Das Schicksal Priszillians und seiner Anhänger 380 in Saragossa, 384 in Bordeaux und 385 in Trier"; Sandra Leuenberger-Wenger, Universität Zürich, "Wechselnde Mehrheitsverhältnisse auf dem Konzil von Chalcedon 451 und ihre Bedeutung für die Rezeption seiner Beschlüsse"; Giulio Maspero, Pontificia Università della Santa Croce, Roma, "Origene e i suoi sostenitori nei Concili: un ammonimento per la Dogmengeschichte"; Heinz Ohme, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, "Mehrheit und Minderheit in den Anfängen des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites." October 11: Richard Price, University of London, "Minorities as Majorities at the Councils of Constantinople III (680/681) and Constantinople IV (869/870); Evangelos Chrysos, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, "Synodal Majorities and Minorities during the so-called Photian Schism"; Josef Rist, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, "Universi dixerunt?—Papst Vigilius, Kaiser Justinian und die Suche nach dem Konsens auf dem Konzil von Konstantinopel 553"; Hans-Jürgen Becker, Universität Regensburg, "Das Mehrheitsprinzip bei kirchlichen Wahlen";

Johannes Helmrath, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, "Das Problem der sanior pars auf Konzilien"; Johannes Grohe, Pontificia Università della Santa Croce, Roma, "Ebrei e cristiani nei concili della Penisola Iberica del Tardo Medioevo"; Luise Marion Frenkel, Universidade de São Paulo / Universität Erfurt, "The reception of the Council of Nicaea by ethnic minorities in the eastern Roman Empire"; Thomas Graumann, Homerton College, University of Cambridge, "The 'Minority' at the Council of Ephesus (431)"; Alberto Ferreiro, Seattle Pacific University, "De cura populorum et pauperum: attending to the needs of the Poor in the Gallic and Hispano—Roman/Suevic—Visigothic Councils"; Luca Demontis, Istituto Teologico Don Orione, Roma, "La minoranza assente. I vescovi lombardi al concilio provinciale di Aquileia del 1282"; Christina Traxler, Universität Wien, "The Bohemian Delegation at the Council of Constance (1414–1418) and its struggle for truth and recognition"; Thomas Woelki, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, "'Papa più uno': Una dottrina canonistica sull'autorità rappresentativa della minoranza pro-papale al concilio di Basilea"; Zsófia Bárány, Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, and Tibor Klestenitz, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Budapest, "The possibilities of inter- and trans-confessionalism in the 19th century in Hungary using the example of the Council of 1822 and the Catholic Assemblies of the 1890s"; Claudio Anselmo, Torino, "Il comunismo al Vaticano II. Una battaglia della minoranza conciliare." October 12: Ansgar Frenken, Ulm, "Reform oder Papstwahl—Das Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418) in der Zerreißprobe"; Sebastián Provvidente, Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, Buenos Aires, "Jean Gerson e la sua partecipazione nella causa Jean Petit durante il Concilio di Costanza (1414–1418)"; Alberto Cadili, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, "Gli hussiti come (mancata) minoranza conciliare al Concilio di Basilea (1431–1438)"; Nelson H. Minnich, The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., "The Minorities at Lateran V (1512–1517)"; Matteo Al Kalak, Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia, "Minoranza o maggioranza? I dibattiti sulla residenza de iure divino dei vescovi al Concilio di Trento (1545–1563)"; Klaus Schatz S.J., Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule, Frankfurt/St.Georgen, "Non placet oder Placet iuxta modum?—Hintergründe, Intention und Folgen der Abstimmung der Minorität auf dem I. Vatikanischen Konzil am 13.7.1870"; Petar Vrankić, Universität Augsburg, "Il vescovo Josip Juraj Strossmayer nella minoranza conciliare al Vaticano I (1869/1870)"; Carlo Pioppi, Pontificia Università della Santa Croce, Roma, "La minoranza antinfallibilista del Concilio Vaticano I nella storiografia specializzata"; Cardinal Walter Brandmüller, Vatican City, "Was heißt und zu welchem Ende studiert man . . . Konziliengeschichte?" October 13: Alexandra von Teuffenbach, Roma, "La voce della minoranza nei regolamenti dei Concili Vaticani"; Agostino Marchetto, Roma, "La minoranza al Vaticano II (1962–1965) secondo il 'Diario' del suo Segretario Generale, Pericle Felici"; and Gabriel Adriányi, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn / Eötvös-Loránd-University, Budapest, "Die letzten zehn Diözesansynoden Ungarns (1993–1999) und die Minderheitenpastoral."

The Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche/ Pontifical Committee for Historical Science in collaboration with the Pontificia Università Lateranense/ Pontifi-

cal Lateran University and the Academy of Hungary in Rome is sponsoring a conference on the Holy See and Catholics in the Postwar World (1918–1922) "Santa Sede e Cattolici nel Mondo Postbellico (1918–1922)," on the occasion of the centenary of the conclusion of World War I at the University and the Academy in Rome. November 14–16, 2018.

Introductory Session: Cardinal Pietro Parolin, Secretary of State, "Le sfide della diplomazia vaticana dopo la Prima guerra mondiale"; Nathalie Renoton-Beine, Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), "Benedetto XV, il Papa della pace"; Emilia Hrabovec, Università «Comenius» Bratislava—Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La Santa Sede e la nuova Cecoslovacchia: problemi e sfide nel contesto transnazionale"; *Second Session*: Il papato e la Santa Sede. Antón M. Pazos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Gallegos «Padre Sarmiento»—Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La campagna dei vescovi spagnoli in favore della partecipazione di Benedetto XV alla Conferenza di Pace." Philippe Chenaux, Pontificia Università Lateranense—Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La Santa Sede e la Conferenza di Pace"; Roberto Regoli, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "La Congregazione per gli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari e la ricostruzione postbellica"; Evgenia Tokareva, Istituto di Storia Universale—Accademia Russa delle Scienze, Corrispondente Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche/Alexey Komarov (Istituto di Storia Universale—Accademia Russa delle Scienze), "La Santa Sede e gli Stati Baltici non cattolici: Lettonia ed Estonia. Problemi delle relazioni bilaterali e di identità nazionale"; Giorgio Del Zanna, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, "Santa Sede, Chiesa cattolica e identità nazionali nel Vicino Oriente dopo la caduta dell'Impero Ottomano"; Claude Prudhomme, Université Lumière Lyon 2—Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La «questione» delle Missioni: Benedetto XV e il ripensamento della strategia missionaria"; Mirosław Lenart, Università di Opole, "Monsignor Achille Ratti, Nunzio in Polonia e Visitatore apostolico in Russia"; Carlos Salinas Araneda, Pontificia Università di Valparaiso—Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La Santa Sede e l'America Latina dopo la Grande Guerra."

Third Session: Il contesto politico. Johan Ickx, Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato—Sezione Rapporti con gli Stati, "Monsignor Eugenio Pacelli dopo la Prima guerra mondiale"; Adriano Dell'Asta, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, "La nascita dell'Impero sovietico"; Massimo de Leonardis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, "Società delle Nazioni e Chiesa cattolica"; Emmanuel Tawil, Université Paris II Panthéon Assas—Corrispondente Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "Dallo spirito di rivincita all'emergere di un progetto politico europeo"; Rocco Buttiglione, Pontificia Accademia delle Scienze Sociali, "La nascita del Popolarismo cattolico in Europa."

Fourth Session: Il contesto religioso e sociale. Andrea Ciampani, Università LUMSA, Roma, "Santa Sede, Chiesa cattolica e questione sociale"; Gianpaolo Romanato, Università degli Studi di Padova—Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La Santa Sede e la Questione Romana"; Christian Sorrel, Université

Lyon 2—Corrispondente Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "La riconciliazione della Francia con i Cattolici"; Jan De Maeyer–Jan De Volder, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, "La Chiesa in Belgio dopo la Prima guerra mondiale (1918-1926): tra gli ideali del Cardinale Mercier e la dura realtà"; Pierantonio Piatti, Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, "Nuovi santi per un nuovo tempo: le canonizzazioni"; Emma Fattorini, «Sapienza» Università di Roma, "Devozione, pellegrinaggi e luoghi di memoria della Grande Guerra in Europa."

Fifth Session: Il contesto culturale e intellettuale. Aldo Mola, Università Libera di Bruxelles, "La Massoneria e il nuovo ordine del Mondo"; Damiano Palano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, "Il nuovo clima intellettuale cattolico"; Michel Fourcade, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, "I «grandi convertiti»"; Riccardo Burigana, Istituto di Studi Ecumenici, Venezia, "Costruire la pace insieme. Il movimento ecumenico, la Prima guerra mondiale e il mondo post-bellico."

Conclusion: András Fejérdy, Centro per le Ricerche Umanistiche dell'Accademia Ungherese delle Scienze, Istituto di Storia—Universitá Cattolica Péter Pázmány, Budapest.

On April 4–9, 2019, the University of Notre Dame's Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism will sponsor a conference on "Global History and Catholicism" at the Notre Dame Conference Center. This conference will explore the intersection between global history—arguably the most significant development in historical scholarship over the last generation—and the history of the Catholic Church, one of the world's most global institutions. Papers and panels will consider the ways in which globalism has shaped the Catholic Church, but also explore the impact of Catholic actors and entities on globalism from the late eighteenth century to the present. Jeremy Adelman, the Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at Princeton University, will deliver the keynote address for the conference. Adelman is in the process of writing a global history of Latin America.

Exhibition

"Love is the Measure: Photos of Dorothy Day and Catholic Worker Movement" by Vivian Cherry, an exhibition taking place under the sponsorship of the University of San Diego's Frances G. Harpst Center for Catholic Thought and Culture and the University Galleries from October 11–December 14, 2018. The exhibition is held on campus at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, Fine Art Galleries, 5998 Alcala Park San Diego, CA 92110.

Events related to the Exhibition include the appearance at its opening on October 11 of Dorothy Day's granddaughters, Kate and Martha Hennessy, to discuss their famous grandmother in the Mother Rosalie Hill Reading Room, Copley Library. At the same location, the following persons will share their views on Day and the Catholic Worker Movement: November 6, 2018, Jeff Dietrich, Los Angeles Catholic Worker; December 5, 2018: Patrick Jordan, former managing editor of the

Catholic Worker and former managing editor of *Commonweal*; and a date to be determined, Susan Dietrich and Patty Burns-Lynch, Philadelphia Catholic Worker.

FELLOWSHIPS

The Newberry's long-standing fellowship program provides outstanding scholars with the time, space, and community required to pursue innovative and ground-breaking scholarship. Fellows have access to the Newberry's wide-ranging and rare archival materials as well as to a lively, interdisciplinary community of researchers, curators, and librarians. Recipients are expected to advance scholarship in various fields, develop new interpretations, and expand understandings of the past.

Detailed information on available fellowships may be found by following the links below. For more information about the application process, visit How to Apply.

Long-Term Fellowships: Fellowships are available for four to nine months; applications must be submitted by 11:59 PM CST on November 1. These fellowships are generally available without regard to an applicant's place of residence and are intended to support significant works of scholarship that draw on the strengths of the Newberry's collection. Long-term fellowship residencies must take place primarily during the academic year (September through May).

Short-Term Fellowships: Fellowships are available for one to two months; applications must be submitted by 11:59 PM CST on December 15. These fellowships are intended to assist researchers who need to examine specific items in the Newberry's collection in order to advance a significant scholarly project. These fellowships are mainly restricted to individuals who live outside of the Chicago metropolitan area; for exceptions to these restrictions, please read the individual fellowship descriptions.

Publication Subvention: The Weiss-Brown Publication Subvention Award offers support to offset the publication costs of scholarly books on European civilization before 1700; applications must be submitted by 11:59 PM CST on December 15.

PERSONAL

On October 2, 2018, ACHA member Paul F. Grendler, University of Toronto emeritus, received the George E. Ganss, S.J. Award "recognizing exellence in scholarly contributions to the field of Jesuit Studies" from the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies of Boston College. He also delivered the Feore Family Lecture on Jesuit Studies.

PUBLICATIONS

An investigation of the end of pagan cults in Greco-Roman Antiquity is presented in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* for April–June, 2018 (Volume 235),

under the title "Un dieu peut-il mourir?" After an "Avant-propos" by Karin Mackowiak and Christian Stein (pp. 203–08) we find "Les discours chrétiens sur la «fin des cultes» publiées au Levant: l'argument des sanctuaires," by Nicole Belayche (pp. 209–32); "Fin des temples et fin des cultes à Ostie: une histoire complexe," by Françoise Van Haeperen (pp. 233–53); "Quelques réflexions méthodologiques sur les abandons de sanctuaires en Grèce antique," by Alaya Palamidis (pp. 255–73); "Raisons de l'abandon et du maintien de sanctuaires ruraux en Attique: quelques cas d'étude," by Lorenz Baumer (pp. 275–89); "Disparition de la dynastie, extinction du culte? Le cas des Lagides," by Perrine Kossmann (pp. 291–310); "Hagnon et Bresidas à Amphipolis: chronique d'une «fin de culte» annoncée?" by Karin Mackowiak (pp. 311–28); "La fin des cultes et des sanctuaires païens urbains en Belgique et en Lyonnaise (III^{e} s.—début du V^{e} s. apr. J.-C.)," by Blaise Pichon (pp. 329–51); and "La «barbarisation» de Poséidonia et la fin des cultes grecs à Paestum," by Michel Humm (pp. 353–72).

The *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* has devoted its issue for May, 2018 (Volume 22, Number 1) to the theme "Unfreundlichkeit und Polemik im Briefkorpus Augustins." The guest editors, Christof Müller and Christian Tornau, have provided an introduction (pp. 1–4), and Tornau has contributed the first article, "Formen und Funktionen in den Briefen Augustins: Versuch einer Klassifikation" (pp. 5–49). Five other articles follow: Danuta R. Shanzer, "Backwards in high heels: Detecting Epistolary Unfriendliness across the Abyss of Time" (pp. 50–70); Christopher Alexander Nunn, "Grußformeln als Medium der Polemik in Augustins Briefen" (pp. 71–90); Rafal Toczko, "The Ways of Ridiculing the Opponents in Augustine's Letters: The case of the Donatists" (pp. 91–109); Stanislaw Adamiak, "Unfriendly and polemical elements in Augustine's correspondence with other clerics" (pp. 110–24); and Ingo Schaaf, "Polemik, Unfreundlichkeit und Invektivität in den Briefen des Hieronymus am Beispiel der jovinianischen Kontroverse" (pp. 125–50).

"The papacy and communication in the central Middle Ages" is the theme of the articles published in the third number for 2018 (Volume 44) of the *Journal of Medieval History*, for which the guest editors are Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, William Kynan-Wilson, Gesine Oppitz-Trotman, and Emil Lauge Christensen. The introduction, "Framing papal communication in the central Middle Ages," is provided by Gerd Althoff, Fonnesberg-Schmidt, and Kynan-Wilson (pp. 251–60). The articles are: "Innocent III and the world of symbols of the papacy," by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (pp. 261–79); "Clothing as communication? Vestments and views of the papacy c. 1300," by Maureen C. Miller (pp. 280–93); "Visitor experiences: art, architecture and space at the papal curia c. 1200," by Fonnesberg-Schmidt (pp. 294–310); "Communication in a visual mode: papal apse mosaics," by Dale Kinney (pp. 311–32); "Ritual, what else? Papal letters, sermons and the making of crusaders," by Christophe T. Maier (pp. 333–46); "Subverting the message: Master Gregory's reception of and response to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*," by Kynan-Wilson (pp. 347–64); and "Roman soil and Roman sound in Irish hagiography," by Lucy Donkin (pp. 365–79).

Estudios Eclesiásticos in its issue for April, 2018 (Volume 93, Number 365) is the latest periodical to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation. Following a "Presentación" by the editor, Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao (pp. 275–77), are six articles: Rafael Lazcano, "La figura de Lutero en su contexto histórico" (pp. 279–333); Santiago Madrigal, S.J., "Variaciones históricas en la imagen católica y evangélica de Martín Lutero" (pp. 335–73); Adolfo González Montes, "¿Hacia una visión común de la Iglesia? La Iglesia en el diálogo católico-luterano" (pp. 375–98); Angelo Maffeis, "La declaración conjunta católica y luterana sobre la doctrina de la justificación" (pp. 399–416); Pablo Blanco Sarto, "La cena del Señor a la luz de los diálogos luterano-católicos" (pp. 417–453); and Pedro Zamora García, "La actualidad de la Reforma" (pp.455–80).

Five articles on the history of prayer, sacraments, and sacramentals are presented in the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for winter, 2018 (Volume 36): "Glowing with the Radiance of Heaven: Roman Martyrs, American Saints, and the Devotional World of Nineteenth-Century American Catholicism," by Michael S. Carter (pp. 1–26); "Sick Call Sets: Material Culture and the Sacraments of the Sick and Dying," by Sarah K. Nytroe (pp. 27–51); "'Feasts reach them all': The Role of the Liturgical Year in Advancing the United States Liturgical Movement, 1926–1959," by Katharine E. Harmon (pp. 53–77); "From Praiseworthy to Blameworthy: The Sacrament of Confession in Mid-Twentieth-Century America," by Maria C. Morrow (pp. 79–102); and "Adoration: Holy Hour Devotions and Millennial Twenty-first-Century Identity," by Katherine Dugan (pp. 103-27). The next issue (spring, 2018) is devoted to the history of the role of Catholics in athletics in various contexts: "Catholics and Sports in the United States: An Alternative Tradition," by Patrick S. J. Kelly (pp. 11–32); "Sport and the Assimilation of American Catholics," by Gerald R. Gems (pp. 33–54); "Professional Baseball's Emerald Era: Irish Catholics and Early Major League Baseball, 1880-1910," by David M. Campmier (pp. 55–73); "Becoming More Fully American: Georgetown, Notre Dame, and the Rise of Intercollegiate Athletics in Catholic Higher Education," by Richard Crepeau (pp. 75–100); and "Basketball, Nuns, and Civil Rights: Loyola University Chicago Confronts Race in 1963," by Robert Emmett Curran (pp. 141–68).

In its volume (84) for 2018 *Historical Studies*, "The Journal published by the Canadian Catholic Association," contains the following four articles: Mark G. McGowan, "Uncomfortable Pews: The Catholic Bishops and the Making of Confederation, A Reappraisal" (pp. 7–25); Kimberly Main, "Between Charity and Providence: Valued Virtues and Authorial Choices in Rewriting the Annals of the Ursulines of Quebec City, 1689" (pp. 26–47); Laura J. Smith, "'A parcel of bullies and a band of assassins': the lay occupation of York's St. Paul's and Irish Catholic participation in Upper Canadian popular political culture, 1832–3" (pp. 48–71); and Luca Codignola, "Rome and Ea Nrlyorth America: A Transatlantic Relationship of Love and Hate, 1783–1830" (pp. 72–86). There is also a "Research Note": Meredith Bacola, "'Through the intercession of the Apostle of their nation': the context of St Boniface's church dedication in the formation of the Archdioceses of St. Boniface and Winnipeg" (pp. 87–100). Bound together with the English sec-

tion is *Études d'histoire religieuse* for 2018 (also Volume 84), "Revue publiée par la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique," which contains the following five articles: Dominique Marquis, "Amitiés et communautés d'opinion: Le reseau de Jules-Paul Tardivel au service de *La Verité*" (pp. 5–24); Charles Mercier, "Les travaux consacrés au destin de la sociologie catholique du catholicisme en France: considérations introductives" (pp. 25–40); Dominique Laperle, "La réception de Vatican II à travers les lettres circulaires des supérieures générales de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal: 1959–1970" (pp. 41–60); Mireille Estivalèzes, "Les figures religieuses fondatrices du Québec dans les manuels scolaires de culture religieuse: entre mémoire et perte de sens" (pp. 61–74); and Marie-Pier Beauséjour, "Mort apprivoisée et mort inverse: l'exposition du corps au Québec à travers les chroniques nécrologiques (1975–2015)" (pp. 75–86).

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