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Saint Bernardino of Siena and Art: Preaching and Baptism in Tuscany

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This paper deals with the views of the Franciscan preacher Saint Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) on baptism and civic peace and the associations he created between art and baptism and preaching. The widespread building and decoration of baptisteries in Italy points to the civic importance of that ritual in Italian cities. There was a close connection between baptism and the sense of civitas: the sacrament of Christian initiation also served to introduce an individual into the Christian society of the city. Bernardino's emphasis on the relationship between baptism and civic peace followed a long-standing tradition in mendicant preaching. The present study has two major sections: it introduces Bernardino's views on the arts and then suggests correlations between his ideas on baptism and the artistic program of the fifteenth-century baptismal font in the Siena baptistery created by Lorenzo Ghiberti, Jacopo della Quercia, Donatello, and others. The central issues concern the way Bernardino referred to works of art as a way of making his sermons more approachable and graphic for his illiterate listeners and how his sermons may have influenced the decorative program for the baptismal font in the Sienese baptistery.

Key Words: Saint Bernardino of Siena, baptism, fonts, preaching, sermons

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In his Sienese sermons, the Franciscan preacher, Saint Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), compared administering the sacrament of baptism with fulfilling the vocation of preaching; and he declared that whereas every priest could perform a baptism, only the talented could undertake the calling of preaching. As an example, he talked about St. Paul, who preferred not to baptize believers but to devote his energy to preaching the Gospels.[1] Bernardino's intriguing comments serve to illuminate his perception of the relationship between preaching and baptism and suggest that he himself clearly favored sermonizing.

This paper discusses first the way Bernardino used visual imagery to communicate his political and religious ideals. It then turns to his views on baptism as related to good citizenship and the suppression of partisanship. Finally, it looks at the possible links between Bernardino's views and the design of the font in Siena's baptistery.[2] The article has two sections: it introduces Bernardino's views on the arts and then suggests the correlations between his ideas on baptism and the artistic program of the baptismal font in Siena baptistery created by Lorenzo Ghiberti, Jacopo della Quercia, Donatello, and others. The central issues concern the way Bernardino referred to works of art as a way of making his sermons more approachable and graphic for the illiterate listeners and how his sermons

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1. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, ed. Carlo Delcorno (Milan, 1989), II, 805–06: "[Pavolo] disse: *non misit me Dominus baptizare, sed evangelizare:* El Signore non ha mandato me perché io battezi, ma sì per predicare la sua parola; né mai voles attendere per essercizio a batteggiare, benché alcuno elli ne batteggiasse. . . . Tu vedi bene che ogni prite è atto a potere essere e sapere batteggiare, ma non ogni prete è atto a potere essere a sapere predicare."

2. On baptismal fonts, see Charles J. Wall, *Porches and Fonts* (London, 1912); Edmund Tyrell Green, *Baptismal Fonts: Classified and Illustrated* (London, 1928); Carol Cable, *Water and Baptismal Fonts through the Ages: A Bibliography of Scholarship Dealing with Stylistic, Design and Iconographic Aspects* (London, 1985); Folke Nordstrom, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts: An Iconological Study* (Umea, 1984); Harriet M. Sonne De Torrens, "De Fontibus Salvatoris: A Survey of 12th and 13th Century Baptismal Fonts," in: *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), 105–37; Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens and Miguel A. Torrens, eds., *The Visual Culture of Baptism in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Fonts, Settings and Beliefs* (Farnham, 2013); Annmaria Ducci and Marco Frati, eds., *Monumenta: Rinascere dalle acque: spazie formi del battesimo nella Toscana medievale* (Pisa, 2011); Amy Bloch, "Baptism, Movement, and Imagery at the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence," in: *Meaning in Motion: The Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art*, eds. Nino Zchomelidse and Giovanni Freni (Princeton, 2011), 149–51; Amy Bloch, "The Two Fonts of the Florence Baptistery and the Evolution of the Baptismal Rite in Florence," in: H. and M. Torrens, eds., *The Visual Culture of Baptism*, 77–104; Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "Nel mio bel San Giovanni, fatti per loco de' battezzatori: Baptismal Fonts in Tuscany," in: *Ibid.,* 11–30.

may have influenced the decorative scheme for the baptismal font in the Sienese baptistery.

The ritual purpose of baptismal fonts accounts for their formal appearance—and that should be viewed in regard to the prevailing social, political, and cultural milieu.[3] The importance of these structures is apparent from the splendor evident in many of those that have survived and by the eminence of the artists commissioned to design them. This article undertakes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of these baptismal fonts by combining historical analysis, sermon studies, and art history.[4] It first introduces Bernardino's views on the visual arts and his activities as a peacemaker and then discusses the parallels between his ideas and the baptismal font in Sienna. It suggests that Bernardino perceived baptism as an important civic ritual and as a symbol of reconciliation; then, on a more concrete level, it explores the notion that his theological views reflected specific parallels with the design of the Sienese baptismal font. That font was the first constructed in a novel way wherein a tabernacle was added to the traditional basin, which made a new visual and liturgical statement that linked the sacraments of the Eucharist and Baptism.

Bernardino began his activity as an itinerant preacher is 1417, but his most influential cycles in Siena were delivered in 1425 and 1427. The font was constructed in three stages between 1416 and 1431. The first phase, from 1416 to 1422, saw the preliminary discussions and plans drawn for the basic and simple design and the commissioning of the sculptures for the basin. In the second stage, which lasted from 1423 to 1427, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Giovanni Turni, and Donatello executed the reliefs. In the third and most innovative phase, 1427 to 1434, Jacopo della Quercia built the marble tabernacle and Donatello and Giovanni di Turni added the Virtues to the basin and the *putti* to the tabernacle. The latter was hexagonal in shape and included five reliefs of the prophets, a small bronze door, and six dancing *putti* in bronze; the monument itself was crowned with a sculpture of John the Baptist. The year 1427 saw Bernardino's most important

3. See Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, ed., *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (New York, 1990). This approach is exemplified in the work of Timothy Verdon, considering more closely the relationship between liturgy and preaching and the decoration of Renaissance churches.

4. See Timothy Verdon, "Parola, acqua, immagine e spazio: il pulpito e il fonte battesimale," in: *Il Duomo come libro aperto*, ed. Senio Bruschelli (Siena, 1998), 107–26; Timothy Verdon, "Pulpiti e fonti battesimali in Toscana," *Ibid*., 137–56; Timothy Verdon, "Verbum caro factum: Teologia, Spiritualità et Iconografia del Pulpito Istoriato," in: *Pulpiti Medievali Toscani: Storia e Restauri di Micro-Architetture*, ed. Daniela Lamberini (Florence, 1999), 17–29.

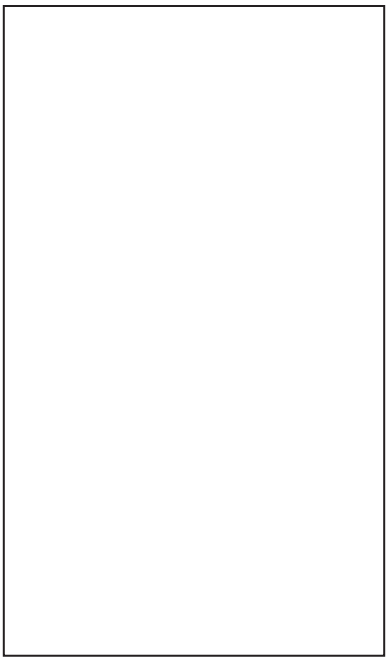

FIGURE 1. Sano di Pietro, *Sermon of San Bernardino in the Campo,* Siena Museo Capitolare (Photo: Author)

preaching cycle in Siena and was also a crucial time for the design and construction of the baptismal font, as it was then that the five reliefs and the construction of the tabernacle were completed.

Saint Bernardino of Siena: The Visual Arts and Peacemaking

Saint Bernardino of Siena was an important reformer of the Franciscan Observant Movement and an itinerant preacher, who spent his life moving around northern, central, and southern Italy.[5] Although he was often opposed, particularly by preachers from rival orders, he was generally admired and was declared a saint in 1450, only a few years after his death. As he devoted his life to preaching, Bernardino's literary legacy comprises his Latin sermons and Italian and Latin *reportationes*, most of which are now available in modern editions. His most famous cycles of sermons are

5. See Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (Philadelphia, 2005), 5–10, 28–37.

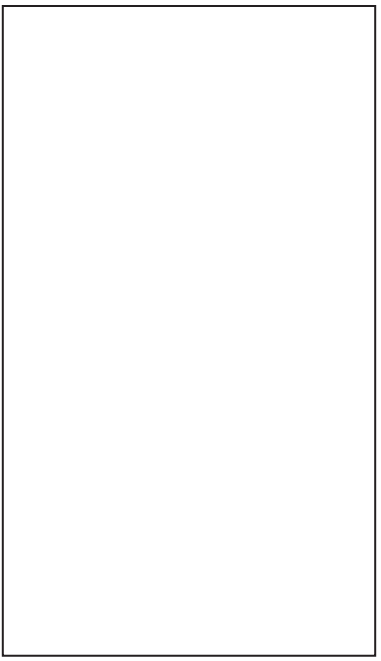

FIGURE 2. Sano di Piero, *Sermon of San Bernardino in the Piazza San Francesco*, Siena Museo Capitolare (Photo: Author)

the *quaresimale*, a series of sermons for each day of Lent, delivered in Florence in 1424 and 1425 and in Siena in 1425 and 1427 (Figs. 1 and 2).[6]

Bernardino's sermons relied on visual imagery to convey his moral and theological messages.[7] For his famous new devotion to the "Holy Name of

6. On Bernardino da Siena's preaching techniques see Carlo Delcorno, "L'ars praedicandi di Bernardino da Siena," in: *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano* (Siena, 1980), 419–49; Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1999), 21–29.

7. Creighton Gilbert has published an anthology of translated passages that detail religious views of the arts in the Renaissance. See Creighton E. Gilbert, *Italian Art, 1400–1500: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: 1980), 145–59. See also the Italian version of the anthology, Creighton E. Gilbert, *L'arte del Quattrocento nelle testimonianze contemporanea* (Florence, 1988). See also Gilbert's study, "The Archbishop on the Painters of Florence, 1450," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 75–87, giving the views of Archbishop Antoninus (1389–1459) on the arts as they appear in his *Summa Theologica.* On Antoninus' perceptions of art, see also Fredrick Hartt, *A History of Italian Renaissance Art* (London, 1970, rev. 1980); Peter Howard,

Jesus" (*Il Nome del Gesù*), he designed a tablet (a *tavoletta*) with the letters IHS surrounded by rays of light against a blue background, which was based on a symbol that had mystical origins in the thought of earlier Franciscans. The monogram was a useful tool for helping the preacher in his efforts to achieve civic peace in the Italian city. He exhibited it during his sermons in the hope that it would lead his audiences to brotherhood. Bernardino also introduced a devotion centered on this monogram, which led his opponents to accuse him of heresy. His most prominent critic was the Augustinian friar Andrea Biglia, who wrote a book about Bernardino in which he warned against the devotion's dangers and claimed that Bernardino advocated ideas associated with magic to enhance his influence on simple people.[8]

Bernardino devoted entire sermons to promoting the devotion, and these were generally followed by an outpouring of people kissing the monogram, weeping, and hugging one another:

> Having said so, Friar Bernardino, ardent in the love of the Holy Spirit and of Jesus . . . pulled out a *tavoletta* about the size of an arm, on every side of which *Il Nome del Gesù* was figured against a blue background, with the letters [of the name] inside rays of gold. All the people in the church, kneeled and uncovered their heads, and cried with the tenderness of [their] love for Jesus, and with great devotion adored and worshipped it.[9]

In his sermons, Bernardino justified the creation of the tablet and his use of visual images to evoke devotion. He explained that there are three ways of coming to know God: the first is *figurale*, through the painted images by which the simple people could believe; the second is *letterale*, through books and letters by which the learned might believe; and the third and highest is the mental recognition achieved through intuition. The visual image, he said, could convince people to believe; but he warned his listeners against adoring figures because of their colors and their gold, rather than for what they signified. Yet art was very useful as the visual

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Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus 1427–1459 (Florence, 1995), 2–3.

8. On Bernardino's cult of *Il Nome del Gesù*, see Daniel Arasse, "Entre dévotion et hérésie: la tablette de Saint Bernardin ou le secret d'un prédicateur," *Res* 28 (1995), 118–39.

9. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—uaresimale Fiorentino del 1424*, vol. 2, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi (Pistoia, 1934), 213–14: "Detto questo frate Bernardino, ardente d'amore di Spirito Santo e dell'amore di Gesù . . . cavò fuori una tavoletta di circa a uno braccio per ogni verso e in essa figurato el nome di Gesù nel campo azzurro, con uno razzo d'oro con lettere intorno. Tutto el popolo, che era piena la chiesa, inginocchione, senza nulla in capo, tutti piangendo di tenerezza dell'amore di Gesù, e per grande divozione adorandola e reverendolo."

image might have well helped viewers remember Mary and the other saints, all of whom could move them to true love: "He who does not know how to read well, when he sees a painted figure, recognizes it and reads it in a manner in which he can read."[10]

In this approach, Bernardino reiterated ecclesiastic traditional views that considered art a useful tool for educating the illiterate. The Church had an ambiguous attitude toward the fine arts. There was suspicion that the arts were a form of idolatry, while at the same time, there was recognition of their merits as a didactic tool to instruct the ignorant. Pope Gregory I (r. 590–604) defended this religious stance.[11] In the High Middle Ages, there was a growing concern that people might direct their prayers to the actual works of art instead of to the saint or holy figure depicted there. In the view of Thomas Aquinas (1226–74): "Religion does not offer worship to images considered as mere things in themselves but as images drawing us to God incarnate. Motion to an image does not stop there at the image but goes on to the thing it represents." Other views appear in the *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus (d.1298), which was popular in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. Accordingly, an image had three functions: the first was to instruct the ignorant and the illiterate, the second was to keep alive the memory of the mysteries of the faith and the examples of the saints, and the third was to act as a means of inspiring devotion.[12] These traditional opinions heavily influenced the views of fifteenth-century Italian preachers.

Preachers' use of the arts was grounded in their perceptions of their vocation. Preaching is a mode of communication between a charismatic individual and his audience, a means of delivering a religious message to them. The preacher's task is to guide his listeners in religious matters and in their lives; he wishes to popularize his religious ideals aiming to convince them to repent.[13]

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10. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, vol. 1, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi (Florence, 1958): 195: "Figurale si è dipintura; letterale, mentale. La dipintura si è per genti grosse; vuolselo fare riverenza. Uno dubio si muove, se si debbano adorare le figure, le quali ànno più cose: azzuro, oro e colori. Tu non puoi errare a far lo' riverenza, come tu debbi per lo significato che ti rappresenta, però che se è Maria, vedendola, te ne ricordi; così d'uno altro santo, però che ti fanno muovere al vero amore. . . . Chi non sa leggiare, pure, quando vede dipenta una figura conosce e legge in quello modo che può leggiare."

11. For a survey of the Church's traditional perceptions of the fine arts, see Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy, 1350–1500* (Oxford, 1997), 133–66.

12. Welch, *Art and Society,* 137–38.

13. The literature on the complex role of preachers and on the nature of medieval sermons is vast. For a useful survey of the relevant studies, see Phyllis Roberts, "Sermon Studies

The preacher's use of the arts in his preaching depends on various moral and pragmatic considerations: whether art is in accordance with theology, whether it is good for the Christian soul, whether from a pragmatic perspective works of art are useful as didactic instruments and transmit a religious message in an instructive manner. A preacher might view art negatively, seeing artists as rivals and fearing the dangers in art; or he might be aware of the surrounding artistry of his preaching location and allude to works of art in his sermons. Bernardino preached according to the rules of the *sermo modernus*, a traditional literary genre with fixed rules and a stylistic heritage. Within this traditional frame, a preacher could integrate references to works of art whose images and stories (*exempla*) were intended to arouse delight and interest (*dilitatio*).[14] One should believe in what a picture represents, he said in another sermon, and its meaning in eternity.[15] Bernardino's sermons should be evaluated in the context of a growing interest in the interrelationship of art, performance, and preaching.[16] An especially stimulating subfield links preaching with art and verbal and visual culture, and Rusconi has been exploring the iconography of preachers in Italian art.[17] Another approach is to examine a theme that appears in both sermons and in works of art, as Katherine Jansen does in her book on the image of Mary Magdalen in the later Middle Ages.[18]

Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 43 (1999), 9–19; Anne T. Thayer, "Medieval Sermon Studies since the Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014), 12–29. See also David D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985); Carlo Delcorno, *La predicazione nell'età communale* (Florence, 1974); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "The Typology of the Medieval Sermon and Its Development in the Middle Ages," in: *De l'Homélie au sermon: Histoire de la Prédication Médiévale*, eds. Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), 83–102; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Preaching as a Touchstone of Orthodoxy and Dissidence in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 43 (1999), 19–54; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon* (Turnhout, 2000); Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 1998); Roberto Rusconi, *Predicazione e vita religiosa nella società italiana da Carlo Magno alla Controriforma* (Turin, 1981).

14. On the distinctions among collections of sermons, see Louis Jacques Bataillon, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," *Leeds Studies in English* 11 (1980), 19–35.

15. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, vol. 1, 118: "E così della figura dipenta, adora quello che ti dimostra e significa, che è in vita eterna."

16. On preaching and art, see Charles Carman, *Leon Battista and Nicholas Cusanus: Towards an Epistemology of Vision for Italian Renaissance Art and Culture* (Farnham, 2014), 83–111; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven, 2007), 183–96.

17. See Roberto Rusconi, *Immagini dei predicatori e della predicazione in Italia alla fine del Medioevo* (Spoleto, 2016).

18. See Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000).

Michael Baxandall highlights the significance of preaching for understanding Italian Renaissance art, contending: "Sermons were a very important part of the painter's circumstances: preacher and picture were both part of the apparatus of a church, and each took notice of the other."[19] A challenging task is to address directly the connections between verbal and visual rhetoric. In *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from Its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena*, Lina Bolzoni studies the links between the Renaissance art of memory and the strategies of medieval preaching and explores the relationship between several different works of art and the rhetoric of preaching.[20] Peter Howard relates to the complex interactions between art and preaching in Renaissance Florence, and Pietro Delcorno writes at length on performance and preaching in Italy and their relation to visual culture.[21]

Bernardino's most original approach to the use of art in preaching was that he described specific artworks in his sermons. Referencing works of art was an integral part of his philosophy and practice of preaching. He is well-known for his innovative and original use of colorful *exempla* within the framework of the *sermo modernus*, which included attractive narratives, imaginative stories, charming images, and descriptions of works of art. His philosophy of preaching was that the preacher's essential aim should be clarity of speech: "I tell you it is important to say and preach the doctrine of Christ in a mode that everyone will understand. Our preaching must be intelligible. Do you know how? To speak clearly, clearly, so whoever listens, will go his way contented and illuminated and not confused."[22] On

19. See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford, 1988), 48; Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (Oxford, 1985); Michael Baxandall, *Words for Pictures* (New Haven, 2003).

20. See Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini: Predicazione in volgare dalla origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin, 2002); Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena*, trans. Carole Preston and Lisa Chien (Farnham, 2004).

21. See Peter Howard, "The Aural Space of the Sacred in Renaissance Florence," in: Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, eds., *Renaissance Florence: A Social History* (New York, 2006), 376–93; Peter Howard, "'The Womb of Memory': Carmelite Liturgy and the Frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel," in: *The Brancacci Chapel: Form, Function and Setting*, ed. Nicholas Eckstein (Florence, 2007), 177–206; Peter Howard, "The Language of Dives and Lazarus: Preaching Generosity and Almsgiving in Renaissance Florence," *I Tatti Studies* 23.1 (2020), 33–51; Pietro Delcorno, "'We Have Been Made for Learning': The Fifteenth Century Florentine Religious Play *Lazero ricco e Lazero povero* as a Sermon in the Form of Theatre," in: *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Turnhout, 2014), 65–98; Pietro Delcorno, *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son: The Pastoral Uses of a Biblical Narrative (c. 1200–1550)* (Leiden, 2016).

22. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 144: "Io dico che a voi bisogna dire e predicare la dottrina di Cristo per modo che ognuno la intenda . . .

another occasion, he explained: "The art of speaking is the highest in the heavens and beyond the stars . . . but it is the language of men, meaning that speech should be clear, understood by everyone. Therefore those speakers or preachers should not be condemned who in order to demonstrate lofty ideas to us, do so with unrefined and folksy tales, since this is the art of speaking clearly."[23] Bernardino's use of artworks in his sermons was another rhetorical device to help convey his religious message in a more efficacious way.

The most common references to works of art appear in the sermons Bernardino delivered in Siena in 1425 and 1427. For example, he noted that he had visited the image of the Virgin Mary in the painting of her Assumption on the Porta Camollia every day, as he could not sleep at night without seeing her face. Often, he introduced the setting of his preaching events into his sermons, describing the works of art in the Duomo (Cathedral) or in the Palazzo Pubblico (Communal Palace) in the Piazza del Campo—the places where he spoke. He gave his listeners tours of the Palazzo Pubblico; of the Sala dei Nove, the room of the Council of Nine; and of the Sala del Gran Consiglio (Mappamondo room, the Hall of the Great Council) and described the paintings of the fourteenth-century Sienese masters Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Simone Martini in detail and with a keen eye.[24]

Bernardino used art as didactic tool and as a way to interest his audiences and lead them toward devotion. An engaging example is the altarpiece of the Annunciation depicted by Simone Martini, which was originally in the Cathedral. Bernardino referred to this beautiful painting to encourage young girls to be modest:

> You see she [the Virgin] does not gaze at the angel but sits with that almost frightened pose. She knew well it was an angel, so why should she be disturbed? What would she have done if it had been a man? Take her

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elli bisogna che 'l nostro dire sia inteso. Sai come? Dirlo chiarozzo chiarozzo, acciò che chi ode, ne vada contento e illuminato, e none imbarbagliato."

23. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1425*, vol. 1, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi (Florence, 1940), 263: "L'arte de' dicitori si è le cose alte de' cieli e delle stelle . . . però dice: con lingua d'uomini, cioè ch'ella sia sì chiara parlatura, ch'ella sia intesa da tutti gli uomini; e però non sono da biasimare i dicitori e predicatori che, per mostrarti le cose alte di sopra a noi, il faccino con essempli grossi e palpabili, che quella è l'arte del dire ben chiaro."

24. See Enzo Carli, "Luoghi ed opere d'arte senesi nelle prediche di Bernardino del 1427," in: *Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo: Atti del Convegno* (Todi, 1976), 155–82.

> as an example, girls, of what you should do. Never talk to a man unless your father or mother is present.[25]

Bernardino related to the Virgin as portrayed there as a model of chastity and modesty, which the girls should imitate. On other occasions, he elaborated on other works of art located in Siena's principal churches and public buildings. He talked about the Lorenzetti's paintings, now almost entirely lost, that were hung in the chapter house of the Convento di Santo Agostino in Siena. He referred to the four winds (*venti*) shown in the frescoes, which provided a stylistic device that separated the parts of his sermon.[26] Elsewhere, he discussed the world map, now nearly illegible, painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti for the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico and remarked on the greatness of Italy.[27]

The most common references to visual images in Bernardino's sermons were his allusions to Lorenzetti's frescoes in the Sala dei Nove, the meeting hall of the Council of the Sienese Republic in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, painted in 1338–1340.[28] The layout of the Sala dei Nove was as follows: Turning one's back to the window, one found on the left the fresco *War/Allegory of Bad Government and Its Effects*, which depicts scenes

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25. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 870: "Vedi ch' ella non mira l'Angiolo; anco sta con uno atto quasi pauroso. Ella sapeva bene ch' elli era Angiolo: che bisognava ch'ella si turbasse? Che arebbe fatto se fusse stato uno uomo! Pigliane essemplo, Fanciulla, di quello che tu debbi fare tu. Non parlare mai a uomo, che non vi sia tuo padre o tua madre presente." The translation is from Gilbert, *Italian Art*, 147. The painting of the Annunciation is from 1333; Simone Martini painted the altarpiece of *S. Ansano nel Duomo*, which is today in the Uffizi.

26. Bernardino da Siena, *Predicazione del 1425*, vol. 1, 42–43: "E sai quali sono questi venti? Io tel vo' dire, e ricordomi che già li vidi nel Capitolo di Santo Augustino, et è buono tempo che io li vidi." See also Bernardino, *Prediche 1427*, vol. 1, 132: "Sai come è colassù a Santo Augustino in Capitolo quelle dipenture con quelli quatro venti da quatro parti, e quali so' questi quatro venti ch'io ti dico." One fresco of the Virgin and Child with Saints survives in the former chapter house, now the Cappella Piccolomini. See also the note provided by Delcorno (n. 133).

27. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, ed. Delcorno, vol. 2, 1145: "Doh, dimmi: hai tu veduta Italia come ella sta nel Lappamondo? Or ponvi mente: ella sta proprio come uno ventre." See also the note 41 provided by Delcorno.

28. On the Lorenzetti frescoes, see Chiara Frugoni, *Una lontana città: Sentimenti e immagini nel Medioevo* (Turin, 1983), 136–210; Nicolai Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the *Palazzo Pubblico*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 21 (1959), 179–207; Randolph Starn, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Palazzo Pubblico—Siena* (New York, 1994); Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "War and Peace: The Description of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in St. Bernardino's Sermons in Siena 1425," *Renaissance Studies,* 15. 3 (2001), 272–86.

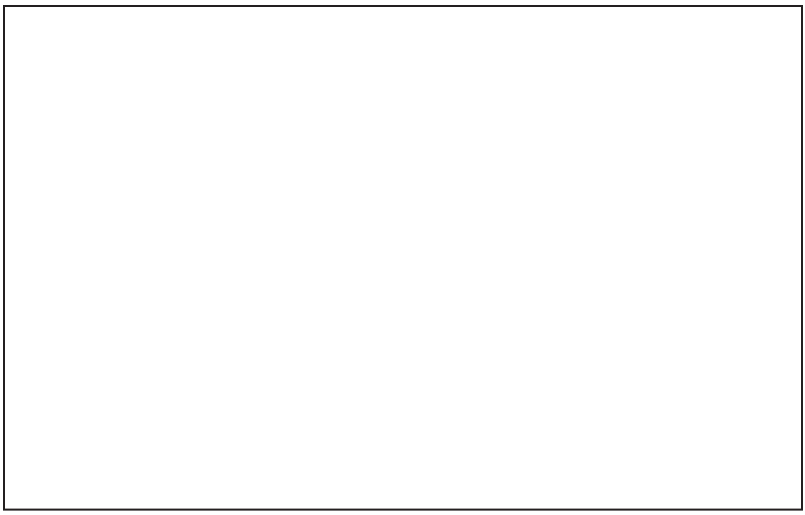

FIGURE 3. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Sala dei Nove* (Photo: Author)

of destruction and violence, the reign of fire and death over city and country.[29] On the far wall was the *Allegory of Good Government*, with allegorical representations of the Virtues. On the wall to the right was *Peace* or the *Effects of Good Government*, showing scenes reflecting calm and prosperity (Fig. 3).

Bernardino's references to these works of art were sometimes brief and vague,[30] and his allusions were sometimes very general, for instance: "You have [seen] here, painted above in your Palazzo, images of peace that are a delight to observe. And thus too it is a darkness to see war painted on the other side."[31] But he also alluded to specific figures, such as the portrayal of Charity in the fresco *Peace* or of Tyranny in the fresco *War*, or even

29. The present condition of the fresco *War/ Bad Government* is particularly poor, which may explain why this painting has not received more critical attention from modern scholars.

30. Bernardino's allusions to these images are discussed by Delcorno in his introduction to the 1427 edition of Bernardino's sermons. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 21–22, and the detailed notes in this critical edition.

31. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 1254, n. 211: "Doh, voi l'avete dipenta di sopra nel vostro Palazzo, che a vedere la Pace dipenta è una allegreza. E così è una scurità a vedere dipenta la Guerra dall'altro lato." The translation is from Gilbert, *Italian Art*, 147.

quoted directly from the inscription under Justice that appeared in *Peace*.[32] He spoke about buildings destroyed, vines burned down, and trees on fire, based on the episodes shown on the fresco *War* and praised the prosperity of agriculture and trade as seen in *Peace*. He used these colorful allusions to demonstrate the benefits of peace and the evil consequences of war.[33]

The most comprehensive account of these artworks appears in the sermon "Concord and Unity That We Must Have Together," which he delivered in Siena in 1425 in the context of a peace ceremony, when he commented on the frescoes hoping to convince his audience to reconcile and restore civic peace to the city:

> Second. The destruction and waste of war. When I was outside of Siena, and preached about peace and war, I reflected on the beautiful inventiveness of the [frescoes *Peace* and *War*] that you painted. When I turn to peace, I see commercial activity; I see dances, I see houses being repaired; I see vineyards and fields being cultivated and sown, I see people going to the baths, on horses, I see girls going to marry, I see flocks of the sheep, etc. And I see a man being hanged in order to maintain holy justice. And for this [reason] everyone lives in holy peace and concord. On the other hand, when I turn to the other [fresco], I do not see commerce; I do not see dances, [I see] killing; no houses are being repaired, [they are] damaged and burnt; the fields are not being cultivated; the vineyards are cut down; there is no sowing, the baths are not used nor [are there] other delights, I do not see anyone going out. Oh women! Oh men! The man is dead, the woman raped, the herds are prey [to predators]; men treacherously kill one another; Justice lies on the ground, her scales

32. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427,* vol. 1, 311, n. 76: "In ogni modo che tu parli, fa' che sempre tu parli con carità. . . . E come vedi che l'amore si dipegna tutto focoso perché è caldo. . . ." Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 504, n. 150: "Sai che ci è detto per bocca di Dio di questi diavoli incarnati, che non vogliono il ben vivere, ma il tirannesco vivare, ognuno a furare e sforzare chi eglino possono?" Bernardino alluded to the figure of Tyranny that appears in *War* and *Peace.* For the inscription attached to the figure of Justice, see Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427,* vol. 1, 710, n. 2: "Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram": "love justice you who rule the earth," the *thema* of the sermon.

33. For scenes from *War*, see Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427,* vol. 1, 670, n. 132: "Io n'ho veduti tanti danni! Arse case, sì nelle città e sì nel contado, che quasi non è rimasto niuna in luogo etc., e le vigne tagliate, bosci e selve arse, insino alle chiese; menato via il bestiame, consumate le ricchezze grandissime per lo mantenere le guerre." For scenes from *Peace*, see Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 978–79, n. 123: "Solo per la pace che tu hai auta le vigne so' state lavorate e hai del vino in abondanzia. Simile, i poderi per lo lavorare t'hanno renduto del grano in abondanza e dell'altra biada. Perché si so' lavorate? Pure per la pace che voi avete auta. El bestiame che tu hai tanto multiplicato, che n'è stato cagione? Pure la pace."

> broken, she is bound, her hands and legs are bound. And everything is done with fear.[34]

In this passage, Bernardino focused on the *Peace* and *War* frescoes completely ignoring the third one, the *Allegory of Good Government*, perhaps because he considered it less relevant to his sermon's message in which he was advocating civic peace in the city. He started with a meticulous account of *Peace*, which shows people engaging in trade, farmers working in the fields, young people dancing in a circle, and nobles going to the baths (a fashionable leisure-time activity in that society). His reference to "girls going to marry" fosters the speculation of scholars that a wedding procession was depicted in the lower-left-hand corner of the fresco; such a portrayal would have been typical of the preacher's support of marriage and his campaign to encourage domestic life in the Tuscan towns.[35] Bernardino then drew his audience's attention to the small hanged man attached to the figure of Security depicted above the city, who appeared to hold the gallows in his hand. His emphasis on the hanged man is in line with his repeated statements that criminals should be dealt with severely to keep the peace. This minor figure conveys his message of cruel justice.

Focusing on the opposite wall, Bernardino offered a series of juxtapositions between *War* and *Peace*. His repetitions "I do not see" in the quote above resonate with modern scholars' stress on the negative correlations between the two frescoes. His rhetorical call, "Oh women! Oh men!" riv-

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34. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari—Siena 1425*, vol. 2, 266–67: "Secondo. Distruzione e consumazione de la guerra. Io ò considerato quando so' stato fuore di Siena, e ò predicato de la pace e de la guerra che voi avete dipenta, che per certo fu bellissima inventiva. Voltandomi a la pace, vego le mercanzie andare atorno; vego balli, vego racconciare le case; vego lavorare vigne e terre, seminare, andare a' bagni, a cavallo, vego andare le fanciulle a marito, vego le grege de le pecore etc. E vego impicato l'uomo per mantenere la santa giustizia. E per queste cose, ognuno sta in santa pace e concordia. Per lo contrario, voltandomi da l'altra parte, non vego mercanzie; non vego balli, anco vego uccidare altrui; non s'acconciano case, anco si guastano e ardono; non si lavora terre; le vigne si tagliano, non si semina, non s'usano a bagni nè altre cose dilettevoli' non vego se no' quando si va di fuore. O donne! O uomini! L'uomo morto, la donna sforzata, non armenti se none in preda; uomini a tradimento uccidare l'uno l'altro; la giustizia stare in terra, rotte le bilance' e lei legata, co' le mani e co' piedi legati. E ogni cosa che altro fa, fa con paura." The description appears in Bernardino's thirtieth sermon in the 1425 *quaresimale*. See also Carlo Delcorno, "La città nella predicazione Francescana del Quattrocento," in: *Alle origini dei Monti dei Pietà: i Francescani fra etica ed economia nella societa del tardo medioevo: studi in occasione delle celebrazioni nel 5. centenario della morte del Beato Michele Carcano (1427–1484) fondatore del Monte di Pieta di Bologna* [Quaderni del Monte, 3] (Bologna, 1984), 33–34.

35. For Bernardino's campaign to promote marriage and family life, see David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families* (New Haven, 1985), 228–31, 250–53.

eted his listeners' attention and connected them to the figures depicted there. He then talked about the impact of war as illustrated in the fresco: the violence of rape, murder, and betrayal. He then pointed to the bound figure of Justice, her scales broken, which appeared below Tyranny and the Vices on the right-hand side of the painting. He concluded with the thought that when Justice becomes powerless, the result is war.[36]

Bernardino then returned to the Lorenzetti frescoes to show, vividly and convincingly, the advantages of peace and the dangers of war. This depiction was a most effective way to point out the great harm inflicted on the city by the battles between its factions. He was known in his times as a professional peacemaker, one who continued the mendicant tradition of promoting civic peace in the Italian cities.[37] According to the biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, "[He] made peace where there had been mortal enmity. He pacified rulers, and cities, and people. He thought of nothing else than the restoration of good will."[38]

Internal problems and civic turmoil pervaded fifteenth-century life in Siena and the Sienese municipal authorities asked Bernardino to come to the city to preach about civic peace and perform reconciliation ceremonies. He went to Siena in 1425 and 1427 after preaching peace to great crowds in other central and northern Italian cities starting in 1417.[39] Events that pointed to internal unrest had been occurring in Siena well before Bernardino's arrival. By the second half of the fourteenth century, five factions, or *monti*, had played leading roles in Sienese politics: the Grandi (or Gentiluomini), the Dodici, the Nove, the Riformatori, and the Popolari. The Dodicis ruled from 1355 to 1368, after which they remained partners in the coalition government until 1403. In November 1403, three of Siena's five factions started a rebellion against the government that ended with many exiles and the permanent exclusion of the Dodici from public

36. Bernardino's emphasis on justice was noted by Delcorno, *La Città*, 33–34.

37. On Bernardino's role as a peacemaker, see Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *Peace and Penance in Late Medieval Italy* (Princeton, 2018); Cynthia Louise Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: San Bernardino and His Audience* (Washington, DC, 2000).

38. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century*, tr. William George Waters and Emily Waters (New York, 1963), 165. For the original Italian, see Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Vita di San Bernardino," in: Bernardino da Siena, *Operette volgari*, ed. Dionisio Pacetti (Florence, 1938).

39. On the Sienese political situation, see William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine. 1287–1355* (Berkeley, 1981); Mario Ascheri, *Siena nel Rinascimento* (Siena, 1985); William Caferro, *Mercenary Companies and the Decline of Siena* (Baltimore and London, 1998).

office. The prelude to Bernardino's coming to Siena was new unrest and dissatisfaction with the unfortunate position of the Dodici. On December 26, 1426, a member of the Nove faction was beheaded because he had dealings with the exiles and was suspected of supporting the return of the Dodici. The execution caused a great deal of anger and by the time that Bernardino arrived in Siena in mid-August of the following year, there was serious unrest in the city. The government passed a resolution to work with the preacher to restore civic peace and reconciliation among the parties and to help promote stability and social concord.[40]

As Bernardino had lived in Siena before joining the Franciscan order, his involvement in Sienese politics was greater there than in other cities. He also manifested enormous civic pride, which was evident when he praised the glory of the frescoes "you have painted," relating to them as masterpieces of the city rather than as the creations of particular artists. The sermon entitled "The Concord and Unity That We Must Have Together" was basically an attempt to bring peace to Siena. It included a description of the peace ceremony that was to follow the preaching. Bernardino sent his female listeners to be reconciled in the Chiesa di Santo Martino and the men to the Duomo. The women had to enter the church from one side and exit from the other as a sign of peace. The description of the frescoes, then, was part of a sermon designed to achieve unity that culminated in a ritual.[41]

Saint Bernardino of Siena and Baptism

The magnificent fifteenth-century baptismal font in Siena's baptistery evokes the correlation between Bernardino's religious values and the visual arts in Siena. Although there are no archival documents attesting to his direct involvement in the construction of the font, this article suggests that his activity as a peacemaker was associated with the emphasis on baptism as a civic ritual that fostered concord and harmony, which turned the baptismal font into an important civic icon. On a more specific level, the idea

40. On the political developments in Siena, see Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, 84–125.

41. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari—Siena 1425*, vol. 2, 262–63: "Quando voi vi partite di qui, io vi prego e vi comando, se io vi posso comandare, che tutti, per l'amore di Dio e per santa carità, voi perdoniate a tutti e vostri nemici, e che voi vi riconciliate insieme, e non rimanga nè donna, nè uomo, nè piccolo, nè grande, che non perdoni liberamente, magnanimamente a tutti coloro che t'ànno offeso. E se fusse niuno che non potesse trovare colui col quale à l'odio, vada in segno di volere perdonare, al Duomo, a l'altare, e poi, quando trovarà el suo avversario, facci pace co' lui e perdoni l'uno a l'altro. E a voi, donne, tutte andate costì a la chiesa di santo Martino, e intrate dall'una parte e uscite da l'altra, in segno che voi perdoniate a ogni persona."

of joining the tabernacle and the basin in this monument and thus the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist was clearly grounded in Bernardino's theological perceptions.

According to Bernardino, it is through baptism that the believer is freed from original sin and can be saved: baptism is a doorway that leads to the other sacraments and to paradise.[42] Florence's baptistery epitomizes the preacher's perception. Ghiberti's doors for the east portal were what Michelangelo called the Gate of Paradise (Porta del Paradiso). The phrase referred both to the beauty of the doors as well as to the meaning of the baptistery building itself as the gateway to the next world.[43] The sacrament of baptism was also associated with Bernardino on another level. Immediately after his death, citizens in Siena began naming their sons after him, a special honor that clearly spoke of the Sienese' affection for the preacher. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber explains that the concern for bringing familial tradition and respect for the saints together clearly influenced the choice of the name conferred upon the newborn child and reflected the need to affirm his political and civic identity.[44]

In a sermon entitled "Against Guelfs and Ghibellines and Other Divisions and Parties," Bernardino particularly related to the local flavor of the St. John the Baptist cult in Tuscany. In a humorous vein, he declared: "Here [in Florence], there are those who say that St. John is a Guelf and those who claim that he is a Ghibelline." In this case, Bernardino was alluding to St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence, as participating in the city's political tensions.[45] In his sermons, Bernardino declared that St. John the Baptist held a place of honor next to the Virgin Mary in importance.[46] In a sermon on marriage, "Del Pigliare Moglie e del Pericolo di stare senze," he emphasized the mutual love and the bond between St. John and Christ,

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42. See Terje Oestigaard, *An Archaeology of Hell: Fire, Water and Sin in Christianity* (Lindome, 2003); Lois Jean Drewer, "Fisherman and Fishpond: From the Sea of Sins to the Living Water," *Art Bulletin*, 63:4 (1981), 533–47; Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150* (Cambridge, 1993); John Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (London, 1965).

43. See Eloise M. Angiola, "'Gates of Paradise' and the Florentine Baptistery," *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 242–48.

44. Christine Klapisch-Zuber, "Children's First Names in Italy during the Late Middle Ages," *The Medieval History Journal,* 2:1 (1999), 37–54.

45. See Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari–Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1425*, vol. 3, 100: "Chi dice che santo Giovanni è guelfo, e chi dice che è ghibellino. . . ."

46. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1425*, vol. 2, 198: "Già saranno stati in cielo, la gloriosa vergine Maria gli sarà dal lato diritto; san Giovanni Battista e gli apostolic suoi."

both of whom were preachers who enjoyed the people's abiding affection.[47] In a sermon on the incarnation of Christ, Bernardino highlighted the relationship between St. Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary and the birth of St. John the Baptist and lauded St. John for supporting Christ.[48]

Bernardino devoted an entire sermon to the sacred sacrament of baptism (Del Sagramento del santo battesimo).[49] He stressed the significance of the rite for the salvation of the individual soul and its crucial importance. He raised several difficulties in connection with baptism such as was the baptism considered valid if the words of the rite changed and stressed the importance of using the correct words. He explained that the words and the pouring of the water had to be enacted at the same time. A further requirement for a successful baptism was that the priest had to have the right intention and speak the words with a sincere heart. He noted again that the priest had to use the exact phrase: "Io ti battezzo" (I baptize you) as a requirement for a proper baptism. It was forbidden to add the names of saints to the ritual, as one was required to adhere to the original words.

Bernardino then explained that the baptism of Jews or Saracens who want to convert in times of need and under special circumstances is allowed, if performed by a true Christian. At other times, only an ordained priest can perform the act. Even a sinful priest may do so if he is ordained and has the authority. Another case is when one wants to baptize one's child and the priest asks for money: if the money is for the water it is allowed, yet if it is for performing the sacrament of baptism it is forbidden. It was not allowed to sell the act of baptism, only to pay for the water. Bernardino concluded the sermon stressing the importance of baptism for salvation.[50]

In his Sienese cycle of Lenten sermons for 1427, Bernardino returned to the importance of the act of baptism and to the centrality of St. John the Baptist.[51] In one sermon, he indicated that baptized infants are absolved of

47. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1425*, vol. 3, 34–35: "Vedi l'assemplo di Cirsto Gesù e di santo Ioanni Battista quanto smisurato amore fra l'uno e l'altro. Santo Ioanni cominciò prima a predicare che Christo. E santo Ioanni il mostrò a ditto alle turbe."

48. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1425*, vol. 3, 123–24.

49. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1424*, vol. 2, 124–37.

50. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1424*, vol. 2, 135–37.

51. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 673–75.

original sin.[52] In another, he explained that it is important to perform the act of baptism in the name of Christ and referred to the criticism that he was subject to from the opponents of the cult of Il Nome del Gesù. In the same sermon, he indicated, as he did on numerous other occasions, that baptizing an infant included renouncing Satan and the temptations of the flesh.[53] In a sermon in which Bernardino paid special attention to St. John the Baptist, he talked about the people's clothing and lauded St. John, who wore a garment of camel's hair, as opposed to the priests who wore expensive attire.[54] In another sermon, he praised St. John for his austerity and simple life.[55] He explained that St. John is called a Guelf saint due to his association with Florence. Bernardino highlighted the ludicrousness of those of his listeners who sometimes claimed that St. John was a Ghibelline and sometimes a Guelf, recruiting even the saints in heaven to their internal rivalries. What an absurdity and madness, he concluded.[56]

A central issue raised by Bernardino was the relationship between baptism and citizenship. In a sermon on the divisions in the city, he spoke of the rite of baptism in connection with the discord between the medieval parties known as the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. He ruled that partisans could not take part in baptismal rituals neither as parents nor as godparents since they were individuals who endangered the peace of the city. In the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the ceremony of baptism involved not only the infant and his parents, but godparents as well. Parents chose a child's godparents with great care for it was a way of expanding the family circle and even acquiring patrons and clients. It also could become a way of cementing partisan alliances rather than expanding one's circle, crossing lines, or loving one's neighbor. Since a good citizen looks beyond his own family's interests, choosing the right godparents might have been an expression of good citizenship. The number of godparents at that time could be large, not the usual two that became the custom after the Council

52. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 221–22.

53. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 256–57; 268–69.

54. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 1076: "la loda di santo Giovanni, quando elli si vestì di pelle. . . . Non era vestito di porpora , no, ma di camello."

55. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 347: "Né san Giovanni Batista, che fu così santo, nol faceva, che mangiava le locuste per penitenzie, facendosi aspra vita."

56. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 675: "Chi dice che santo Giovanni è guelfo, e chi dice che è ghibellino. E così dicono anco delli angioli, che so' partigiani. Uuuh! . . . Oh pazzia!"

of Trent. Bernardino insisted that one should not choose violent and divisive persons as godparents, as they would not be fit role models of Christian life and of good Sienese citizenship. [57]

When Bernardino asked a man who he was, if he answered that he was a Ghibelline or a Guelf, it was taken to mean that he was a partisan and thus not eligible for participating in the baptismal ritual. According to Bernardino, an individual who was properly baptized as an infant grew up to become a devoted citizen and did not belong to any party but kept the peace. He was neither a Guelf nor a Ghibelline, but a faithful Christian! There are, he said, two parties in this world: that of God and that of the devil. In this sermon, Bernardino skillfully dramatized a dialogue between partisans who claimed to be good Christians, but declared that they were not worthy of participating in baptism rituals since they were sinners and partisans and belonged to the devil's party.[58]

In an article on the extensive building and decoration of baptisteries in Italy, Enrico Cattaneo discusses the civic importance of baptism in the Italian city. He points out the close connection between baptism and the sense of *civitas*: the sacrament of Christian initiation also served to introduce the individual into the Christian society of the city. The role of the bishop as the spiritual leader of both the Church and commune was embodied in his function as the administrator of baptism; from his hands came the sign that united the members of the community. Thus, baptism was both a civic symbol and a religious rite.[59] According to Augustine Thompson, "It was only in central and northern Italy that public life focused on the revival of the ancient practice of mass Easter baptisms conducted by the bishop" and that it was in these regions that "medieval cities constructed great new monumental baptisteries for their Easter rites." Thompson explains the importance of the ritual of baptism in the Italian commune and argues that baptism more than the Mass, the Eucharist, or confession was the central event in civic life in the Italian cities. He shows that public baptisms were organ-

57. On the role of godparents in baptism rituals see John Bossy, *Christianity and the West 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), 14–19; and on godparents in the Italian commune, see Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, 232–54.

58. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 673–75: "Quando io ho parlato a niuno di questi partigiani, e io l'ho domandato: Se' tu batteggiato? Si. O di qual parte se' tu? E egli ha risposto: Io so' nato Ghibellino—Io ti domando, se tu se' batteggiato. Io dico di si. E tieni la parte ? Si. sai che è ? Tu se' figliuolo del diavolo, con tutto che tu sia batteggiato. . . ."

59. See Enrico Cattaneo, "Il battistero in Italia dopo il Mille," in: *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meersseman*, ed. Edvige Adda [Italia sacra, 15] (Padua, 1970), 171–95.

ized civic events that took place in the cathedral baptistery and the ritual, which was frequently carried out in an assembly-line fashion, simultaneously served to turn infants into future citizens and created the community of the Church and the sacred body of the commune.[60]

The fusion between being baptized into the Church and baptized into citizenship is reflected in the civic preaching of the late medieval preachers prior to Bernardino. Archbishop Federigo Visconti (1254–77), preaching in Pisa in the early thirteenth century, often referred to this connection, explaining that the ritual of baptism was the entry into the sacred body of the medieval commune.[61] The Dominican preacher Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) declared to his Florentine audiences that when one is baptized one becomes "a man, a Christian, and a Florentine," giving each the same degree of significance.[62] Bernardino's emphasis on the importance of baptism and civic peace continued this long-standing tradition of mendicant preaching.

In Tuscany, baptisteries were widely established in such towns as Siena, Pistoia, and Volterra during the Late Middle Ages. Although the mass baptism of adult converts, an important feature in the calendar of the Early Church, had largely disappeared, the baptism of infants continued to be an essential liturgical ceremony. The baptismal font held a significant place in Tuscan churches as a site symbolic of local pride. One of the oldest of church accoutrements, the baptismal font has had a prominent place in basilicas, cathedrals, and churches ever since early Christian times. Its importance in churches and baptisteries grew following the evolution of ritual and liturgy, and developments in the arts led to a new complexity in this traditional genre. Some fonts were designed by such renowned artists as Donatello, Ghiberti, or Jacopo della Quercia, whereas others, for the most part simpler in appearance, were the work of less-renowned artists.

When located within a cathedral or some other important church in a city, the baptismal font was usually placed near the entrance, symbolic of its liturgical function as the means by which one entered into the Christian community and served to remind believers of their own baptism as they entered the church. In some cases, the baptismal font was installed in a spe-

60. See Thompson, *Cities of God*, 3–5.

61. See Eloise M. Angiola, "Nicola Pisano, Federigo Visconti, and the Classical Style in Pisa," *Art Bulletin*, 59 (1977), 1–27.

62. See Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "Political Views in Giovanni Dominici's Preaching in Renaissance Florence 1400–1406," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55:1 (2002), 19–48; the citation is from Ricc. 1301, Predica 13, line 165: "Se se'huomo, se se'christiano, se se' fiorentino"; Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444)* (Turnhout, 2001).

cial chapel to highlight its significance. One example is the baptismal font in the Siena Cathedral created by Antonio Federighi in the early fifteenth century. It presents scenes taken from the story of Adam and Eve, among them the Creation of Eve and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The choice of that story reflects the belief that, through baptism, the Christian is freed from original sin, the inheritance from Adam's sin and can be saved. This font is in the chapel known as Cappella di San Giovanni Battista, which is shaped like a rotunda and has a statue of St. John the Baptist by Donatello (1457) in a niche with frescoes created by Pinturucchio illustrating the saint's life. In general, it was thought that the baptismal images and the various artistic objects—including fonts and free-standing sculptures of St. John the Baptist and painted fresco cycles of his life—would together enhance the baptismal experience, underscoring its importance for the believer.[63]

The early fifteenth century saw the development of a new type of baptismal font, which became very popular in Italy in the following century and coexisted with the traditional structures. This so-called Renaissance font is approached by a flight of stairs, at the top of which is a polygonal, square, or round basin sitting on a pedestal and covered by a lid; the side of the basin and lid are usually ornamented. The innovative design of the baptismal font in the baptistery of Siena was the first example of this structure, combining the basin and the tabernacle.

Built between 1316 and 1325 by Camaino di Crescentino, the new baptistery in Siena was in the shape of a rectangular hall that was divided into a nave and two aisles by a pair of columns; it had a hexagonal baptismal font in bronze, marble, and decorated stones, which was added between 1417 and 1431. Lorenzo Ghiberti, who was commissioned to advise on its decoration, was assisted by Donatello, Jacopo della Quercia, and others. This font was novel in its structure—a lidless basin and a tabernacle—as well as in its combination of bronze and marble. The decoration of the hexagonal basin comprised six gilded bronze reliefs depicting the life of St. John the Baptist separated by six free-standing bronze Virtues set in shallow marble niches. In 1425 Donatello began the relief depicting Herod's Banquet for the baptismal font. Two reliefs for the same cathedral—the baptism of Christ and the arrest of St. John—had been ordered from Ghiberti as early as 1417. Between 1427 and 1429, Donatello also executed two small statues, Faith and Hope, for the corner of the font (Fig. 4).

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63. On the font in Siena's cathedral, see Elinor M. Richter, "The Sculpture of Antonio Federighi," Ph D Dissertation (Columbia: 1984), 119–36; Barbara Bays, "The Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral of Siena," PhD. dissertation (Indiana: 1999), 141–43, 184–86.

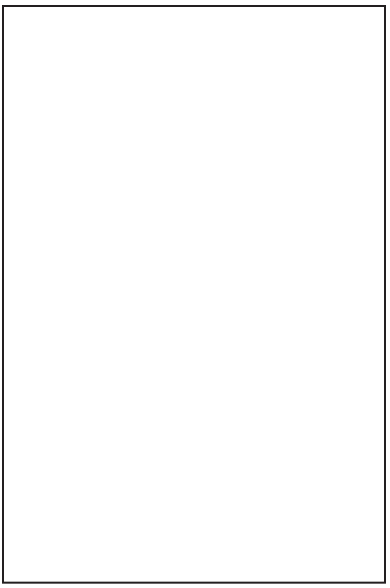

Figure 4. Jacopo della Quercia and others, *Baptismal Font*, Baptistery, Siena, Italy, 1417ff31 (Photo: Author)

The panels of the baptismal font included: the Annunciation to Zacharias by Jacopo della Quercia; the Birth of John the Baptist and the Baptist Preaching by Giovanni di Turino; the Baptism of Christ by Lorenzo Ghiberti; the Arrest of John the Baptist by Giuliano di Ser Andrea; and Herod's Banquet by Donatello. The Virtues figured were: Faith and Hope by Donatello; Justice, Faith, and Providence by Giovanni di Turino; and Fortitude by Goro di Ser Neroccio. Gold and azure enameled friezes and inscriptions adorned the rim of the basin and the steps. A cluster of columns in the center supported the hexagonal marble tabernacle, which was fashioned after Florentine models. Five of the sides featured the figure of an apostle by Jacopo della Quercia set within a niche; on the sixth side there was a small door closing on the place where the baptismal ointments were stored. Putti crowned the corners of the tabernacle, and columns supporting a statue of St. John the Baptist atop a pedestal rose above them.[64]

64. The stylistic and artistic features of this important monument are discussed in John T. Paoletti, *The Siena Baptistery Font: A Study of an Early Renaissance Collaborative Program 1416–1434* (New York, 1967). See also Kees van der Ploeg, *Art, Architecture and Liturgy: Siena Cathedral in the Middle Ages* (Groningen, 1993); James Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia* (New

As noted above, the creation of the font was carried out in three stages: the years 1416 to 1422 saw the develoment of the preparatory plans and the construction of the simple basin; Lorenzo Ghiberti, Giovanni Turni, and Donatello created the narrative reliefs from 1423 to 1427; and Jacopo della Quercia constructed the marble tabernacle and Donatello and Giovanni di Turni added the additional sculptures to the tabernacle in 1427 to 1434. Bernardino delivered his most celebrated Sienese preaching cycle in 1427, which was also a crucial year for the construction of the baptismal font. It was at that time that the design of the font was changed from a simple basin by the addition of the large hexagonal marble tabernacle in its center, which featured five reliefs of the prophets, a small bronze door, and six bronze dancing putti and a sculpture of John the Baptist.

The idea behind the addition of a tabernacle to the baptismal font was the link between two sacraments—Baptism and the Eucharist. Bernardino emphasized the tie between them, declaring that the two together served to spread God's grace.[65] Further, crowning the monument with the sculpture of John the Baptist highlighted his centrality. The basin itself was designed to be used for baptism by affusion rather than immersion, which had been the earlier medieval ritual. This change in liturgy led to a shift from large medieval fonts as those in Ravenna or the baptistery of Pisa, which were used for the immersion ritual to simple basins of modest size suitable for baptism by affusion, such as the one in Florence's baptistery. Although Siena's font was a bit larger than other Tuscan fonts, it did feature the typical iconographic program, which featured narrative reliefs of Saint John the Baptist and baptismal scenes. The major break with tradition was the addition of the tabernacle.

The tabernacle decorations in Siena's baptismal font included unidentified prophets as well as a depiction of King David playing a lyre, which was an innovative element in the relevant iconography. Bernardino highlighted King David in his 1427 preaching cycle in a sermon he called "King David Searching for Peace in the World and Not Finding It." He began with a long narrative about how David searched for peace in the world,

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York, 1991); Charles Seymour, *Jacopo della Quercia, Sculptor* (New Haven, 1973). On Donatello's contribution, see Francesco Caglioti, "Donatello and the Baptismal Font in Siena. A Re-Evaluation of the 'Dancing Spirits' in the National Museum of Florence," *Prospettiva*, 110–11 (2003), 18–29.

65. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 138–39. Paoletti, *Siena Baptistery Font*, 148–79 (description of the tabernacle), 175 (claim that although the tabernacle was once used to house the Eucharist, it might have been later on employed to host the oils used in the baptismal rite).

stating that "I believe that King David was one of the most contemplative men the Church ever had and when I consider that, I am stupefied. . . ."[66] He exhorted his Sienese audiences to follow in King David's footsteps and seek ever-lasting civic peace and brotherly love. He went on to say that not finding peace within his soul, David examined the delights and honors of this world to see if they resembled immortal life, but they proved false so he searched instead for celestial love and harmony and urged his listeners to do the same.[67] It might well have been that the unusual inclusion of an image of King David in the tabernacle was a tribute to that sermon, which was delivered in the same year that this exceptional image was added.[68]

Elements of the novel Sienese baptismal font soon appeared in new commissions and tabernacles were added to existing structures. In the Massa Marittima Cathedral, for example, in 1447 a new tabernacle by Pagno di Lapo and Giovanni Rossellino was added to the baptismal font, which had been built in 1267 as a monolithic Romanesque marble basin decorated with low reliefs depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament by Giroldo da Como. Among the most important fonts featuring a tabernacle within the basin are the one dated to 1460 in the crypt of Pienza cathedral, executed by the school of Bernardo Rossellino, and that of the baptistery of the Volterra cathedral by Andrea Sansovino from 1502 adorned with reliefs of Hope, Faith, Justice, Charity, and the Baptism. Clearly, the baptismal font in Siena's baptistery marked an important innovation in that artistic tradition.

Between 1447 and 1450, Siena's baptistery was decorated with frescoes by Vecchietta on such themes as the Articles of Faith, Prophets, and Sibyls. Vecchietta included Bernardino in the fresco decoration of the baptistery twice, both instances at the top of the Sienese pantheon of saints. These portrayals of the saint must have been done to celebrate Bernardino's canonization in 1450. Among the blessed in the last Creed scene, the patron saints of Siena are shown standing in the foreground, while St. Bernardino takes pride of place next to the Virgin Mary. Elsewhere in the fresco cycle, he appears at the apex of the arch gazing out toward the congregation. He is raising his arms over his head and holding his tablet—*Il Nome del Gesù*. Bernardino is the only figure on the arch oriented toward

66. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 1231–32: "Io mi credo che de' più contemplitivi omini chem ai avesse la Chiesa di Dio, si fusse Davit. Quando ilconsidaro, io stupisco."

67. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 1231–70.

68. See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 2, 1254.

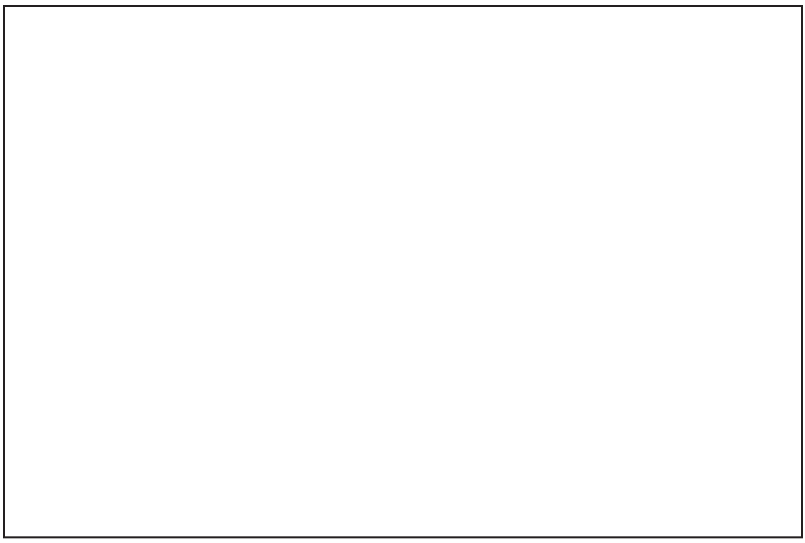

FIGURE 5. Vecchietta, *Frescoes: Articles of Faith*, Baptistery, Siena, Italy, 1450 (Photo: Author)

the viewer—a prominent position that attests to his popularity and his overall contribution to the legacy of Siena[69] (Fig. 5).

More than any other Italian preacher, Saint Bernardino of Siena understood the power of visual images and utilized them rhetorically in his preaching. He is noted for his sophisticated use of works of art as sermon *exempla*, whether to teach young girls the value of modesty or to enact a peace ceremony to encourage his listeners to reconcile one with the other. His approach to the arts was based on pragmatic considerations. As a preacher, he viewed art as an efficacious tool for educating the simple people, for creating fine rhetorical effects, and for moving his listeners to devotion. It is entirely possible that Bernardino's concepts and convictions had an impact on the art of his time and that the design of the city's baptismal font suggests that his doctrine influenced its creation as a civic icon.

69. On an interesting study showing Bernardino's influence on the creation of Vecchietta frescoes in Siena's baptistery see Andrea W. Campbell, The Social and Artistic Context of the Baptistery of Siena, Ph.D. Dissertation (Rutgers: 2000): 129–39.

Galileo Between Jesuits: The Fault Is in the Stars

Christopher M. Graney*

In the middle of the seventeenth century, André Tacquet, S.J. briefly discussed a scientific argument regarding the structure of a Copernican universe, and commented on Galileo Galilei's discussion of that same argument—Galileo's discussion in turn being a commentary on a version of the argument by Christoph Scheiner, S.J. The argument was based on observations of the sizes of stars. This exchange involving Galileo and two Jesuits illustrates how through much of the seventeenth century, science—meaning observations, measurements, and calculations—supported a view of the Copernican universe in which stars were not other suns, but were dim bodies, far larger than the sun. Johannes Kepler emphasized this, especially in arguing against Giordano Bruno. Jesuit astronomers like Tacquet and Scheiner understood this. Those who might have listened to Jesuit astronomers would likewise have understood this—Robert Bellarmine, for example, whose role in the debate over Copernicanism is well known. To many, such a universe was, in the words of Galileo's Dialogue character Sagredo, "beyond belief," and no modern view of a universe of many distant suns would be scientifically supportable until after Tacquet's death in 1660. The Copernican universe of the seventeenth century looked radically different from the universe as modern astronomers understand it, and recognizing this fact allows for interesting questions to be asked regarding the actions of those, such as Bellarmine, who were responding to the work of Copernicus.

Key words: Roberto Bellarmine, Nicolas Copernicus, Galileo Galilei, Johannes Kepler, Christoph Scheiner, science, stars, star sizes, André Tacquet

What did the Copernican universe look like to Jesuit astronomers in the seventeenth century? In the middle of that century, André Tacquet of the Society of Jesus produced an unusual and compact version of a

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key scientific argument regarding the structure of a Copernican universe. He also briefly commented on Galileo Galilei's lengthy discussion of that same key argument. Galileo's discussion was itself a commentary on a different, likewise compact version of the argument, produced earlier in the century by another Jesuit astronomer, Christoph Scheiner. This exchange between Galileo and two Jesuit astronomers illustrates a thing not widely understood regarding the Church's interaction with Copernican ideas: that, to a Jesuit astronomer—and indeed to any astronomer persuaded by observations, measurements, and calculations—the Copernican universe looked radically different from the universe as we understand it today. And it looked likewise, we may presume, to anyone who might have consulted Jesuit astronomers for their expertise. Because the ideas of these astronomers had influence on the broader Church, and because the Church's interaction with Copernican ideas is a prominent aspect of its history, this exchange among Scheiner, Galileo, and Tacquet regarding the structure of a Copernican universe is discussed here in detail.

The Sizes of Stars

André Tacquet, S.J. lived from 1612 to 1660. References to Tacquet are not common in recent scholarship. Perhaps this is in part because, as Geert H. W. Vanpaemel wrote in a piece on "Jesuit Science in the Spanish Netherlands," Tacquet's life "was utterly uneventful; he apparently never ventured outside the borders of his native province." It may also be because, according to Vanpaemel, while Tacquet produced original work, much of his effort was spent on teaching mathematics, and on producing work for teaching.[1] While Vanpaemel's assessment of Tacquet may be correct, we shall see that Tacquet became known for an argument he made against the heliocentric universe of Nicolas Copernicus.

This argument was based on the apparent sizes of the stars, specifically of the "fixed" stars. Fixed stars are those called stars today, that make up the constellations. This is as opposed to the "wandering" stars that move through the constellations over time, otherwise known as "planets" ("planet" meaning "wanderer"). Astronomers from Ptolemy in ancient times to Tycho Brahe in the late sixteenth century had attempted to measure the sizes of these stars as seen from Earth. They determined the "apparent diameters" of the more prominent or "first magnitude" (i.e. "first rate") fixed stars to be roughly one fifteenth the apparent diameter of the moon; fifteen such stars, placed one

1. Geert H. W. Vanpaemel, "Jesuit Science in the Spanish Netherlands," in: *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 406.

FIGURE 1. The more distant an observed object is from Earth (E), the greater its actual physical size must be to retain the same apparent size (indicated by the shaded region). A and B will each have the same apparent size as seen from E, but B is over four times more distant from E than is A, so B has over 4 times the actual diameter of A, and over 64 times (4 cubed) the volume of A.

against another in a straight line, would equal the apparent diameter of the full moon. The wandering stars had similar apparent diameters.[2]

In a heliocentric universe, Earth's position relative to any given fixed star necessarily changes as Earth moves annually around the sun. As Earth circles through its orbit, the distance from Earth to that star changes, and the angle of view toward that star also changes, owing to Earth's continually changing location with respect to the star. These changes must produce observable annual variations in the appearance of the star, variations known as "annual parallax." No such variations were observed in any fixed star, in Copernicus's time or in Tacquet's. This meant that Earth's orbit had to be vanishingly small compared to the distance of the fixed stars. But for the fixed stars to be at such large distances, yet still show measurable apparent diameters, required that their actual diameters be enormous (Figure 1). Every visible star in a heliocentric universe had to be a body far larger than the sun.

By contrast, in a geocentric universe the Earth was immobile, so there was no expectation of annual parallax. Stars could therefore be located just beyond Saturn. Being comparable to Saturn in apparent size, and lying at a distance comparable to that of Saturn, stars would have actual sizes also comparable to Saturn. In a geocentric universe, fixed stars were commensurate in size with the other celestial bodies.

Thus the Copernican hypothesis turned the fixed stars into a new class of giant celestial bodies, far different from the earth, sun, moon, and planets. The question of Copernican star sizes had been raised by Brahe, who

2. Albert Van Helden, *Measuring the Universe: Cosmic Dimensions from Aristarchus to Halley* (Chicago, 1985), 27, 30, 32, 50.

found the idea of enormous stars too improbable, and considered them an argument against heliocentrism.[3] This challenge to Copernicus's ideas is not widely understood today, but as Albert Van Helden has written, "Tycho's logic was impeccable; his measurements above reproach. A Copernican simply had to accept the results of this argument" and agree that the stars were giant.[4] Vanpaemel writes that Tacquet elaborated on this argument:

> Tacquet proved that in the Copernican hypothesis the proportion of the dimensions of the fixed stars to the distance earth-sun, would be equal to the proportion of the dimensions of the same stars to the radius of the earth in the geocentric hypothesis. In the Copernican hypothesis therefore, the stars needed to be much larger and heavier than in the traditional view, a conclusion which conflicted with intellectual economy.[5]

Brahe had proposed his own hypothesis, in which the sun, moon and stars circled an immobile Earth while the planets circled the sun (Figure 2). This system was identical to the Copernican system insofar as any Earth-bound observation of the sun, moon, or planets was concerned; later telescopic discoveries involving those bodies, such as the phases of Venus that showed it to orbit the sun, were thus fully compatible with Brahe's system.

The *Disquisitions* of Scheiner and Locher

Brahe may have first raised the star-size question against heliocentrism, but the Jesuit astronomer Christopher Scheiner and his student Johann Georg Locher arguably wrote the most consequential discussion of it. In their 1614 book *Mathematical Disquistions*, Scheiner and Locher spent a few pages outlining the issue by means of calculations.[6] Then they produced this very compact and clear version of Brahe's idea:

> [In a Copernican universe] even the smallest star visible to the eye is much larger than the whole circle of Earth's orbit. This is because such a star has a measurable size, as does the circumference of the sky. The ratio of the size of the star to the size of the firmament of fixed stars is therefore perceptible. But according to the Copernican opinion, the ratio of the size of the circle of Earth's orbit to the size of the firmament is imper-

3. Christopher M. Graney, *Setting Aside All Authority: Giovanni Battista Riccioli and the Science Against Copernicus in the Age of Galileo* (Notre Dame, IN, 2015), 25–44.

4. Van Helden, *Measuring the Universe*, 51.

5. Vanpaemel, "Jesuit Science," 409.

6. Christopher M. Graney, *Mathematical Disquisitions: The Booklet of Theses Immortalized by Galileo* (Notre Dame, IN, 2015), 27–31.

Figure 2. Tycho Brahe proposed that the sun, moon, and fixed stars circle the Earth while the planets circle the sun. Brahe's system and Copernicus's system were identical insofar as any Earth-bound observations of sun, moon, and planets were concerned. As Johannes Kepler said, "in Brahe the Earth occupies at any time the same place that Copernicus gives it, if not in the very vast and measureless region of the fixed stars, at least in the system of the planetary world" (Johannes Kepler, *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy and Harmonies of the World*, trans. Charles Glenn Wallis [Great Minds Series] (Amherst, NY, 1995), 175). Thus Brahe's system was fully compatible with telescopic discoveries involving those bodies. This illustration of Brahe's system is from the *Mathematical Disquisitions* of Scheiner and Locher. Image credit: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Alte und Seltene Drucke.

> ceptible. For in the Copernican opinion the size of the Earth's orbital circle holds the same proportion to the firmament as the size of Earth itself holds to the firmament in the common geocentric opinion. Yet experience shows the Earth to be of imperceptible size compared to the firmament. Thus in the Copernican opinion it is the circle of Earth's orbit that is of imperceptible size compared to the firmament—and therefore smaller than the smallest perceptible star.[7]

7. Graney, *Disquisitions*, 30.

Scheiner and Locher thus offered a simple scientific (that is, based on observation, measurement, and calculation) argument that in a Copernican universe every last visible star must necessarily have an actual physical size not just exceeding the sun, but exceeding Earth's orbit around the sun. This meant every last visible star would dramatically dwarf the sun, and every other celestial body, more than a beach ball dwarfs a pea. Their logic can be distilled down to this: if Earth's orbit is vanishingly small in a Copernican universe, while the fixed stars have small but measurable apparent sizes, then it follows that every visible star must be larger than Earth's orbit—because "small but measurable" is larger than "vanishingly small."

This brief discussion was consequential because two decades later Galileo Galilei would devote significant space in his 1632 *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief Worlds Systems—Copernican and Ptolemaic* to addressing the contents of *Disquisitions*, with many pages spent in response to its discussion of star sizes. Thus, Galileo immortalized *Disquisitions* within the *Dialogue*, one of the most famous books in the history of science and of the Church.

None of the characters in the *Dialogue* embraced the idea of enormous stars, but some Copernicans actually did. Notable among these was Johannes Kepler. He saw no issues of intellectual economy in these stars. He agreed that all visible stars were larger than Earth's orbit. Indeed, he estimated the most prominent ones to be larger than Saturn's orbit, and thus larger than an entire geocentric universe. Kepler also reasoned that the fixed stars were dim. This was because their combined power to illuminate the sky was insignificant compared to the sun, while the fraction of the sky that they together occupied was comparable to that occupied by the sun. Their distance did not excuse their dimness, Kepler said, because the farther away they were, the larger they would be (as seen in Figure 1 above).

Thus observations, measurements, and calculations proved that the universe consisted of myriad vast, dim distant stars enveloping a single, unique sun (itself both tiny and brilliant compared to them) and the sun's still tinier planets. Kepler attacked Giordano Bruno's notion that the stars were other suns, orbited by other Earths; what Bruno said was contrary to what any astronomer could easily determine for himself.[8] Kepler argued in his 1606 *De Stella Nova* that the brilliant, tiny sun versus the dim, hulking stars spoke to God's ability to create on a vast scale, while still retaining full concern for the

8. Christopher M. Graney, "The Starry Universe of Johannes Kepler," *Journal for the History of Astronomy,* 50 (2019), 162–66.

smallest things.[9] Scheiner and Locher, perhaps with Kepler in mind, remarked in *Disquisitions* that Copernicus's "minions" did not deny the enormous stars, and instead "go on about how from this everyone may better perceive the majesty of the Creator," an idea they judged to be "laughable."[10]

Tacquet on Stars and Galileo

Tacquet's discussion of the star size question includes no such judgements. It is found in his posthumously published *Opera Omnia*, Book 5 ("Concerning the Fixed Stars"), Chapter 2 ("Concerning the magnitude, distance, light, number, kinds, and forms of the Fixed Stars").[11] Book 5 is divided into numbered sections. The first section in Chapter 2 is number 21. Here Tacquet discusses what Earth-bound astronomers can determine regarding distances to the stars in a geocentric universe. In a geocentric universe, astronomers are limited to observing celestial bodies from different places on Earth's surface, one Earth radius (or semidiameter) from the center of the geocentric universe. By observing a celestial body from those different places on Earth's surface (Figure 3), they can measure angles to that body from those places, and triangulate to determine the distance of that body. This is using an Earth-surface "parallax" to find distance.

Triangulating from observations of the moon made at different places on Earth's surface provided for accurate determination of its distance, for example. However, the more distant the object, the narrower the key angle at the celestial object (at 'D' or 'C' in Figure 3). When the object is too distant, that angle becomes too small to measure; then there can be no surface parallax detected, and no distance determined.

Tacquet notes that no surface parallax has ever been detected for the fixed stars. But, he says, that does not mean that we know nothing of their distance. Rather, we know the lower limit of their distance—they must be farther away than that minimum distance within which we could just detect a parallax. He writes,

> Therefore a limit of distance is recognized (which itself is indeed an extraordinary monument to Astronomy); it is certain the Fixeds may not lie within it. The other limit of distance, beyond which they may not lie,

9. Christopher M. Graney, "As Big as a Universe: Johannes Kepler on the Immensities of Stars and of Divine Power," *Catholic Historical Review,* 105 (2019), 75–90.

10. Graney, *Disquisitions*, 29

11. André Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica* (Antverpiæ: Apud Iacobum Meursium, 1668), 205.

FIGURE 3. Diagram in *Opera Omnia* for Tacquet, Book 5, Chapter 2, Number 21, showing the use of triangulation from Earth's surface to determine the distance to a celestial body (the moon, it would seem). Lines BC and BD show the position, as seen from B, of the moon when it is high in the sky and low on the horizon, respectively. Lines AC and AD are its position seen from points on Earth directly below it, or from the center of the Earth. With angles measured, trigonometry reveals the distance to the moon. Were the Earth much smaller (or the moon much more distant) the angles BCA and BDA would be too small to determine. Image credit: Google Books.

> is truly not able to be explored by human ingenuity. It may be the Fixed Stars are as much distant from Saturn, as Saturn is from us. It is even credible that some are higher than others; which perhaps is the reason why they may appear unequal to us.[12]

This last idea about how, owing to differing distances, stars appear "unequal"—not all the same in apparent size—had been discussed by St. Albert the Great:

> We ourselves have indeed recognized one star to be more or less distant than another through the greater or lesser [apparent] diameter of the stars: but we are not able to distinguish the number of stars. . . .[13]

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12. Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 205: "Notus est igitur (quod ipsum quidem monumentum Astronomiae eximium est) distantiae terminus, infra quem Fixas non deprimi certum sit. Terminus vero distantiae alter supra quem non ascendant, explorari humano ingenio non potest. Fortassis Stellae Fixae tantum a Saturno distant, quantum ille a nobis. Credibile est etiam alias esse alijs altiores; quae & forsan est causa, cur inaequales nobis appareant."

13. Albertus Magnus, *Commentarii in II Sententiarum*, (Lugduni: Prost, 1651). Dist. 2, Art. 3, "Ad Quaest.": "nos quidem deprehenderemus unam stellam magis vel minus distare quam aliam per diametrum stellarum magis vel minus: sed non possumus distinguere numerum stellarum. . . ."

In number 22 Tacquet discusses the speeds of the stars as they circle Earth in a geocentric universe. In number 23 he discusses their apparent sizes. He reproduces a table, from the 1651 *New Almagest* of the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Battista Riccioli, listing the apparent diameters of twenty-one stars, measured via telescope.[14] In this table mighty Sirius, the "Dog Star," the most prominent fixed star in the sky, measures 18 "seconds of arc." That is 1/100th the apparent diameter of the moon, which is half of one degree, or 1800 seconds of arc. In the same table, insignificant Alcor (a star in the handle of the Big Dipper, known mostly for being close to the star Mizar that marks the bend of that handle) has an apparent diameter of just over 4 seconds of arc. These sizes are much smaller than what Ptolemy or Brahe would have recognized. Recall that they had both determined that prominent stars measured about a fifteenth of the moon's apparent diameter, roughly 120 seconds of arc. The advent of the telescope had prompted a reassessment of the apparent diameters of both fixed and wandering stars.

In number 24 Tacquet uses Riccioli's table of apparent stellar diameters, and an estimated minimum distance allowable for the stars to show no Earth-surface parallax, to produce a table of actual sizes for thirteen stars, again for a geocentric universe. Tacquet's result is that Sirius is a minimum of 815 times greater than Earth as measured by volume; Alcor is nine times greater.[15] This would make Sirius a body whose actual diameter was at minimum nine times that of the Earth, and Alcor a body at minimum twice Earth's diameter. For comparison, elsewhere Tacquet determines the sun's actual diameter to be roughly twelves times that of Earth.[16] Thus, Sirius and Alcor are larger than the Earth, and smaller than the sun.

Number 25 treats the volume of the geocentric universe. This discussion assumes the stars are all equidistant from Earth, even though number 21 discussed the possibility that they could lie at various distances past Saturn.

At number 26 Tacquet arrives at the Copernican hypothesis. He points out that the Earth's orbit in a heliocentric universe holds the same position as the Earth itself in a geocentric universe:

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14. See Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 206, and Giovanni Battista Riccioli, *Almagestum Novum* (Bononinae : Ex typographia Haeredis Victorii Benatii, 1651), vol. 1, 716.

15. There are various errors in Tacquet's calculations, but these do not change the overall picture significantly—see Christopher M. Graney, "Not the Earth, but its Orbit: André Tacquet and the Question of Star Sizes in a heliocentric universe," *arXiv:1909.12074v1* (Sept. 24, 2019), 1–16, here 10–11.

16. Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 143.

> *In the hypothesis of a Moved Earth, the Great Orb (that is, the sphere whose semidiameter is the distance from the Sun to our eye or to the center of the Earth) is, compared to the Firmament [of the Fixed Stars], the equivalent of a point.*
>
> No [Earth-surface] Parallax in the Fixed Stars has ever been detected, even though such a Parallax ought to arise, owing to the distance of our eye from the center of the Firmament [being one semidiameter of Earth]. Therefore it is evident that distance [of one terrestrial semidiameter] is insensible compared to the distance of the Fixeds. Yet in the hypothesis of the Moved Earth (that is, where the Sun may rest in the center of the Firmament, with the Earth running through the Ecliptic), the distance of our eye from the center of the Firmament is the distance of the eye from the Sun. This is the semidiameter of the Great Orb. Therefore, in the Hypothesis of the Moved Earth, the semidiameter of the Great Orb is insensible compared to the distance of the Fixeds, or the semidiameter of the Firmament. Whereby the proportion of spheres may be the cube of the proportion of diameters, *a fortiori* (as the Philosophers say), the Great Orb itself will be insensible compared to the Firmament.
>
> *Corollary: Hence it follows that the Great Orb is to the Copernican Firmament (that required by the Hypothesis of the Moved Earth) as the Earth is to the common Firmament (that required by the Hypothesis of the Standing Earth).*[17]

In other words, in a heliocentric universe, as Earth travels around the sun on its annual orbit, astronomers can observe celestial bodies from different places along that orbit, one orbital radius (or semidiameter) from the sun, the center of the heliocentric universe. As no parallax of any sort is seen in the fixed stars, the semidiameter of Earth's orbit in a heliocentric universe is just like the semidiameter of Earth in a geocentric universe—vanishingly small compared to the distance to the fixed stars.

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17. Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 208: "*In Hypothesi Terrae Motae, Orbis Magnus, sive Sphaera cuius semidiameter est distantia oculi nostri vel centri Terrae a Sole, ad Firmamentum instar puncti est.* Cum enim in Stellis Fixis numquam vlla Parallaxis fuerit deprehensa, Parallaxis autem illa siqua esset, oriri deberet ab oculi nostri distantia a centro Firmamenti; perspicuum est distantiam illam ad distantiam Fixarum esse insensibilem. Atqui in Hypothesi Terrae Motae, (hoc est, si Terra Eclipticam percurrente, Sol in Firmamenti centro quiescat) distantia oculi nostri a centro Firmamenti, est ipsa distantia oculi a Sole, hoc est Orbis Magni semidiameter. Ergo in Hypothesi Terrae Motae semidiameter Orbis Magni ad distantiam Fixarum, siue Firmamenti semidiametrum, insensibilis est. Quare cum sphaerarum proportio triplicata sit proportionis diametrorum, ipse Orbis Magnus ad Firmamentum a fortiori (vt loquuntur Philosophi) insensibilis erit. *Corollarium: Hinc sequitur Orbem Magnum esse ad Firmamentum Copernicanum, hoc est debitum Hypothesi Terrae Motae; vt Terra est ad Firmamentum commune; hoc est, debitum Hypothesi Terrae Stantis.*"

After running through a more rigorous geometrical demonstration of these statements, Tacquet proceeds to number 27—his own version of the star size argument:

> *In the Hypothesis of the Moved Earth, the Fixed Stars hold the same proportion to the Great Orb that they hold to the Earth in the Hypothesis of the Standing Earth.*
>
> The Apparent Diameter of any Fixed (that is, the angle under which the Fixed is seen from Earth), may be found independently from either Hypothesis of the Earth (Moved or Standing). As is obvious from *number 23*, it is clear a Fixed (*Spica*, for example) to subtend in either Hypothesis equally many Seconds of its Firmament; obviously just that many, as are recorded by observation. Therefore, the Copernican *Spica* is to the Copernican Firmament, as the common [geocentric] *Spica* is to the common [geocentric] Firmament. And yet the Copernican Firmament is to the Great Orb, as the common Firmament is to the Earth. Thus the Copernican *Spica* is to the Great Orb, as the common *Spica* is to the Earth, by reason of proportion.[18]

In number 28, Tacquet points out that, since in the geocentric hypothesis (recall that Brahe's geocentric hypothesis was compatible with telescopic discoveries[19]) Sirius is 815 times and Alcor 9 times greater than Earth by volume, it follows that in the Copernican hypothesis Sirius and Alcor will be 815 and 9 times greater by volume than the Great Orb—that is, than the sphere of Earth's orbit. Thus, in terms of actual diameter Sirius and Alcor will be nine times and twice, respectively, Earth's orbit—at minimum. Tacquet closes number 28 with the following:

> Galileo in his System of the World attempts in vain to elude this monstrous magnitude of the Fixeds by a long discourse, from page 350 up to

18. Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 208: "*In Hypothesi Terrae Motae, Stellae Fixae eam habent proportionem ad Orbem Magnum, quam habent in Terrae Stantis Hypothesi ad Terram.* Cum Diameter Apparens cuiusuis Fixae, hoc est angulus sub quo Fixa videtur ex Terra, reperiatur praescindendo ab vtralibet Hypothesi Telluris Motae vel Stantis, vt patet ex *nu.* 23, liquet Fixam, ex. gr. *Spicam*, in vtraque Hypothesi aeque multa sui Firmamenti Minutae subtendere; tot nimirum, quot obseruatio exhibet. Igitur *Spica* Copernicaea est ad Firmamentum Copernicaeum, vt *Spica* communis est ad Firmamentum commune. Atqui Firmamentum Copernicaeum est ad Orbem Magnum, vt Firmamentum commune ad Terram. Ex aequo igitur *Spica* Copernicaea est ad Orbem Magnum, vt *Spica* communis ad Terram." Note that Tacquet's "Firmamenti Minutae" must be a typographical error that should have read "seconds," since in Number 23 the apparent stellar diameters are given in seconds, not minutes.

19. See Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 258 for examples of his using Brahe's hypothesis with Venus.

> 383.[20] But he weakens nothing of what we have demonstrated through *numbers 26–28*.[21]

This ends Tacquet's star size discussion. Like Scheiner and Locher, he used just a few pages.

Stars Unchanged

Often one thinks of heliocentrism in terms of making the starry universe larger—pushing the stars farther away, much like Rheticus accuses Copernicus of doing in Dava Sobel's play *And the Sun Stood Still*: "The stars get in your way? You just wave them off to some other place."[22] But under a seventeenth-century understanding of stars, pushing them farther away enlarges them proportionately, via Figure 1. Their separations relative to their sizes remain unaltered. This fact can elude us, with the result that we imagine that pushing the stars out yields a heliocentric universe of stars that is vaster and emptier than its geocentric counterpart. But on a stellar scale, the heliocentric universe of stars is no vaster nor emptier than the geocentric universe; both are identical, under a seventeenth-century understanding.

Tacquet's unusual discussion invites us to think of heliocentrism not as making the starry universe *larger*, but as making the earth, sun, moon, planets, and their orbits within it all *smaller*, as the heliocentric Earth's orbit replaces the geocentric Earth. If Earth is made smaller, then on any Earth-based scale the universe will *seem* enlarged, but in fact the starry universe remains unchanged. As Tacquet notes, the stars occupy the same proportion of space within the sky, whether the universe is heliocentric or geocentric. But, in the switch from geocentrism to heliocentrism, the Earth and sun are dramatically reduced; stars that were smaller than the sun in a geocentric universe dwarf it in a heliocentric one. Thus not only does mighty Sirius utterly dwarf the heliocentric universe's sun, but little Alcor does, too.

Like Scheiner and Locher's summary of the star size issue, Tacquet's is compact, clear, and scientific (that is, based on observations, measure-

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20. Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems: Ptolemaic and Copernican*, trans. Stillman Drake [Modern Library Science] (New York, 2001), 416–52—hereafter cited as *Dialogue*.

21. Tacquet, *Opera Mathematica,* 209: "Galilaeus in suo Mundi Systemate immanem istam Fixarum magnitudinem nequidquam conatur eludere a pag. 350 *vsque ad* 383 discursu longissimo, sed nihil eorum, quae *num.* 26, 27, 28, iam demonstrauimus, infirmante."

22. Dava Sobel, *A More Perfect Heaven: How Copernicus Revolutionised the Cosmos* (London, 2011), 128.

ments, and calculations). The specific details of sizes are not important—what Tacquet says holds so long as no parallax is detected, and stars show measurable size. Now let us consider the star size discourse that he so briefly dismissed—the lengthy one found in Galileo's *Dialogue*.

Simplicio, Sagredo, Salviati, and Stars

Galileo discusses the star size question on the "Third Day" of his *Dialogue*. The character Sagredo opens the door for the discussion, saying that "it is now time for us to hear the other [anti-Copernican] side, from that booklet of theses or disquisitions which Simplicio has brought back with him."[23] That booklet is Scheiner and Locher's *Disquisitions*. It had already been invoked by the character Simplicio on the first and second days,[24] and roundly ridiculed by the character Salviati. Here on the third day, Salviati again ridicules it, even making reference to certain "apish puerilities" contained within.[25] Then Simplicio brings the discussion around to what is in *Disquisitions* regarding the star size question:

> Now here, as you see, he [Scheiner/Locher] deduces . . . that if the orbit in which Copernicus makes the earth travel around the sun in a year were scarcely perceptible with respect to the immensity of the stellar sphere, as Copernicus says must be assumed, then one would have to declare and maintain that the fixed stars were at an inconceivable distance from us, and that the smallest of them would be much larger than this whole orbit. . . .[26]

Salviati replies that this argument is based on the introduction of "false assumptions," and states that,

> by assuming that a star of the sixth magnitude may be no larger than the sun, one may deduce by means of correct demonstrations that the distance of the fixed stars from us is sufficiently great to make quite imperceptible in them the annual movement of the earth. . . .[27]

Salviati then notes that the apparent diameter of the sun measures one half of one degree—1800 seconds of arc, like the moon. First magnitude fixed stars have an apparent diameter measuring no more than five seconds of arc, he says, while fixed stars of the sixth magnitude (those barely visible to

23. *Dialogue*, 414.
24. *Dialogue*, 105, 253.
25. *Dialogue*, 415.
26. *Dialogue*, 416.
27. *Dialogue*, 417.

the eye) measure 5/6 of a second of arc.[28] Thus the apparent diameter of the sun is 1800 ÷ (5/6) = 2160 times greater than that of a sixth magnitude star. And so, Salviati continues,

> if one assumes that a fixed star of the sixth magnitude is really equal to the sun and not larger, this amounts to saying that if the sun moved away until its diameter looked to be 1/2160th of what it now appears to be, its distance would have to be 2160 times what it is now.[29]

So, were a star of the sixth magnitude equal in size to the sun, it would lie at a distance of 2160 solar distances, and the effect of earth's orbit "would be little more noticeable than that which is observed in the sun due to the radius of the earth."[30]

Salviati goes on at some length about erroneous assumptions regarding the apparent diameters of stars—the false assumptions he mentioned above. Earlier astronomers who determined that a prominent star appears to have an apparent diameter about one fifteenth that of the moon (120 seconds of arc) cannot be excused, he says, for their erroneous measurements of the stars (both fixed and wandering). This is because

> it was within their power to see the bare stars at their pleasure, for it suffices to look at them when they first appear in the evening, or just before they vanish at dawn. And Venus, if nothing else, should have warned them of their mistake, being frequently seen in daytime so small that it takes sharp eyesight to see it, though in the following night it appears like a great torch.[31]

Salviati notes that the telescope, "by showing the disc of the star bare and very many times enlarged," renders the process of measuring apparent diameters of fixed and wandering stars much easier (Figure 4).[32] However, he argues that non-telescopic methods can also remove the "adventitious irradiation" from a fixed or wandering star (such as Venus) and reveal its *correct* apparent diameter; these methods again show that to be no more than five seconds in the case of a first magnitude star.[33] The five second value is smaller

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28. When Galileo first reported in 1610 on the appearance of fixed stars as seen through a telescope, he described them as not having an obviously round appearance. However, by 1613 he was describing them as clearly round, and did so repeatedly from then onward, always ascribing to them an apparent diameter of a few seconds of arc. See Graney, *Setting Aside*, 46–48.

29. *Dialogue*, 417.

30. *Dialogue*, 418.

31. *Dialogue*, 419.

32. *Dialogue*, 419.

33. *Dialogue*, 421.

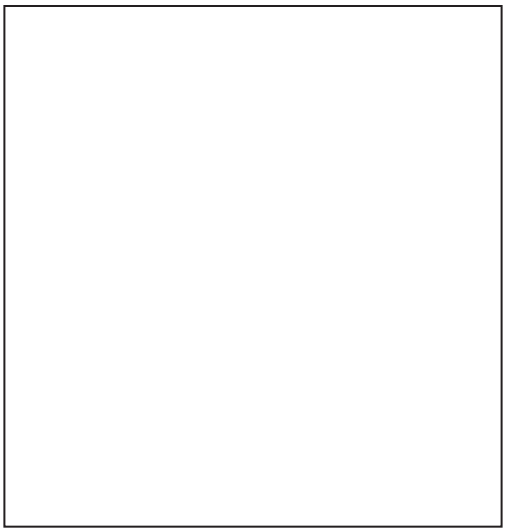

FIGURE 4. Illustration from John F. W. Herschel's 1828 *Treatises on Physical Astronomy, Light and Sound Contributed to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana* (p. 491 and plate 9) of a star as seen through a telescope of aperture similar to what was used for stellar observations in the seventeenth century. Seventeenth-century astronomers thought that a telescope stripped stars of "spurious" or "adventitious" rays, so that what was seen here was, as Galileo put it, the bare star. In fact, the "diffraction" of light waves through the telescope's aperture creates the globe-like appearance seen here, greatly inflating the star's apparent size. What is seen here is in fact spurious, and not the bare body of the star. A full understanding of diffraction, the wave nature of light, and star images seen in telescopes was not developed until the early nineteenth century. Image credit: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Alte und Seltene Drucke.

than the apparent diameter Riccioli would later determine for Sirius, although it overlaps with Riccioli's measurement for stars like Alcor. Salviatti goes on to spend several pages discussing the non-telescopic methods.

However, 2160 solar distances is 216 times the distance of Saturn. Brahe, having searched for parallax but not detected it, stated that fixed stars would have to be at least 700 times more distant than Saturn.[34] Thus

34. Ann Blair, "Tycho Brahe's Critique of Copernicus and the Copernican System," *Journal for the History of Ideas,* 51 (1990), 355–77, here 364; Kristian Peder Moesgaard, "Copernican Influence on Tycho Brahe," in: *The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory*, ed. Jerzy Dobrzyck (Dordrecht, 1972), 30–55, here 51.

Simplicio comes back to the failure to detect annual parallax; 2160 solar distances is not far enough to explain its absence:

> when one assumes the star of the sixth magnitude to be as large as the sun . . . it still remains true that the earth's orbit would necessarily cause changes and variations in the stellar sphere similar to the observable changes produced by the earth's radius in regard to the sun. No such changes, or even smaller ones, being observed among the fixed stars, it appears to me that by this fact the annual movement of the earth is rendered untenable and is overthrown.[35]

Salviati responds that "nothing prevents our supposing that the distance of the fixed stars is still much greater than has been assumed." He argues that the periods of celestial bodies suggest that the stars could be much more distant still. He notes how, in the Copernican system, the periods of time required for celestial bodies to complete their cycles increase with distance from the sun: Saturn is farther from the sun than Jupiter and takes longer than Jupiter to circle the sun; likewise for Jupiter versus Mars. Salviati points out that, according to Ptolemy, the period for the precession of the fixed stars is over a thousand times longer than Saturn's period. By comparing the period of the fixed stars to those of Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, Salviati supposes that stellar distances could be five, seven, or twelve times larger, respectively, than the 2160 solar distance value he previously calculated.[36]

But to suppose the stars are five, seven, or twelve times more distant than previously calculated is to suppose (via Figure 1) that the stars are five, seven, or twelve times greater in actual diameter than previously calculated—namely, that sixth-magnitude stars are five, seven, or twelve times greater in actual diameter than the sun (and thus 125, 343, or 1728 times greater in volume). The more prominent stars, such as first-magnitude stars, are larger still; Salviati had said these measure six times the apparent diameter of the sixth-magnitude stars. If first- and sixth-magnitude stars are assumed to be similarly distant, then the first-magnitude stars must be six times the actual diameter of the sixth-magnitude stars. First- and sixth-magnitude stars cannot all be assumed to be of the same size, for that would require the first-magnitude ones to be six times closer, and thus subject to greater parallax.

Salviati and Sagredo at this point launch into a discussion regarding Divine Providence, what sizes are comprehensible, whether some size is

35. *Dialogue*, 423.
36. *Dialogue*, 424.

greater than God can accomplish, and whether certain amounts of space are purposeless. They discuss the relative sizes of elephants and ants, whales and gudgeons, the universe and the moon. Sagredo declares that "a great ineptitude exists on the part of those who would have it that God made the universe more in proportion to the small capacity of their reason than to His immense, His infinite, power."[37] However, Simplicio, citing *Disquisitions* again, pulls the discourse back to the star size question. Salviati has implicitly granted that little sixth-magnitude stars, barely visible to the eye, are at least five times the sun's actual diameter and 125 times the sun's volume, with prominent stars being thirty times the sun's actual diameter, and 27,000 times its volume. The question of the "other side" remains unanswered then. Notes Simplicio:

> All this that you are saying is good, but what the other side objects to is having to grant that a fixed star must be not only equal to, but much greater than, the sun; for both are still individual bodies located within the stellar orb [i.e. within the universe].[38]

Here Simplicio is pointing out that in a geocentric universe individual fixed stars are commensurate in size to the other *individual bodies* found within the universe, while in a heliocentric universe they are not. Even under Salviati's own numbers, the Copernican system still requires the stars to become a new class of giant celestial bodies—an "ad hoc" creation to answer the scientific problem of parallax. In 1633 Galileo stated, in depositions to the Inquisition, that he did not intend for the *Dialogue* to promote the Copernican system:

> I did not do so [write the *Dialogue*] because I held Copernicus's opinion to be true. Instead, deeming only to be doing a beneficial service, I explained the physical and astronomical reasons that can be advanced for one side and for the other; I tried to show that none of these, neither those in favor of this opinion or that, had the strength of a conclusive proof. . . .[39]

He stated that he did not hold the Copernican opinion at that time, did not hold it when he wrote the *Dialogue*, and that he simply over-wrote the pro-Copernican side of the book (to an extent he had not realized until he had recently reread the book) merely out of a desire to appear clever.[40]

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37. *Dialogue*, 429.
38. *Dialogue*, 430.
39. Maurice Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Berkeley, 1989), 287.
40. Finocchiaro, *Galileo Affair*, 278, 287.

Simplicio's incisive "individual bodies" comment regarding the star size question might have been something in the *Dialogue* to which Galileo could have referred in support of these statements to the Inquisition, had he wished to do so.

Within the *Dialogue*, however, Simplicio's comment is allowed to pass. The conversation quickly reverts to discussions of "purpose." Then Salviati declares that he has "already demonstrated two things." One of these is the distance to the fixed stars needed to solve the parallax problem (he ignores that Simplicio has said that he has not). The other is that a visible "fixed star" need not be assumed to be larger than the sun (he here omits reference to just "sixth-magnitude" fixed stars). He then proceeds to question whether anyone has actually "tried to investigate in any way whether any phenomena is perceived in the stellar sphere by which one might boldly affirm or deny the annual motion of the earth."[41] Sagredo answers "no," that they would have no need, since Copernicus already says no parallax can be detected. Sagredo continues:

> Then on this assumption they show the improbability which follows from it; namely, it would be required to make the [stellar] sphere so immense that in order for a fixed star to look as large as it does, it would actually have to be so immense in bulk as to exceed the earth's orbit—a thing which is, as they say, entirely unbelievable.[42]

Here Sagredo agrees with Brahe that enormous fixed stars are in fact entirely unbelievable. Salviati may speak of elephants and ants, whales and gudgeons, but Sagredo apparently considers having the sun be the sole ant in a universe of elephants, the sole gudgeon in a universe of whales, to be beyond belief. Despite his earlier statement about seeing a great ineptitude in those who put limits on the power of God, Sagredo seems to think intellectual economy does imply some constraints. Kepler, of course, would have disagreed.

Salviati passes over Sagredo's "entirely unbelievable" remark, focusing instead on Sagredo's answer of "no." Salviati says that arguments based on Copernicus's own statements "may suffice to refute the man, but certainly not to clear up the fact."[43] He now turns to methods by which annual parallax might be detected and Earth's orbital motion revealed, engaging in a lengthy discussion with Sagredo regarding how fixed stars in different

41. *Dialogue*, 431–32.
42. *Dialogue*, 432.
43. *Dialogue*, 432.

regions of the sky will show this or that specific effect or variation owing to that motion.

During this discussion, Simplicio reminds the others that, regardless of the details, he feels repugnance at being asked to grant that stellar distances are so great that all the variations discussed will be "entirely imperceptible." He notes that "if the variation is null, then the annual motion attributed to the Earth in its orbit is null." He grants that, were those variations detectable, he would have to concede the point to Salviati.[44]

Salviati, meanwhile, suggests two methods for detecting the variations in the stars caused by Earth's annual motion. He believes these methods have not been tried before and would be more sensitive than those that have been tried. They would be more sensitive even than what Tycho Brahe could achieve with his instruments—and Salviati grants that Brahe's vaunted instruments were expensive and his skill at observations remarkable.

Salviati's first suggestion is to use the fixed stars by themselves to reveal Earth's motion. He states,

> it is not entirely impossible for something some time to become observable among the fixed stars by which it might be discovered what the annual motion does reside in. Then they, too . . . would appear in court to give witness to such motion in favor of the earth. For I do not believe that the stars are spread over a spherical surface at equal distances from one center; I suppose their distances from us vary so much that some are two or three times as remote as others. Thus if some tiny star were found by the telescope quite close to some of the larger ones, and if that one were therefore very very remote, it might happen that some sensible alterations would take place among them [that reflect Earth's annual motion].[45]

Salviati is suggesting that, if stars lie at differing distances (as we saw St. Albert the Great describe earlier) and not all on a sphere, then one star could be used as a reference point against another. Were two stars arranged as Salviati states—a smaller-looking star next to a larger-looking one, the smaller-looking star being farther away than the other—it would follow that, were Earth orbiting the sun, the alignment of these two stars would change over the course of a year. The stars would exhibit a "differential parallax" (Figure 5).

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44. *Dialogue*, 448, 438, 449.
45. *Dialogue*, 444.

FIGURE 5. Earth orbits the sun (s), as shown at top left, moving clockwise from A to B. Stars q and p are both similar in size to the sun, located at differing distances from Earth. When the Earth is at A, the line of sight from Earth to q and p causes the two stars to appear very close together (below left). When Earth is at B, the two stars appear more separated (below right). When Earth returns to A, the two stars will again appear very close together. This is "differential parallax."

However, when Salviati remarks on what might occur "*if* some tiny star were found by the telescope" near a larger star, he does not mention that Galileo had found examples of such "double stars," and observed them with the telescope, a decade and a half prior to the *Dialogue's* publication. Galileo and his friend Benedetto Castelli made the first known observation of a double star in 1617. The star was Mizar, the star at the bend of the handle of the Big Dipper. Seen with the naked eye, it appears to be a single star, but a telescope reveals it to be double.

Castelli observed Mizar first, then informed Galileo about it.[46] Galileo observed it and measured it with precision, recording both the separation of its two components and the apparent diameters of those components. Based on this record, we can reconstruct what he saw through his telescope, as seen in Figure 6. Galileo also calculated the distance to the

46. Leos Ondra, "A New View of Mizar," *Sky & Telescope* 108 (2004), 72–75. Prior to Ondra's work, the first observation of a double star had been attributed to Riccioli. Ondra made his discovery by going through Galileo's observing notes. An extended version of the *Sky & Telescope* article is available on Ondra's web page: http://www.leosondra.cz/en/mizar/.

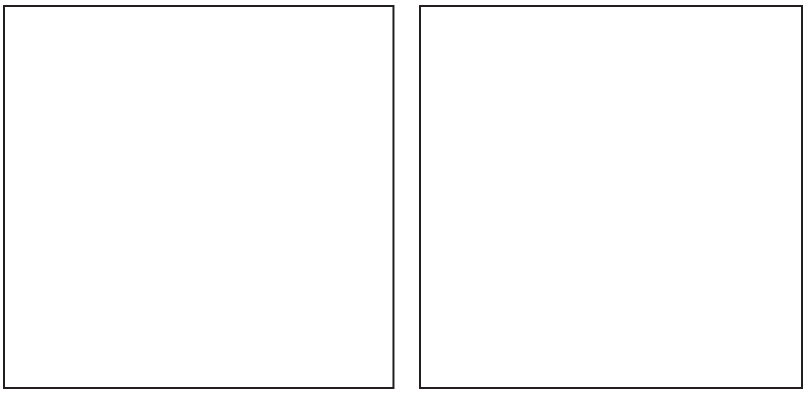

FIGURE 6. Left is the appearance of Mizar through Galileo's telescope, according to Galileo's measurements. The illustration at right perhaps gives a better idea of the view through Galileo's telescope.

brighter of the two Mizar component stars, which astronomers now call *Mizar A*. As in Salviati's *Dialogue* discussion of sixth-magnitude stars, Galileo assumed Mizar A to be the same actual size as the sun, and then calculated that, since he measured the apparent diameter of Mizar A as being 1/300th that of the sun, its distance was 300 solar distances.[47]

Thus while Salviati states that, "*if* some tiny star were found by the telescope" near a larger one, then the stars would "appear in court to give witness" to Earth's motion, in fact such a star had been found in Mizar in 1617. Galileo is known to have observed other double or multiple star systems, including the Trapezium system in Orion, which he sketched with great accuracy, all more than a decade prior to publication of the *Dialogue*.[48] Mizar shows no differential parallax, even though the differential parallax for a double star at 300 solar distances would be dramatic, and

47. All this is found in Galileo's notes, in Antonio Favaro, ed., *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei: Edizione Nazionale sotto gli Auspicii di Sua Maesta` il Re d'Italia* (Firenze, 1890–1909), vol. 3, pt. 2, 877. Galileo recorded the apparent diameters as being 6 seconds and 4 seconds—somewhat larger than the apparent diameters he gave for fixed stars in the *Dialogue* discussion covered in this paper. He recorded their separation as being 15 arc seconds, in complete agreement with modern measurements. Galileo's telescopic observations were remarkably accurate—see Christopher M. Graney, "On the accuracy of Galileo's observations," *Baltic Astronomy,* 15 (2007), 443–49.

48. Harald Seibert, "The Early Search for Stellar Parallax: Galileo, Castelli, and Ramponi," *Journal for the History of Astronomy,* 36 (2005), 251–71.

would reveal Earth's motion in a very short period of time. Nor does the Trapezium show any differential parallax, nor do the other close star groupings that Galileo observed. In fact, no double star that an astronomer of that time might have observed shows differential parallax. The witness had not been given. The absence of differential parallax requires the stars to be far more distant than the values Salviati promotes, even far more distant than the twelve-times-2160-solar-distances value that he suggested based on the period of Mars. Thus, the stars must also be far larger than he says, if the universe is heliocentric.[49] The star size question remains.

Salviati's second suggestion for a method to detect Earth's motion involves the fixed stars together with a pole or wooden beam, a telescope, and a lot of distance. Imagine, he says, an open plain. On the north side of the plain is a mountain, atop which is a chapel, with a horizontal beam of wood or some other material mounted above its roof. Then, he says,

> I shall seek in the plain that place from which one of the stars of the Big Dipper is hidden by this beam . . . just when the star crosses the meridian. Or else, if the beam is not large enough to hide the star, I shall find the place from which the disc of the star is seen to be cut in half by the beam—an effect which can be discerned perfectly by means of a fine telescope.[50]

Thus as Earth moves, the star will (when observed under the same conditions at different dates) peek out on one side or the other of the obstructing beam—that is, exhibit a parallax—owing to the change of Earth's position relative to the star. Here Salviati is invoking the ability of the telescope to show the disk of a star "bare and very many times enlarged" that he mentioned earlier in the discussion. Figure 7 shows a representation of the appearance of a star as seen through a very small telescope such as Galileo's, with simulations of the beam cutting the star in half and revealing Earth's motion in the manner Salviati envisions.

There is something fundamentally problematic in what Salviati says here. As we shall see shortly, the disk-like appearance of stars in a small telescope, seen in Figure 4, was a false product of the telescope, formed entirely within the telescope. It did not exist outside the telescope. And since it did not exist outside the telescope, it could not be cut in half by anything outside the telescope. Any astronomer who tried in any way to

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49. Christopher M. Graney and Henry Sipes, "Regarding the Potential Impact of Double Star Observations on Conceptions of the Universe of Stars in the Early 17th Century," *Baltic Astronomy,* 18 (2009), 93–108.

50. *Dialogue*, 451.

Figure 7. Left—a star seen through a telescope of very small aperture, from Figure 4. Center—simulated view of the star supposedly "cut in half" by Salviati's distant wooden beam. Right—simulated view showing how, after a period of time, the Earth's motion relative to the star might cause the position of the beam against the star to change, proving that Earth indeed moves. If, after one year, the star is once again divided in half by the beam, then Earth's motion around the sun (in which it returns annually to the same place) will be clearly demonstrated. As seen in Figure 4, the appearance of a star in a small telescope is entirely spurious. Thus this disk of the star, being but an artefact of light formed within the telescope, in fact cannot be cut by an external object in this manner.

cut the disk of a star by means of an external obstructing object would quickly realize that Salviati was talking nonsense about this supposedly perfectly discernable effect.

Salviatti's "obstructing beam" discourse is roughly the end of the *Dialogue's* star size discussion. He declares that the detection of parallax in a star would be a great achievement in astronomy, "for by this means, besides ascertaining the annual motion, we shall be able to gain a knowledge of the size and distance of that same star." Salviati and Sagredo exchange a few words about whether anyone has ever tried the obstructing beam procedure, with Salviati stating that he thinks not, "for it is improbable that if anyone had tried this he would not have mentioned the result, whichever opinion it turned out to favor."[51] Sagredo states his complete satisfaction, and moves to change the topic to details about Earth's motion. This ends Salviati's response to the star size argument from Scheiner and Locher's *Disquisitions*.

Questions Raised by a False Universe

Tacquet's assessment that the *Dialogue's* long discourse on the star size question failed to elude or even weaken the heliocentric star size

51. *Dialogue*, 451.

problem seems robust. Salviati's own numbers for stellar distances and apparent sizes point to even the smallest visible stars being at least five times the sun's actual diameter. His proposed methods for eventually detecting Earth's motion are problematic and undermine even those numbers. He cannot refute the compact argument Simplicio presents from Scheiner's *Disquisitions*. Remember, of course, that Kepler would not have thought Salviati should refute it; Kepler embraced a heliocentric universe of giant stars and a single unique sun (Figure 8). But Salviati tried to promote a heliocentric universe of sun-like stars, like the universe of Bruno that Kepler opposed. In this Salviati failed. To a knowledgeable and experienced astronomer, Salviati must have appeared to be the simpleton on this subject.

Tacquet offers no specific criticism of the *Dialogue*; was he sufficiently knowledgeable and experienced to recognize fully the depth of Salviati's problems? After all, Vanpaemel notes that Tacquet either made no telescopic observations himself or, if he did, no record of them survives.[52] However, Tacquet cites Riccioli. Riccioli certainly possessed that knowledge and experience. In his *New Almagest*, Riccioli writes of Mizar as being a double star, treats the subject of telescopically measured apparent stellar diameters at length, and calculates the actual sizes of stars required under a heliocentric universe given specific parallax limits (finding that even little Alcor must rival Earth's orbit in size)—and these things take up but a fraction of that book's 1400 pages of dense text and diagrams. And *Disquisitions* and the *New Almagest* were not the only works by Jesuit astronomers. Whether Tacquet himself had the knowledge and experience to recognize fully the shortcomings of Salviati's discourse, that knowledge and experience was available among Jesuit astronomers.

The Scheiner-Galileo-Tacquet exchange illustrates that the heliocentric universe that Jesuit astronomers saw was Kepler's heliocentric universe, with its tiny, brilliant, unique sun orbited by a retinue of tinier planets and surrounded by a universe of distant, enormous, dim, and not-very-sun-like stars. Works by Jesuit astronomers undoubtedly informed others in the Church, including those involved in the actions taken against heliocentrism in the first half of the seventeenth century.

A thorough investigation of the extent to which Kepler's universe and the star size question informed those actions remains to be undertaken. Certainly not all opinions regarding heliocentrism were informed by the

52. Vanpaemel, "Jesuit Science," 407.

FIGURE 8. Diagram from Kepler's 1618 *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy* (p. 36), showing the sun as a small dot (just visible at the center), surrounded by larger stars. Image credit: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Alte und Seltene Drucke.

implications of carefully measured apparent star sizes and the failure to detect parallax. Not everyone who favored the Copernican hypothesis considered the stars to be giant. Not everyone who opposed that hypothesis did so because of the star size question and concerns about God and intellectual economy. Bruno, of course, is an example of the former. Niccolò Lorini, who in 1615 filed a complaint about Galileo with the Inquisition in Rome, would seem to be an example of the latter, as his complaint mentions not heliocentrism and star sizes but rather conflicts between heliocentrism and a plain reading of scripture.[53]

However, some persons in the Church who were involved in the actions taken against heliocentrism certainly were informed about the star size question. Msgr. Francesco Ingoli, who Galileo believed to have been influential in the rejection of heliocentrism by the Congregation of the Index in 1616, cited the star size argument against Copernicus in his writings.[54] Fr. Melchior Inchofer, S.J. who was selected for a three-person

53. Finocchiaro, *Galileo Affair*, 28, 134–35.

54. Ingoli in a 1616 essay to Galileo referenced Brahe and noted that the Copernican system requires "the fixed stars to be of such size, as they may surpass or equal the size of the orbit circle of the Earth itself"—see Graney, *Setting Aside*, 70–72, 167–68; this book includes a full translation of Ingoli's essay.

Special Commission formed by Pope Urban VIII to investigate the publication of the *Dialogue*, likewise noted the star size question.[55]

Suppose that familiarity with the star size question, illustrated in the Scheiner-Galileo-Tacquet exchange, went beyond Ingoli and Inchofer. Might one then look differently at a more prominent figure like Robert Cardinal Bellarmine and his interactions with heliocentrism and Galileo? Bellarmine famously demanded that hard evidence in favor of heliocentrism be produced prior to any re-interpretation of the Bible's references to Earth's immobility or the sun's motion as referring to only appearances rather than to actualities. Writing in April 1615, he said,

> I say that if there were a true demonstration . . . that the sun does not circle the earth but the earth circles the sun, then one would have to proceed with great care in explaining the Scriptures that appear contrary, and say rather that we do not understand them than that what is demonstrated is false. But I will not believe that there is such a demonstration, until it is shown me. Nor is it the same to demonstrate that by supposing the sun to be at the center and the earth in heaven one can save the appearances, and to demonstrate that in truth the sun is at the center and the earth in heaven; for I believe the first demonstration may be available, but I have very great doubts about the second, and in the case of doubt one must not abandon the Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Holy Fathers.[56]

Some have argued that Bellarmine was not truly interested in such evidence and would not have been persuaded by it. Consider, for example, the modern Jesuit astronomer George Coyne, Director of the Specola Vaticana, the Vatican's astronomical observatory at Castel Gandolfo in Italy and Mt. Graham in Arizona, from 1978 to 2006, and a member of the 1980s Galileo Commission appointed by Pope St. John Paul II. Citing Bellarmine's statement that "I will not believe that there is such a demonstration until it is shown me," Coyne wrote:

> it is clear that Bellarmine was convinced that there was no such demonstration to be shown. A further indication of this conviction of Bellarmine is had in the fact that he supported the decree of the Congrega-

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55. Inchofer in his 1633 *Tractatus Syllepticus* noted that "the defenders of the Copernican system imagine that, since the stars are seen at an almost infinite distance, they have a size which is explicable by hardly any proportion"—see Richard J. Blackwell, *Behind the Scenes at Galileo's Trial: Including the First English Translation of Melchior Inchofer's Tractatus Syllepticus* (Notre Dame, IN, 2006), 182.

56. Finocchiaro, *Galileo Affair*, 68.

> tion of the Index in 1616 [declaring heliocentrism both "false" and "contrary to the Holy Scripture"[57]] which was aimed at excluding any reconciliation of Copernicanism with Scripture. If Bellarmine truly believed that there might be a demonstration of Copernicanism, why did he not recommend waiting and not taking a stand? . . . And why did he accept to deliver an admonition to Galileo in 1616? This admonition prohibited Galileo from pursuing his research as regards Copernicanism. Galileo was forbidden to seek precisely those scientific demonstrations which, according to Bellarmine, would have driven theologians back to reinterpret Scripture. . . . Bellarmine was convinced that there would never be a demonstration of Copernicanism and that the Scriptures taught an Earth-centered universe.[58]

Consider also Harvard astronomer and historian of science Owen Gingerich, who has suggested that Bellarmine might not have accepted as a true demonstration of Earth's motion even the discovery of annual parallax, or of the Foucault Pendulum often displayed in science museums today as a demonstration of Earth's rotation.[59]

Other authors assess Bellarmine differently, of course. Historian David Wootton, for example, has written that Bellarmine was not advocating a ban on the discussion of heliocentrism and was prepared to accept that it could be demonstrated to be true.[60] And Bellarmine himself had stated that evidence could indeed supersede Scripture in astronomical matters. Decades before he became involved with the debate over heliocentrism, he had argued in his Louvain lectures that Scripture suggested that celestial bodies were not carried by any celestial machinery, but rather moved autonomously, "like the birds of the air or the fish of the water." This was contrary to then-standard astronomy; Christopher Clavius, S.J., in his widely used astronomy text, specifically said that celestial bodies do not move like birds or fish. However, Bellarmine granted that, while Scripture seemed to support autonomous motion,

> If then one ascertained with evidence that the motions of the heavenly bodies are not autonomous . . . one would have to consider a way of interpreting the Scriptures which would put them in agreement with the

57. Finocchiaro, *Galileo Affair*, 149.

58. George V. Coyne, "Galileo and Bellarmine," in: *The Inspiration of Astronomical Phenomena VI: ASP Conference Series,* Vol. 441, ed. Enrico Maria Corsini (San Francisco, 2011), 7-8.

59. Owen Gingerich, *God's Universe* (Cambridge, 2006), 91–94.

60. David Wootton, *Galileo: Watcher of the Skies* (New Haven, 2013), 144–45.

> ascertained truth: for it is certain that the true meaning of Scripture cannot be in contrast with any other truth.[61]

Nevertheless, let us imagine the Bellarmine of 1615 as Coyne did—adamant that no evidence could demonstrate the veracity of heliocentrism. The heliocentric universe that Coyne's Bellarmine probably had in mind when he expressed skepticism toward heliocentrism in 1615, and eventually stood against it in 1616, would have been Kepler's giant stars universe. After all, that is what Bellarmine would have gathered from Jesuit astronomers like Scheiner. And if Salviati could not effectively argue against Scheiner in 1632, Galileo certainly could not have done so in 1615. Do we then look differently at even Coyne's Bellarmine? As he stood convinced that no demonstration of heliocentrism was possible, the heliocentrism he would surely have had in mind was a heliocentrism that even Sagredo would call "entirely unbelievable"—all the while Brahe's geocentric universe (with its stars located just beyond Saturn and commensurate in size with the other celestial bodies) was a scientifically viable option, supported by Jesuit astronomers.

While the extent to which these sorts of astronomical considerations informed Bellarmine's view on heliocentrism awaits investigation, examples can be found of such considerations being thought capable of swaying the interpretation of Scripture. Bellarmine's Louvain lectures are one example. Another is an assessment in 1661 from the French Jesuit Honoré Fabri regarding heliocentrism specifically—that the Church does not operate against evidence, and so if some demonstration of the validity of the Copernican hypothesis were found, the Church would not scruple to declare that those passages of Scripture that speak of an immobile Earth or a moving sun are to be understood in a figurative sense.[62] A third is the Inquisition consultant and Jesuit Pietro Lazzari, who urged in 1757 that the general prohibition against "all books teaching the earth's motion and the sun's immobility" be removed from the *Index*. Lazzari said that the evidence was indeed against Copernicus in 1616 when the Congregation of the Index had declared heliocentrism "false" and contrary to Scripture:

> Thus, one can say that at that time there were good reasons or motives for [the Copernican system] being prudently prescribed. I consider three of these reasons for prescribing it. Firstly, this opinion of the earth's

61. Roberto Bellarmino, *The Louvain lectures (Lectiones Lovanienses) of Bellarmine and the Autograph copy of his 1616 declaration to Galileo,* eds. Ugo Baldini and George V. Coyne (Città del Vaticano, 1984), 19–20, 38 n. 88.

62. Maurice Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo, 1633-1992* (Berkeley, 2005), 93–94.

> motion was new and was rejected and branded with serious objections by *most excellent astronomers and physicists*. Secondly, it was deemed to be contrary to Scripture when taken in the proper and literal sense; and this was conceded even by the defenders of that opinion. Thirdly, no strong reason or demonstration was advanced to oblige or counsel us to so disregard Scripture and support this opinion.[63]

Lazzari goes on to note all the strong evidence that had since accumulated for heliocentrism, specifically since the advent of Newtonian physics at the end of the seventeenth century, that now obliged and counseled support for the heliocentric opinion.[64] Lazzari prevailed. The general prohibition against heliocentrism was lifted.

Beyond any specific figure such as Bellarmine, does the star size question illustrated in the Scheiner-Galileo-Tacquet exchange prompt us to look differently even at institutional actions like the prohibition against heliocentrism? Does it matter what sort of heliocentric universe the Congregation of the Index had in mind when it labelled heliocentrism "false"? What does it mean if the heliocentric universe they had in mind was Kepler's—the heliocentric universe that observations, measurements, and calculations required? After all, that universe was indeed "false," insofar as today astronomers know that the sun is not the unique central body of all the universe, and the stars are not all far larger than the sun. Modern astronomers see great diversity in the stars: a very small portion of the stars are indeed far larger than the sun; many more are comparable to the sun; the vast majority are small "red dwarf" stars far outclassed by the sun.

This paper suggests no answers to the questions proposed here. That is not its purpose. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how, to Jesuit astronomers in the seventeenth century—and indeed to any astronomers of that time who were persuaded by observations, measurements, and calculations, and to anyone who might have consulted such astronomers for their expertise—the Copernican universe looked radically different from the universe as modern astronomers understand it. But understanding this allows these sorts of interesting questions to be asked. Thus the details of the Scheiner-Galileo-Tacquet exchange are worth the time of the general reader of *The Catholic Historical Review*.

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63. Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo*, 139 (italics added).
64. Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo*, 137–48.

False Stars

No other Jesuit could follow Tacquet in effectively wielding the star size argument against heliocentrism, however. In 1674, Robert Hooke published his *An Attempt to Prove the Motion of the Earth*. In it, he cites Tacquet as being a leading anti-Copernican who wielded the star size argument forcefully. But Hooke also mentions an observation that would in time nullify the star size argument. This was not the supposed observation of annual parallax that was the central feature of the book. No, Hooke reported that he had been able to observe through his telescope during the daylight a fixed star at the zenith; he noted how that star appeared to be very, very small; and he noted that this observation answered Tacquet (and Riccioli):

> [B]y this Observation of the Star in the day time when the Sun shined, with my 36 foot Glass I found the body of the Star so very small, that it was but some few thirds [i.e. *sixtieths* of an arc second] in Diameter, all the spurious rayes that do beard it in the night being cleerly shaved away, and the naked body thereof left a very small white point.
>
> The smalness of this body thus discovered does very fully answer a grand objection alledged by divers of the great *Anti-copernicans* with great vehemency and insulting; amonst which we may reckon *Ricciolus* and *Tacquet*, who would fain make the apparent Diameters of the Stars so big, as that the body of the Star should contain the great Orb [Earth's orbit] many times, which would indeed swell the Stars to a magnitude vastly bigger then the Sun, thereby hoping to make it seem so improbable, as to be rejected by all parties. But they that shall by this means examine the Diameter of the fixt Stars, will find them so very small that according to these distances and Parallax they will not much differ in magnitude from the body of the Sun. . . .[65]

In fact, even Hooke's method did not reveal the naked body of a star—that remains beyond most telescopes even today—but his observation gave evidence that previous telescopic measurements of star sizes were in error. Nor was Hooke the first to obtain such evidence.

In fact, the problem of measuring the apparent diameter of a "star," be it a fixed star or a wandering "star"—that is, a planet—was most difficult. For example, consider the case of the wandering star Venus. A keen eye saw Venus as a bright dot with an apparent diameter approximately one tenth that of the moon (as Ptolemy and Brahe said). But through the

65. Robert Hooke, *An Attempt to Prove the Motion of the Earth from Observations* (London: Printed by T.R. for John Martyn, 1674), 26.

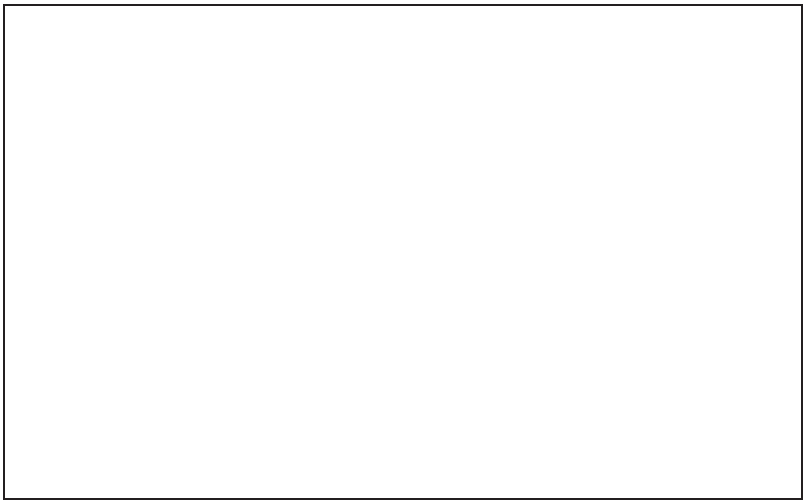

Figure 9. The moon and Venus, seen from the Kamchatka peninsula in November of 2021, as simulated via the *Stellarium* planetarium app. Left is the view with the eye; right is the view with the telescope. Note that the size of Venus relative to the moon is much smaller in the right-hand image, and that Venus shows a phase like the moon.

telescope, Venus's disk appeared much smaller relative to the moon's disk—the telescope seemingly enlarged the moon more than it enlarged Venus (Figure 9). Moreover, seen through the telescope, the disk of Venus varied in apparent diameter over time, and showed the phases Galileo had discovered, ranging from nearly a full disk to a slim crescent (Figure 10). The explanation for all this was that the telescope stripped away the glare or "spurious rays" or "adventitious irradiation" from Venus, revealing the bare body of the wandering star, and thus its true form and its correct apparent size.

The telescope was thought to do also the same thing for fixed stars. The telescopes of the seventeenth century indeed revealed fixed stars to be distinct disks. Refer again to Figure 4, and consider the following observation recorded by John Flamsteed, the first English Astronomer Royal:

> 1672, October 22. When Mercury was about 10 deg. high, I observed him in the garden with my longer tube (of 14 foot); but could not with it see the fixa [fixed star] (near him), the daylight being too strong; only I noted his diameter 45 parts = 16″ [seconds of arc], or a little less; for, turning the tube to Sirius, I found his diameter 42 parts = 15″, which I

FIGURE 10. Galileo's illustration of the changing phases and apparent diameter of Venus, from his 1623 *Il Saggiatore* (p. 217). Image credit: History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

> judged equal to Mercury's. The aperture on the object-glass was ¾ of an inch: so that Sirius was well deprived of spurious rays, and shined not turbulently, but as sedate as Mercury; the limbs of both well defined, but Sirius best.[66]

Note Flamsteed's indication that the disk of Sirius was more clearly defined than that of the planet Mercury. Note also that the apparent diameter of 15 seconds that Flamsteed gives for Sirius is not much different from Riccioli and Tacquet's value of 18 seconds. The telescope also improved sensitivity to parallax, forcing the stars to be more distant. Riccioli's calculation of star sizes that showed that even little Alcor must rival Earth's orbit in size was based on this improved sensitivity.[67]

Neither Flamsteed nor Riccioli nor any other astronomer of the time understood that, in the case of a fixed star, the disk revealed by the telescope was false and formed within the telescope itself, a product of "diffraction"—the interaction of light waves with the small aperture of the telescope. On the other hand, in the case of Venus, the disk (and its phases) revealed by the telescope was true. This was a most difficult issue, not to be fully worked out until a satisfactory wave theory of light was developed in

66. Graney, *Setting Aside*, 152.
67. Graney, *Setting Aside*, 135.

the early nineteenth century.[68] At any rate, as Flamsteed's 1672 observation record shows, during much of the seventeenth century, the telescopically observed and measured disks of stars were thought to be the actual bodies of those stars.

Hooke obtained evidence that they were not, but he was not the first to do so. Shortly before Tacquet's death in 1660, Christiaan Huygens had published observations similar to Hooke's, although Flamsteed rejected them (indeed, Flamsteed's observations of Sirius and Mercury quoted above were part of a discussion rejecting Huygens). Shortly thereafter, however, Johannes Hevelius published observations by Jeremiah Horrocks to the effect that the disks of stars could not be cut by an obstructing body (the moon, specifically), which suggested they were spurious. Riccioli himself may have lost faith in the star size argument by the mid-1660s.[69] Hooke's work simply dealt another blow to the argument. The spurious nature of any telescopic measurement of apparent stellar diameters was becoming manifest. The idea that Salviati promoted, that stars were sun-like bodies at distances so vast that Earth's orbit was nothing by comparison, was becoming something that observations and measurements could actually support—that is, that *science* could actually support. But science did not progress steadily in this case. In 1717 Jacques Cassini, a well-respected French astronomer, published a paper supporting the idea that

68. Christopher M. Graney and Timothy P. Grayson, "On the telescopic disks of stars—a review and analysis of stellar observations from the early 17th through the middle 19th centuries," *Annals of Science* 68 (2011), 351–73.

69. Graney, *Setting Aside*, 148–157. There is also an intriguing discussion in Kepler's 1618 *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy*. Earlier in *Epitome* Kepler puts forward the same ideas as discussed here: stars being large (Figure 8); the idea that the farther away a star is supposed to be, the larger its true physical size must be; the use of star sizes against Bruno. But several hundred pages later, Kepler contradicts his earlier discussion by stating that stars are incredibly small—just a tiny fraction of the diameter of the sun. This stems from an argument about the nature of the universe that is based not on observations but on assumptions Kepler makes regarding matter and the densities of different regions of the universe. Kepler justifies these tiny stars by means of a general statement that the fixed stars, when observed by a skilled astronomer using a telescope, appear as mere points of light. This raises the possibility that Kepler had learned of observations suggesting the false nature of telescopically measured star sizes well before Horrocks and Huygens. Likewise, Ingoli makes an intriguing comment about stars not "operating" like other bodies. However, one telescopic astronomer after another in the first two thirds of the seventeenth century referred to stars seen through telescopes as being finite, measurable disks, and not as being immeasurable points. Thus, absent a description such as that provided by Horrocks or Huygens that explains how a skilled astronomer would see stars as mere points, or how stars would operate differently, Kepler's "points" comment and Ingoli's "operating" comment should perhaps be considered to be anomalous. See Graney, "Starry Universe," 162–66.

telescopic measurement of apparent stellar diameters were indeed valid. He republished this idea in a book of 1740.[70] When Lazzari was arguing for the Copernican system in 1757, one could find a recently-published astronomy text that, citing Cassini, reported how a telescope could reliably reveal the apparent diameter of bright fixed stars to be about five seconds of arc, just as Salviati claimed more than a century earlier.[71] Firm scientific support for the stars being sun-like bodies did not come easily.

Conclusion: Science, Stars and Universes

Modern astronomers indeed see great diversity in the stars, but in a broad sense modern astronomers do understand stars to be sun-like bodies at vast distances. Thus it might seem to follow that those voices from four centuries ago that promoted the idea that stars were distant suns—whether they were the voices of real persons like Bruno, or of fictional characters like Salviati—were "voices of science" in some sense. Correspondingly, it might seem that opposing voices from that time were in some sense in opposition to science, disinterested in scientific evidence.[72]

But through much of the seventeenth century, science—observations, measurements, and calculations—did not support that modern view of what stars are. The views science supported were Kepler's heliocentric view of stars being distant, dim bodies that utterly dwarf the sun and the other celestial bodies, and Brahe's geocentric view of stars being just beyond Saturn and

70. Jacques Cassini, "De le Grandeur des Etoiles Fixes, et de Leur Distance a la Terre," 13 Nov. 1717, in: *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, Avec les Mémoires de Mathématique et de Physique Annee MDCCXVII* (Paris, 1741). Cassini describes measuring the apparent diameter of Sirius by observing both it and Jupiter with a long telescope of reduced aperture, and comparing the two bodies to find that Sirius measures 1/10th Jupiter's diameter, or about five seconds: "Le diametre apparent de Jupiter étoit alors de 50 secondes, d'où il resulte que celui de Sirius étoit d'environ 5 secondes [pp. 258–59]." The same can be found in found in Cassini's book *Elements d'Astronomie* (Paris, 1740), 50.

71. John Hill, *Urania, or a Compleat View of the Heavens, etc. in the form of a Dictionary,* Vol. I (London, 1754): In the entry for "STARS, fixed" (no page numbers) is "The observation of Sirius's diameter being five seconds, had, for its author, one of the most accurate, and most judicious astronomers the world has ever known, Cassini, and, *whenever it is repeated with the same apparatus, it succeeds in the same manner, and verified very punctually* [italics added]." The author also discusses the alternate view that stars do not have truly measurable apparent diameters, stating "it may be well to advise repeated experiments and observations farther to determine which is right." The entry for "DISTANCE of the fixed Stars" describes Cassini's method of measuring stellar apparent diameters, and it also gives five seconds as the diameter of Sirius, and states that those who grant the most prominent fixed stars no apparent diameters seem to be "carrying it too far."

72. See Mario Livio, *Galileo and the Science Deniers* (New York, 2020).

commensurate in size with the other celestial bodies. Jesuit astronomers like Christoph Scheiner, Giovanni Battista Riccioli, and André Tacquet understood this. Others who might have listened to Jesuit astronomers, including those involved in actions by Church authorities against Galileo and the heliocentric system, would have understood this, too.

To many, Kepler's starry universe was what Galileo's character Sagredo said—"beyond belief," a violation of intellectual economy, or even perhaps, "foolish and absurd in philosophy." Brahe's geocentric universe was the remaining choice. Tacquet says that Galileo tried in vain to elude, in essence, the choice of either Kepler or Brahe. Tacquet sees that while he himself and other anti-Copernicans could offer science against a heliocentric universe of sun-like stars, Galileo's character Salviati could offer only intuition in favor of such a universe.

That intuition turned out, of course, to be correct. But at the time that intuition could not survive even the comments of Galileo's character Simplicio, much less Jesuit astronomers like Scheiner and Tacquet wielding observations and calculations against it. Thus the back-and-forth from Scheiner to Galileo to Tacquet shows that the heliocentric universe that observations and measurements required, that astronomers discussed, and that church authorities condemned—and that Simplicio rejected, that Sagredo said was beyond belief, and that Salviati sought in vain to elude—was Kepler's universe of monstrous stars enveloping one single, unique solar system and its tiny, brilliant sun. This universe looked radically different from the universe as we understand it today. No modern view of a universe of many distant suns would be scientifically supportable until after Tacquet's death in 1660.

Anticommunism and Détente: Cardinal Mindszenty in the USA, 1973/74

Arpad von Klimo*

When Cardinal József Mindszenty, since 1945 head of the Catholic Church of Hungary, returned for a visit to the United States in 1973, the world had changed dramatically since his first visit in 1947. After his arrest and show trial in Stalinist Hungary, he had become a symbol of heroic anti-Communist resistance during the Cold War. Through negotiations with the U.S. administration and the Vatican in the wider context of Détente and "Vatican Ostpolitik," the negative image of Communist Hungary had changed while Cardinal Mindszenty now seemed to have become a person of the past. These changes had a major impact on how the US government, the Vatican, and American-Hungarians interpreted Mindszenty's visits in 1973 and 1974.

Key words: U.S. Catholic Church, Hungarian Americans, anti-communism, anti-liberalism, détente

Cardinal Mindszenty, Communist Hungary, and the West, 1971–75

After his death in 1975 and during the 1980s when the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe collapsed, many remembered Cardinal József Mindszenty as an international symbol of anticommunist resistance. Today, however, he is largely forgotten in the United States and most parts of the world outside of Hungary. Even his canonization process has not sparked more interest.[1]

This was different when Cardinal Mindszenty visited the USA in 1947 and in the mid-1970s. In 1947, Cardinal Francis Spellman invited him to celebrate Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City.[2] Soon after,

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1. On February 12, 2019, Pope Francis advanced Mindszenty's canonization cause. He is now a "venerable" of the Catholic Church because he "lived the Christian virtues in a heroic way." However, his sainthood case is still in an initial stage. https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/sainthood-causes-blessed-newman-cardinal-mindszenty-advance

2. "Foreign prelates at St Patrick mass," *New York Times*, July 7, 1947.

the Hungarian would become a worldwide symbol for the Christian resistance against Communism in Eastern Europe because of his arrest on Christmas 1948 and after his show trial and incarceration in 1949. This brought tens of thousands of people to protest against the Hungarian regime and communism in general all over the Western world, from West Germany to Australia.[3] Even in Protestant countries like Sweden, Mindszenty was celebrated as a "hero of religious freedom."[4] The U.S. weekly *Time* magazine put Mindszenty on its cover on February 14, 1949, representing him as a modern-day Christian martyr.[5]

His fame in the West resurfaced in 1956, after Mindszenty was liberated by Hungarian troops sympathizing with the anti-Stalinist revolution in late October of that year. However, he could only spend a few days in freedom, giving interviews and a speech on the radio before the arrival of Soviet troops made him seek refuge in the United States Legation (later: Embassy) in Budapest. He would remain there for the next fifteen years, which turned him into a major problem in the relations between the United States, the Vatican, and the Hungarian Communist government. When he finally left the US Embassy in 1971, many Americans, not only Catholics or American-Hungarians but also anticommunist activists and politicians, extended invitations to the Cardinal to visit the United States. The "Hungarian National Committee" (Magyar Nemzeti Bizottság) even wanted to ask the Cardinal to stay permanently in the United States.[6] Numerous local Hungarian diaspora communities in the USA wanted to host Mindszenty during his trip. The question of who invited the Cardinal and whose invitation was accepted by him was politically relevant, as shall be seen.

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3. Cf. Patricia K. Tillman, *Cardinal Mindszenty, Anticommunism, and American Catholicism from the Early Cold War to the Reagan Era*. PhD Dissertation, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, 2018. Many Americans thought that Communism was some kind of religion that needed to be defeated by religious means. Cf. Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle against Communism in the Early Cold War* (Oxford, 2011).

4. A 1948 Swedish postcard called Mindszenty a "hero of religious freedom" ("religionsfrihetens hjälte"). Possession of the author.

5. An illustration on the title page depicted him with prison bars in the background. *Time* magazine, February 14, 1949. Two rather hagiographical biographies were published in the same year in New York: Béla Fábián's *Cardinal Mindszenty: The Story of a Modern Martyr* and Stephen K. Swift's *The Cardinal's Story: The Life and Work of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty.*

6. Report to State Security Agency, Information from Vienna, October 1971. Archives of the Hungarian State Security Agency (Állambiztonsági Szolgalati Történeti Levéltára, hereafter cited as: ÁBTL), 3.2.9. R–8–009/ II "Vecchio," 163.

However, because the nature of the Cold War had changed tremendously during the quarter-century since 1947, the visits of the Cardinal in the early 1970s were accompanied by controversies about his personality and his ideas. These conflicts revealed a changed attitude towards communism in general and a changing view of the Hungarian Communist regime under János Kádár (1912–89) in particular. The Hungarian regime had been a diplomatic outcast since 1945, but even more so since the brutal crushing of the 1956 revolution and the retaliation of the regime against its leaders and activists. This negative image began to change slowly since the early 1960s. Causes for the improvements of Communist Hungary's image were the amnesty of political prisoners in 1963, a step the United States had requested in exchange for the dropping of the embarrassing debates on the 1956 repression from the agenda of the United Nations in New York.[7] Hungary also opened her borders that made it possible for Hungarians to travel to the West, almost at the same time that East Germany walled its citizens in. Tourism, although controlled by the regime, also contributed to a better understanding and introduced some normality in the relations between Hungary and the West.[8] The more open the country became the more difficult it was to portray it in the colors of the black-and-white Cold War propaganda associated with Stalinism, labor camps, torture, and "brain-washing."[9] The dictatorship of the party now used a reduced amount of repression and a new "culture of prevention" against any opposition.[10] Many exiled Hungarians visited the country or received visitors from behind "the Iron Curtain" which made it more difficult to distinguish between friend and foe. A new, friendly-looking propaganda, cultural diplomacy including musical and dance ensembles, modern art exhibitions, and avantgarde movies from communist Hungary added to the changing image.[11] In 1964, the Kádár regime could

7. This was thoroughly studied by Georg Kastner, *Ungarn 1956 vor der UNO*. (Innsbruck et. al. 2010).

8. Tibor Dessewffy, "Speculators and Travelers: The Political Construction of the Tourist in the Kadar Regime," *Cultural Studies,* 16.1 (2002), 44–62. For a more general view, see: Sune Pedersen, Sune Bechmann, and Christian Noack, *Tourism and Travel during the Cold War: Negotiating Tourist Experiences across the Iron Curtain* (London, 2019).

9. On the role the Mindszenty case played in Western debates on "brain washing," see: Paul Betts. "Religion, Science and Cold War Anti-Communism: The 1949 Cardinal Mindszenty Show Trial," *Science, Religion and Communism in Cold War Europe*, eds. Paul Betts and Stephen A. Smit (London, 2016), 275–307.

10. This "culture of prevention" introduced from the Soviet Union is described with regard to the suppression of the Catholic Church in Nicolas Bauquet, *Pouvoir, Eglise et société en Hongrie communiste, 1944–1964*. PhD Thesis, Sciences Po—Institut d'études politiques de Paris, 2013.

11. On Hungarian cultural diplomacy of the time, see Anikó Macher, "Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy," in: *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, eds. Jessica Gienow-Hecht *et al*. [Explorations in culture and international history series, 6] (New York, 2010), 75–108.

celebrate another diplomatic success after the signing of a partial agreement with the Vatican that resulted in a series of further negotiations in relation to the fate of Cardinal Mindszenty, ending in his departure from Hungary in 1971. The improved U.S.-Hungarian relations led to the raising of the status of the US legation in Budapest to embassy, in 1966.

Between 1972 and his death in 1975, the Cardinal visited a number of countries in the Western World. His trips brought him from Vienna, where he resided, to Western Europe (West Germany, Belgium), including Portugal, where he visited Fatima, the graves of Admiral Horthy, and the tomb of the last Hungarian King (and Austrian Emperor) Charles in Madeira.[12] A year later, Mindszenty visited South Africa, where the apartheid regime justified itself by the threat of communism and financed the colonial wars of Portugal until the authoritarian regime there collapsed in 1975.[13] Other destinations were Canada, Venezuela, and New Zealand, among other places. Other countries did not welcome Mindszenty. In France, the question of his visit created a long debate.[14] Everywhere, expectations and interpretations of his visits were different and changed according to the local and national circumstances.

It is important to emphasize the different motivations of those who admired and supported Cardinal Mindszenty during this time. For many Catholics, the Hungarian primate was a martyr whose body was marked by long years of suffering and the final triumph over his enemies. However, this did not necessarily mean that they shared his political and social opin-

12. On the early context of Fatima, see António Teixeira Fernandes, *Igreja e sociedade na monarquia constitucional e na primeira república* (Porto, 2007); Duncan Simpson, "The Catholic Church and the Portuguese Dictatorial Regime: The Case of Paul VI's Visit to Fátima," *Lusitania Sacra* (2008), 329–78; William Christian Jr, "Religious Apparitions and the Cold War in Southern Europe," in: *Religion, Power and Protest in Local Communities: The Northern Shore of the Mediterranean,* ed. Eric A. Wolf (Berlin, Boston, 2015), 239–66; and João Miguel Almeida. "Progressive Catholicism in Portugal: Considerations on Political Activism (1958–1974)," *Histoire@ Politique* 3 (2016), 60–74. On the early Cold War and Fatima, see Monique Scheer, "Catholic Piety in the Early Cold War Years," in: *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies,* eds. Thomas Lindenberger and Annette Vowinckel (New York, 2012), 129–51.

13. Filipe Ribeiro De Meneses and Robert McNamara. "The last throw of the dice: Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1970–74," *Portuguese Studies,* 28.2 (2012), 201–15; Paulo Correia and Grietjie Verhoef, "Portugal and South Africa: Close Allies or Unwilling Partners in Southern Africa during the Cold War?" *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies,* 37.1 (2009), 50–72.

14. ÁBTL—3. 2. 3. Mt-1109 / 2 /1 „Blanc". The invitation finally came in April 1975, but too late.

ions that began to clash with the policies of the Vatican or the U.S. administration. For some, his traditionalist idea of an authoritarian, pre-Second Vatican Council church was still valuable, while others found it outdated.[15] For many, his story and his words expressed emotions they shared, like fear of communism, hope in a restored national community, and traditional values of family and gender. He was someone who withstood the tides of radical political, economic, and cultural change that characterized the period since the 1960s. For them, détente and dialogue, the new phase in the Cold War, were only symptoms of the much more comprehensive political, social, and cultural decline of Western societies. But public opinion tended slowly towards a different trend that saw the new, more conciliatory diplomacy of détente and Ostpolitik positively. For this camp, Mindszenty was an obstacle to peaceful co-existence. Public appearances of Cardinal Mindszenty in this new phase of the Cold War brought underlying controversies about détente, but also about feminism and the changing values of Western societies to the surface.

On the same Pentecost Sunday, when Cardinal Mindszenty celebrated a Mass in West Germany (May 22, 1972), U.S. President Richard Nixon arrived in Moscow for an historical summit with the Soviet leader Leon Brezhnev, ending his visit a couple of days later with the signing of a number of agreements that eased the tensions between the superpowers. On the same weekend, Pope Paul VI welcomed a large group of bishops, priests, and lay people from Communist Hungary in Rome. These meetings were results of the politics of détente and dialogue or, as they were called in relation to the Vatican and West Germany, of the new "Ostpolitik," which remained hotly contested.[16]

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15. A few examples, Hansjakob Stehle, the journalist and historian who coined the term "Vatican Ostpolitik" (similar to West Germany's diplomatic initiatives towards Communist Eastern Europe which came, however, later), called Mindszenty the "last crusader" of the Cold War. See Hansjakob Stehle, "Der letzte Kreuzfahrer," *Die Zeit*, 40, Oct 1, 1971. The progressive Catholic journalist James Munro Cameron wrote after the publication of Mindszenty's Memoirs in 1975 that "his conception of his role [as a priest] belongs to a world now dead." *New York Review of Books*, 1975, Sept. 18. An example for the more conservative Catholics was Phyllis Schlafly, the founder of the "Mindszenty Foundation" who would support Mindszenty and his positions regularly in her periodical *Mindszenty Report*.

16. In West Germany, the erection of the Wall by the GDR contributed to a changed attitude that made Ostpolitik more popular: Arne Hofmann, *The Emergence of Détente in Europe: Brandt, Kennedy and the Formation of Ostpolitik* (London, 2007), 40; Wilfried Loth and George Soutou, eds. *The Making of Détente: Eastern Europe and Western Europe in the Cold War, 1965–75* (London, 2010); Carole Fink, "Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: The European and Global Response," Ohio State University, Mershon Center for International Security Studies (conference summary, 2006); Poul Villaume and Odd Arne Westad, eds. *Perforating the Iron*

Research Perspectives

Analyzing the media coverage of Mindszenty's visits and studying his supporters, their networks and what political, social, and cultural interpretations of the time they developed in various local and national settings will provide new insights on "anticommunism."[17] "Anticommunism" is a very blurry term that can mean many different ways to express antagonism to Communist ideas and movements. It is a set of ideas that can mix with democratic, liberal, but also with conservative and even extreme right-wing ideas.[18] Many anticommunists did not only reject Communism as an ideology or a political and social system, but combined this with a broader rejection of modern ideas and developments, including the opening of the Catholic Church in the Second Vatican Council, feminism in all its forms, and, even broader, new phenomena such as the new pop culture of the 1960s.[19]

By studying groups of anticommunists who referred to and supported Cardinal Mindszenty, one will also gain new insights into the growing ideological gap within the West that widened in the early 1970s. Already shortly after his death in 1975, Mindszenty became a hero of neo-conservatism when Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and St John Paul II commemorated him as an example of anti-totalitarian resistance. Much later, the new constitution of Hungary, introduced in 2010, included a historical preamble that resembles Cardinal Mindszenty's "Christian-national" ide-

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Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965–1985 (Copenhagen, 2010).

17. "Anticommunism" is spelled without the hyphen in order to emphasize the fact that this ideology was not necessarily related to real communism but often a rather diffuse conglomerate of, mostly, modern ideas.

18. Studies on anticommunism are numerous but the small group who supported Mindszenty have not been studied yet. Cf. Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism* (New York, 1995). The field of transnational anticommunism is still small: *Transnational Anticommunism and the Cold War. Agents, Activities, and Networks,* eds. Luc van Dongen, Marla Stone, and Giuliana Chamedes, "Naming the Enemy: Anticommunism in Transnational Perspective," *Journal of Contemporary History* 53.1 (2018), 4–11. A related study is *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right*, eds. Martin Durham and Margaret Power (New York, 2016). For the connection between anticommunism and antisemitism, see: Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe: The Myth of Judeo-Bolsheavism* (Cambridge, MA, 2018).

19. On the gender aspects: Denise Lynn, "Gendered Narratives in Anti-Stalinism and Anticommunism during the Cold War: The Case of Juliet Poyntz," *Journal of Cold War Studies,* 18.1 (Winter, 2016), 31–59. On establishing of pop culture between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960, see: Bodo Mrozek, *Jugend–Pop–Kultur: Eine transnationale Geschichte* (Frankfurt/M., 2019).

ology.[20] Mindszenty and his followers thus conserved older ideas that were revived a generation later.[21]

Finally, there is also the aspect of politics of memory related to the debate on anticommunism. During the 1960s and 1970s, liberals and leftists, mostly in West Germany, Italy, or France, but not only there began to understand anticommunism as an ideology that had helped right-wing extremists, Fascists, and Nazi war criminals to find a place within the democratic societies of the West.[22] In the USA, anticommunism was also often seen as a tool to suppress and silence critique of racism or social injustice by branding it "communist."[23] Already in the 1920s, feminists were discredited as "un-American" "communists."[24] Since the 1970s, the growing differences on how to understand anticommunism and the growing critique of the Vietnam War as another "genocide" developed into major conflicts on memory politics focusing on the Holocaust.[25] Mindszenty's visits to the United States in 1973 and 1974 reveal the complexity of this phase of the Cold War and of the political, social, and cultural changes that had begun to reshape societies in the United States and in Hungary. The various actors involved in the debates around Mindszenty during this time were driven by different agendas and represented different positions and attitudes towards the contemporary world.

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20. Árpád von Klimó, *Hungary since 1945* (London 2017), 204–05.

21. This refers to newer studies of right-wing movements in the West today, interpreting them as broad coalitions of anti-globalization and anti-liberal groups. Cf. Mikko Salmela and Christian von Scheve, "Emotional roots of right-wing political populism," *Social Science Information,* 56.4 (2017): 567–95. For a more comprehensive analysis of emotions within the political, social, and economic context, see Cornelia Koppetsch, *Die Gesellschaft des Zorns: Rechtspopulismus im globalen Zeitalter* (Bielefeld, 2019).

22. One of the earliest studies of these networks did not by chance come out in West Germany in 1971! Heinz Höhne and Hermann Zolling, *Network. The Truth about General Gehlen and His Spy Ring*, trans. Richard Barry, introd. by Hugh R. Trevor-Roper (London, 1972). For a more recent perspective: Andrew Beattie, "Cold War Culture in Reunified Germany," in: *Cold War Cultures,* 299–329. On the U.S., see Richard Breitman, *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals, U.S. Intelligence, and the Cold War* (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, 2010).

23. James Zeigler, *Red Scare Racism and Cold War Black Radicalism* (Jackson, MS, 2015); Jeff R. Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anticommunism in the South, 1948–1968* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2003).

24. Kim E. Nielsen, *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare* (Columbus, OH, 2001).

25. Berthold. Molden, "Vietnam, the New Left and the Holocaust: How the Cold War Changed Discourse on Genocide," in: *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories,* eds. Aleida Assmann and Conrad, Sebastian (New York, 2010), 79–96.

Mindszenty's Return to the United States, 1973–74, and the Crisis of Anticommunism

Nowhere else were there as many organizations and people who wanted to invite Mindszenty as in the United States. His close relations with the superpower had already begun after the end of World War II, when he, as archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary, received large amounts of financial and food aid from the United States to distribute in war-torn Budapest. Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York (1889–1967) called Mindszenty a friend.[26] Shortly after his first visit to the United States, Spellman, like Pope Pius XII, and many other church leaders raised their voices against the arrest and incarceration of the Hungarian Cardinal.[27]

When Mindszenty left the U.S. Embassy in Budapest a quarter-century later, hundreds of Hungarian priests (about 400 in the USA) and religious who had escaped to the West from the Communist regime's oppressive policies against the church and religious orders during the Stalinist years (1949–56) were now hoping to meet with the head of their church.[28] Another group that identified with Mindszenty as "victims of communism" were Hungarian lay refugees who had arrived in the USA after World War II, and particularly after 1956, when more than forty-thousand Hungarians had found their home in the USA.[29] Although many of them,

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26. Cf. Tillman, *Cardinal Mindszenty*. 91. For the broader background, see also Richard Gid Powers, "American Catholics and Catholic Americans: The Rise and Fall of Catholic Anticommunism," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 22.4 (2004), 17–35. According to Powers, one of the turning points that led to the decline of Catholic anticommunism was the elections of Kennedy and Pope St John XXIII, here 29–30. In 1968, the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference criticized the war in Vietnam. Lay Catholics were even more critical. In January 1971, 80% of Catholics in a poll were in favor of U.S. retreat from Vietnam (here, 32).

27. Tillman, *Cardinal Mindszenty*, 86–88. The news of his arrest arrived on December 28, 1948 in the form of an AP news report that was published by the *New York Times* under the title "Cardinal Mindszenty Seized by the Red Regime." Pope Pius XII was "shocked" and "grieved," according to the *NYT* of the same day. Three days later, President Truman publicly protested against the arrest. Public protests in most Western countries, from West Germany to Australia, followed.

28. The number of 400 Hungarian priests in the USA is taken from a statement by the president of the Hungarian Priests Association, Fr. Julian Fuzer (Füzér). Cf. *The Holy Crown of St. Stephen and United States-Hungarian Relations: Hearing by the United States Congress, House Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East* (Washington, DC, 1977), 48.

29. Balázs Balogh, "The Social Integration of Refugees from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the United States (Experiences of Ethnographic Field Research)," in: *Departure and Arrival: Migratory Processes and Local Responses from Ethnographic and Anthropological Perspective* (Budapest, Cluj-Napoca, 2019), 33–50. On the role of Catholic relief organizations,

mostly middle-aged men, called themselves "freedom fighters," only a small minority of them had actually been involved in fighting with Soviet troops during the Revolution of 1956. They were not only a small minority within the American-Hungarian community, but they were even divided into a number of splinter groups engaged in constant bickering about who of them was the "true" representative of the 1956 heroes. Many hoped that Mindszenty could somehow unify them. Also, for U.S. Catholics in general, Mindszenty had been, during the 1950s, a central point of reference, because of the nature of U.S. Catholicism as an immigrant religion. Making Mindszenty their symbol, U.S. Catholics could, on the one hand, demonstrate that they were among the most zealous Americans fighting communism while it allowed them, on the other hand, to keep their exceptional ties to the culture of "Old Europe" that Mindszenty represented.[30] One of the most ardent followers of Mindszenty in the United States was the conservative activist and self-declared anti-feminist Phyllis Schlafly (1924–2016) who created the "Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation" (CMF) in St. Louis in 1958 as an organization dedicated to "educate Catholics about the dangers of communism."[31] CMF "opposed summit meetings [of the superpowers] and limits on nuclear testing and favored a constitutional amendment to prevent the president from negotiating international treaties."[32] In late November 1971, Phyllis Schlafly travelled to Vienna to meet Mindszenty in person.[33] For Schlafly, who had been a supporter of Barry Goldwater, and was struggling with moderate Republicans during the 1960s and 1970s, "communism" meant much more than party dictatorships in Eastern Europe, but also Western "decadence" as represented by feminism as well as cultural and social protest in general. She organized a broad coalition against the Equal Rights Amendment, passed by Congress almost unanimously in 1970, and succeeded in "killing" it in the late 1970s by convincing a few states not to ratify it.[34] However, among U.S. Catholics, Schlafly had found herself more and more isolated, especially since the late 1950s. When Catholics moved out of the urban "ghetto

see James P. Niessen, "God Brought the Hungarians: Emigration and Refugee Relief in the Light of Cold War Religion," *Hungarian Historical Review,* 6.3 (2017), 566–96.

30. Tillman, *Cardinal Mindszenty*, 12-13. The number for the late 1960s is from Stephen B. Várdy, *Hungarian Americans*, 239.

31. Tom. Lacy, "Little Religious Orgs: The Schlaflys and The Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation," *U.S. Intellectual History Blog*, 8 September 2016. https://s-usih.org/2016/09/little-religious-orgs-the-schlaflys-and-the-cardinal-mindszenty-foundation/.

32. Lacy, "Little Religious Orgs."

33. CMF Meets Cardinal Mindszenty," *The Mindszenty Report*, January 1972, 2.

34. David Farber, *The Rise and Fall of Modern American Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), 142–49.

Catholicism" and into more prosperous suburban areas, they blended in with the majority of the American middle-class. This gave them a stronger self-consciousness as U.S. citizens.[35] The hysterical anticommunism of Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908–57) now seemed to be outdated, if not in substance, then at least in style. Phyllis Schlafly's Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, was increasingly criticized for being "reckless" by representatives of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference.[36]

Not so according to Mindszenty. In an interview on January 21, 1972, the Cardinal was asked why he supported the right-wing group. He responded that he was "not even aware of the existence of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation . . . until a few weeks ago when 'some American ladies came to see me to tell me about it and request that I lend my name to it, as a prominent victim of communism.' He did not consider it a rightwing organization, explaining that his own anti-fascist past was well enough known 'to guarantee that I [Mindszenty] would not lend my name to anything right-wing.'"[37]

Obviously, the Catholic reporter and the Cardinal had different ideas of what "right-wing" meant. Mindszenty tried to appear more conciliatory in this interview, which was the first he gave since he had settled in Vienna. He even said that "he realizes that 'the time for diplomacy has arrived to avoid any danger of war' between the communist and noncommunist spheres. At the same time, he sees 'no noticeable improvements within the communist regimes' in the seven years since the Vatican made its first attempts to come to some sort of workable church-state arrangement with them."[38]

However, the interview with the female journalist did not end well. When Andrea Karman asked him whether he planned to ever return to Hungary, Mindszenty became very angry and accused the press of "treating him like a fool or a film star" and of "exploiting him for 'cheap sensations.'"[39] The Cardinal was obviously frustrated and felt misunderstood, especially by "laymen" who would not "understand the complexity of church life" and should therefore not write about it. Mindszenty's frustration might have been caused by the feeling of losing more and more touch,

35. Tillman, *Cardinal Mindszenty*, 262.

36. Herzog cites Rev. John Cronin, see Herzog, *Spiritual-industrial Complex*, 204.

37. Andrea Karman, "Mindszenty: Resist Reds," *National Catholic Reporter*, 8.12 (January 21, 1972), https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=ncr19720121-01.2.7&srpos=45&e=———-en-20—41—txt-txIN-Mindszenty

38. Karman, "Mindszenty: Resist Reds."

39. Karman, "Mindszenty: Resist Reds."

not only with the Catholic world, but also with a changing Hungarian diaspora.

Anticommunism had been a trademark of the most active Hungarian organizations, such as the Hungarian National Council/Committee, since it was founded by exiled Hungarian politicians in 1947.[40] However, shortly before Mindszenty left the U.S. Embassy in Budapest, it came out that the CIA had financed some of the émigré organizations. Now, the U.S. Congress prohibited further financing. As a result, the Hungarian National Council dissolved in 1971.[41] The withdrawal of financial support by the U.S. government discouraged the work of anticommunist groups among the Hungarian diaspora in the early 1970s. At the same time, the Americanization of Hungarian Americans who had seen two decades of material success and integration into U.S. society accelerated.[42] The negative effect of this had been, especially among the second generation, a slow waning of language skills and enthusiasm for Hungarian national culture, and a dwindling of the membership in Hungarian cultural and social organizations. Therefore, Mindszenty asked Hungarians in the United States and elsewhere to hold on to their traditions, their language, and culture and to pass them on to their children. Some Hungarian diaspora activists were hoping that Mindszenty's visits would revive their communities and give their organizations a boost. For them, the Cardinal was the only legitimate representative of the Hungarian nation opposing the Communist government they considered illegal.

When he visited West Germany in May 1972, Mindszenty himself implied that the Hungarian Communist government was not legitimate because it had brought the country to its "lowest point in history" and its policies supported abortions and showed "the hand of the devil."[43] In an interview, he even said that there was "no Hungarian government" and "no

40. For a comprehensive study of the HNC, see: Katalin Kádár-Lynn, "The Hungarian National Council/Hungarian National Committee—Magyar Nemzeti Bizottmány/Bizottság," in: *The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare. Cold War Organizations sponsored by the National Committee for a Free Europe/Free Europe Committee*, ed. Katalin Kádár-Lynn (St. Helena, CA, 2013), 237–322.

41. Kádár-Lynn, "Hungarian National Council," 295.

42. Cf. Balázs Balogh, "Social integration." See also: Nándor Dreisziger, "Hungarians in North America," Special issue, *Hungarian Studies Review,* 40.1 (2013) http://hungarianstudies.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/HSR2013.pdf

43. Quoted in the *Fürther Nachrichten*, May 23, 1972, title page. The newspaper even used this quotation as the headline: "Der Teufel regiert" ["the devil rules"], subtitle: "Harsh critique of the Communist leadership."

constitution."[44] Also, since the country had been occupied by foreign troops since March 1944—first by the Germans then by the Soviets—, it had lost its sovereignty.[45] Because of this, Mindszenty and some of his most ardent followers assumed that he, as the Primate of the Catholic Church of Hungary, was the only true representative of the Hungarian nation. This idea was related to the "invisible constitution" of the "Holy Crown" founded by King St. Stephen in the eleventh century.[46] The "Holy Crown" had been taken away from Budapest by the last Nazi allies, the Arrow-Cross government, and later found in Austria by a special U.S. Army unit for looted art, which transported it to the USA.[47] In 1971, after Nixon had improved his relations with Communist Hungary, many anti-communists were afraid that the U.S. government could hand over the crown.[48] For many, it was the symbol of Hungarian statehood. In the hands of the Hungarian Communist government, they feared, it would legitimize an illegal regime and dash all hopes for regime change.[49] As long as the crown was stored in Fort Knox, it could be used, one day, as a symbol for a legitimate Hungarian government that would replace the Communist regime. In February, the U.S. government announced that there were no plans of any such move, and Nixon also wrote a letter to Mindszenty, containing the same message.[50] The Hungarian government, on the other side, observed closely the Hungarian émigré press that hotly

44. "Exclusive National Catholic Interview. Cardinal Mindszenty discusses Memoirs, St Stephen's Crown, Imprisonment," *Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds*, October 1, 1973.

45. This is a theory that is also supported by today's Hungarian constitution of 2011.

46. The priest, Msg. Gábor Vargha, who still used the title "vitéz" referring to the Horthy regime, addressed Mindszenty in a letter as "Cardinal Mindszenty Prince Primate, First Standard Bearer." Cf. Letter by Mons. Vitéz Vargha Gábor to Mindszenty, February 5, 1972. Archives of the Mindszenty Foundation, Budapest (Mindszenty Alapítvány Levéltára, i. f. MAL), Bambergi út. For the historical context, see: Martin Mevius, "A Crown for Rákosi: The Vogeler Case, the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, and the (Inter)national Legitimacy of the Hungarian Communist Regime, 1945–1978," *Slavonic & East European Review,* 89.1 (2011), 76–107.

47. Máté Gergely Balogh, "Killing the Canard: Saint Stephen's Crown, Nixon, Budapest, and the Hungarian Lobby," in: *HJEAS: Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies,* 24.1 (2018), 165–266.

48. The USA and Hungary had only limited diplomatic relations during the 1950s, after the Communist government had nationalized Standard Electric Company in Hungary and arrested two American managers as "spies." Cf. Stephen B. Várdy and Agnes Huszár Várdy, *Hungarian Americans in the Current of History* (New York, 2010), 269.

49. *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*. Vol. 6, No. 6, January 1972.

50. *New York Times*, February 9, 1972. Joseph (József) Vecsey, his secretary, claimed that it was due to Mindszenty having written to Nixon that the President did not return the Crown in 1971. Cf. *Mindszenty the man*, by József Vecsey as told to Phyllis Schlafly, Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (St Louis, 1972), 204.

discussed the question of the crown in relation to Mindszenty's activities in the West.[51]

Mindszenty and the Rise of Feminism in the West

Related to his anticommunism was also his anti-feminism. In New Brunswick, NJ, Mindszenty, according to a reporter, "in a strong, clear voice (. . .) urged the Hungarian-American community to resist 'the moral decay of the Western world.' 'We might be victims of that, too,' he said." Further, the Cardinal said, "that behind the Iron Curtain governments had started efforts to make birth control devices available to everyone, but they later reversed their policies because of the deterioration it was causing to society. What the Iron Curtain countries had tried to do by force, he said, is being done 'by free choice in the western world.' The choice, he said, is "between the dignity of motherhood or being a street girl."[52] However, Mindszenty "admitted there were differences from country to country. "In Rumania [sic!]," he said, "the government there follows policies different from other Communist regimes, especially in a 'moral and patriotic sense.' The Cardinal observed that the government forbids prostitution and abortion, and he predicted because of its population growth Rumania will emerge the strongest of Eastern European countries." [53]

Praising the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu publicly because of his nationalism and his pro-natalist policies, Mindszenty contrasted these to the "moral decay of the West." Here, Mindszenty's "anticommunism" almost seemed to be secondary in comparison to his anti-feminism.[54] During a press conference in Cleveland, the Cardinal would come back to his critique of abortion and the suppression of religion in Hungary which he called "nemzetgyilkolás" ("murder of the nation").[55]

Those, who did not share Mindszenty's views, tried to put his ideas in a historical context, subtly distancing him from current U.S. society and

51. Cf. Report of the Office of Church Affairs on the emigré press. Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltára, i. f. MOL) Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal, "Magyar Világszövetsége. "Mindszenty József távozása hatása, visszhangja, az emigrációs magyar sajtó tükrében." 1972. Aug. 7, 20–22.

52. Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds, October 2, 1973.

53. *Catholic Transcript*, Volume LXVI, Number 24, October 5, 1973.

54. For a recent account of Ceausescu's policies and their long-term impact, see: Jill Massino, *Ambiguous Transitions: Gender, the State, and Everyday Life in Socialist and Postsocialist Romania*. (New York, 2019).

55. *Mindszenty József Biboros Érsek-Primás Úr Látogatása 1974 Tavaszán Cleveland Egyházmegyében*, (Cleveland, 1975), 9.

politics and its current liberal tendencies. Vance Hartke (1919–2003), the Democratic US Senator from Indiana (1959–77), a supporter of Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" and a prominent opponent of the Vietnam War, praised Mindszenty in the Senate in early May 1974 as a "man of peace." In his honorary speech welcoming the Cardinal, Hartke called him "a prince of the church and patriot of the Hungarian Nation." Describing briefly Mindszenty's life, the Democratic senator emphasized the difference between the earlier Cold War and the current period of détente:

> He is making quiet pastoral visits with Hungarian Catholics here in the United States and is expected to tour 25 to 30 cities before returning to his home in Vienna at the end of June. He is 82 now and as he goes quietly about his duties, it is very hard for us to remember that 25 years ago this peaceful priest was at the center of a storm that threatened to engulf all of Europe. Almost alone he stood up to Stalin, the Red army, and the ruthless Communist apparatus that held all Eastern Europe in its grip immediately after World War II. (. . .) The cardinal stood for Hungarian independence, for a person's right to disagree with the actions of an arbitrary government. To Americans, these rights seem as natural as breathing and eating.

Then, the Senator highlighted how "the world had changed" since 1956: "Stalin was long dead and the community of Communist nations was breaking into fragments. The East and the West were negotiating. Even the Vatican was anxious to reach some sort of understanding with the Communist government of his native country. To some people, the cardinal was symbolic of an age long past, of nuclear threats, brinksmanship, and the cold war. But such an assessment smacks too much of guilt by association. Cardinal Mindszenty had nothing to do with violence. He was—and is—a man of peace."

Hartke "doubted" that Mindszenty wanted "to become enmeshed in any political issues," but he would probably "ask us to remember the plight of those millions of people who still do not enjoy the freedoms to which all human beings are entitled." The USA and the communist countries were "on the road to peace" and Mindszenty "helped put us there. Because he "suffered for his beliefs, and his sacrifice has helped make it a better world for all of us."[56]

The State Department had also tried to give Mindszenty's visit an "unpolitical" character in order not to risk any negative impact on the rela-

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56. Congressional Record—the Senate, May 1, 2, 1974. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1974-pt12/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1974-pt12-2-2.pdf

tions with Communist Hungary. As during his first visit to the USA, in September 1973, President Nixon sent a "warm welcome" telegram while the State Department and the U.S. Ambassador in Budapest insisted that Mindszenty was "not officially" invited and Nixon would not meet the Cardinal during his visit in Washington, DC.[57] A confidential CIA report stated that Hungarian Foreign Minister Nagy "professed the 'hope' to [U.S.] Ambassador Pedersen that Cardinal Mindszenty's forthcoming visit to the U.S.—which includes a one-day stop in Washington—would not cause problems for 'improving U.S.-Hungarian relations.'"[58] According the CIA, "Nagy seemed unconcerned at the prospect of some anti-regime statements by Mindszenty, and was concerned only about the type of official contacts Mindszenty would have in Washington. It is the Embassy's impression that the Washington visit will be a private affair."[59] Shortly after this, also the State Department expressed "anxiety" to the White House about a meeting between President Nixon and Mindszenty.[60] The Hungarian side then confirmed that the visit would not harm the relations between the two countries.

Neither did the Vatican approve of the Cardinal's visit. Vatican diplomacy was anxious not to provoke the Hungarian government, fearing Kádár would increase the suppression of the Catholic Church in Hungary by arresting priests or imposing other limits to the freedom of the church. The Pope, however, did nothing to stop Mindszenty, for example, by taking away his Vatican passport, as the Hungarian regime had asked. Still, since the summer of 1973, the relationship between Mindszenty and Pope Paul VI had deteriorated.[61] Mindszenty did not want to delay the publication of his Memoirs, which the Kádár regime wanted to prevent. One Vatican official wrote Mindszenty's secretary in January 1974, that "Rome cannot allow an archbishop or primate in office to make such a serious indictment against a current regime, no matter how wicked it may be, when it itself [Rome] has recognized it [the regime]."[62]

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57. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/ II "Vecchio", 193. See also: Nixon Presidential Library, National Security Council (NSC) Files, Name Files, Box 19. RM3-1 Catholic 1/1/73–[6/74] I. Letter of Tom C. Korologos, Deputy Assistant to the President, to Senator Hugh Scott, May 4, 1973.

58. CIA, confidential report, CIA-RDP79B00864A001400010083-6, April 4, 1974.

59. CIA, confidential report, CIA-RDP79B00864A001400010083-6, 4 April 1974.

60. State Department to Major Gen Scowcroft, The White House, May 2, 1974. Nixon Library\NSC Files Name Files Box 828 Mindszenty.

61. Cf. Margit Balogh, *Mindszenty.József (1892–1975).* (Budapest, 2015), 1340–1342.

62. Tibor Mészáros, *A száműzött bíboros szolgálatában*, *Mindszenty titkárának napi jegyzetei 1972–75.* (Abaliget, 2000), 166. Record for January 10, 1974.

Pope Paul VI was also pressured by the Hungarian bishops who claimed that Mindszenty's behavior could have a negative effect on the church in their country and that they needed a new primate who could fulfill his tasks. So, the Pope asked Mindszenty to step down voluntarily from his post as archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary. Mindszenty refused, stating that he did not trust the Communists and had the responsibility to uphold the "unwritten," 1000 year old constitution of Hungary.[63] Paul VI therefore deposed him which led to an international outcry among many Catholics, and not only conservatives, all over the world.

This had a major influence on Mindszenty's second, and longest visit, to the United States between May and June, 1974. Many Hungarian speakers demonstratively ignored the Pope's decision, and addressed Mindszenty still as "our primate."[64] A few conservative politicians used the retirement of Mindszenty in order to present themselves in public as those who defended the "truth" against the "error" of détente. These were mostly Catholic republicans, like the Schlaflys. One of them was William J. Scherle of Iowa, an "honorary freedom fighter," who read a letter by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters to the House of Representatives, that called the Pope's decision "a capitulation by the Vatican to communist encroachment."[65] Another congressman, Philip M. Crane, a Methodist, who had supported Goldwater and would continue his career under Reagan, called Mindszenty a "victim of Vatican détente," saying: "Now in an era of 'good feeling' with the communists he is an anachronism and the Church is visibly uncomfortable with him. Saints, it seems, are unpopular in every era."[66] Senator James L. Buckley, brother of William F. Buckley Jr, disagreed with those "who say that the kind of anticommunism represented by Cardinal Mindszenty is no longer fashionable, that it is a 'relic'

63. Tibor Mészáros, another of Mindszenty's secretaries, was born in Hungary, but studied Theology in Innsbruck and Sitten/Sion (Switzerland) where he was ordained in 1943. In the summer of 1944, Mészáros rescued 10 Jews with false baptism papers from the Brick factory in Budakalász. In September 1944, he was arrested by the Arrow Cross for protesting Mindszenty's arrest. In 1948, the Red Army deported him to do forced labor in the Soviet Union, where he stayed until 1955. In 1956, he toiled as a farm worker under police surveillance until he could escape and return to Switzerland. From 1972–75, he was Mindszenty's secretary. Biogr.: http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/M/Mészáros.html

64. Balogh, *Mindszenty*, 1346.

65. Especially in Cleveland. Cf. *Mindszenty József Biboros.*

66. "Congressman calls Mindszenty removal 'outrageous.'" Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds, February 12, 1974, p. 6. William J. Scherle (1923–2003), a Republican representative of Iowa (1967–75), http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=S000121, was a Catholic and an "Honorary Freedom Fighter." See: Official Congressional Directory, 92nd Congress, Second Session, 1972, US GPO, 62.

of the cold war." Buckley, however, refrained from criticizing the Vatican's decision.[67]

Similar to the U.S. government, U.S. bishops, who in contrast to West German bishops did not publicly oppose the Pope's decision, also did not extend an invitation to the Cardinal in relation to his visits in spring and late summer of 1974. Bishops whose dioceses Mindszenty visited, would briefly meet with him or celebrate a Mass during his stay, but they mostly stayed in the background, leaving the stage to local politicians and representatives of American Hungarian organizations. Who, then, did officially invite the Cardinal?

On November 5, 1972, the Youngstown paper *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* (Catholic Hungarians' Sunday) published a letter in which Mindszenty accepted the official invitation by János Szabó, priest and president of the Hungarian Catholic League, to visit the United States. Szabó (mostly spelled "Sabo"), was priest at Our Lady of Hungary in South Bend, Indiana. However, according to a report sent to the Hungarian State Security Agency, Mindszenty had first asked another priest, the Franciscan friar Kelemen Király (König until 1945), to organize his USA-trip. But Király (1893–1978) was not uncontroversial because he had been the pastor of the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin under Hitler (1934–44) and had not been known for resisting the Nazis.[68] Some priests, according to this report, characterized Király as "violent and fanatic" and who had a "bad influence" on Mindszenty's secretaries who were responsible for the mistake of asking Király to be the official organizer of the U.S. trip.[69] They also claimed that

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67. "Congressman calls Mindszenty Victim of Détente," *Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds*, March 19, 1974, p. 26. Philipp M. Crane (1930–2014), a Republican representative of Illinois, http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=C000873

68. "Buckley Regrets 'End of Era' in Mindszenty Dismissal," *Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds*, February 21, 1974, p. 22. James Lane Buckley (born March 9, 1923), a jurist, politician, civil servant, businessman, and author was elected to the U.S. Senate (1971–77) in 1970, as a nominee of the Conservative Party of New York. He was Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs under the first Reagan administration. From 1982 to 1985, he was president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Cf. https://fedsoc.org/contributors/james-buckley.

69. According to the *Katolikus Lexikon*, Kelemen Király, OFM, (1893–1978), was since 1908 a member of the St. John Capistrano ministry (related to military chaplains) within the Franciscan Order. Király was ordained in 1916. From 1934 to 1944, he was the Pastor of the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin, before he returned to Hungary towards the end of the war. In 1947 he was sent to the USA where he became pastor in DeWitt, Michigan. In 1950, he built a missionary house in Flint, Michigan. From 1954 he worked for the *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja*. In 1946, he published the book *Hitlerizmus és kerség. A németországi evángelikus*

Sabo was very "offended" when he heard about this. Sabo, who was born in the United States, had sent over the years thousands of dollars to Mindszenty.[70] This conflict, which remained secret at the time, shows how important it was for the Cardinal not to be associated with persons who could be easily attacked by the liberal press or further divide the Hungarian diaspora.

The official committee that organized the six-week visit in 1974 consisted of priests and lay men who were active and respectable community organizers. It also confirmed the very important role the Catholic Church played for Hungarian diaspora communities.[71] In Cleveland, the second-largest Hungarian town at the time (second only to Budapest), the main organizer was Dr. Gabor Papp (1915–2011), who had founded a Hungarian school in 1958 and later helped to create a Hungarian Museum.[72] Two Catholic priests were also part of the preparatory committee for Mindszenty's visit, both were Franciscans: Father Julián Füzér (1915–2005) of St. Ladislaus Church in New Brunswick, NJ, and Father Miklos Dengl (1916–98) from Youngstown, OH. Füzér (also spelled Fuzer) had also been active in the Hungarian Catholic League since his arrival in the United States in 1946.[73] Dengl, a priest since 1939, had studied in Rome and was first serving as pastor in Milan, Italy, where he was involved in relief work for Hungarian immigrants.[74] In 1948, he emigrated to the United States, where he became one of the editors of the *Katolikus Mag-*

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hitvalló egyház. harca a nemzetiszocializmussal. He was also later engaged in ecumenism. http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/K/Kir%C3%A1ly.html

70. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/ II "Vecchio," 203–204.

71. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/ II "Vecchio," 203–204. In 1990, Msgr. John Sabo celebrated his sixtieth anniversary of ordination. Cf. St Joseph's College (Rensselaer, IN). Contact Magazine. https://archive.org/stream/Contact-1990-Fall/Contact-1990-Fall_djvu.txt

72. Niessen, "God Brought the Hungarians."

73. Papp had been in contact with Mindszenty through a friend, the priest Ferenc Harangozó (1908–91), the former manager of the Hungarian High School (gimnazium) in Burg Kastl, West Germany (founded in 1957). In 1973, Harangozó had become one of the secretaries of Mindszenty. Harangozó had served almost a decade in various Soviet labor camps between 1948 and 1956, before he fled to Austria. From 1960 to 1973, he taught at Burg Kastl, until he became one of Mindszenty's secretaries which also shows the close relationship between the school and Mindszenty's Austrian home, the Pazmaneum in Vienna. Ferenc Harangozó, *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* .http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/H/Harangoz% C3%B3.html. In 1968, the school received half a million Deutsche Mark from the West German Ministry for Expellees. ABTL, 2. 2. 4. 0-8-822 / 3 „Németországi Magyar emigráns szervezetek," 33.

74. Füzér returned to Hungary in 1990. He was active in the campaign for the canonization of Mindszenty. He edited: *Szentnek kiáltjuk. Mindszenty antol. Szerk* (Youngstown, 1987). Füzer wrote also *Mindszenty bíboros, a szent*., 1989. http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/F/F% C3%BCz%C3%A9r.html About Papp, see: https://clevelandhungarianmuseum.org/about-us/chronology/

yarok Vasárnapja. Mindszenty's two trips to California, (June and late December 1974), were organized by the priest Benedek Horváth (1915–98), a Premonstratensian canon and teacher, who had left Hungary in 1950.[75] Horváth was in close contact with Tibor Mészáros (1919–2003), Mindszenty's second secretary, who spoke English well and who accompanied the Cardinal during his U.S. visits.[76]

Next to the Franciscan priests, representatives of the "freedom fighters" served in the committee. One of them was Béla H. Bácskai, a former political prisoner who had escaped from Hungary in 1956 and lived in Phoenixville, PA. Bácskai was active in the Hungarian-American boy scout movement and also as a (rather sporadic) correspondent of the weekly journal *Guardian of Liberty*, the moderate English-language edition of the *Nemzetőr,* a Hungarian right-wing paper published since 1958 in Munich, West Germany.[77] The 1956 "freedom fighters" were a small, but very active group that represented the more right-wing orientations among the Hungarian diaspora. Some of them had political influence on Congress. The most important figure in this milieu was András Pogány (Andrew H. Pogany) (1919–95), one of the leaders of the POFOSz (Politikai folgyok Szövetsége—Federation of Political Prisoners) and President of the "World Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters." Since 1972, he was also advisor to the National Republican Committee.[78]

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75. http://epa.oszk.hu/01300/01397/00024/pdf/EPA01397_magyar_sion_2018_2_167-188.pdf

76. Benedek Árpád Horváth (1915–98) studied in Budapest and was ordained in 1940. Between 1940 and 1950, he taught at various high schools of the Premonstratensians until these were closed by the Communist government. In 1950, he escaped and spend some time in Rome. Between 1951 and 1953, he was military chaplain of Hungarian foreign legionaries in Rabat, Marocco. In 1953, he moved to the USA, first to New York, then to Pittsburgh, where he earned a M. A. in Politics at Duquesen University. Since 1957, he taught at a middle school in Santa Ana, California. In 1967, he became the priest of St. István Church in Los Angeles and teacher at the Academica Catholica Hungarica and was active in the Boy Scout movement. Horváth published numerous articles in *Katolikus Szemle, Délamerikai Magyar Hírlap, Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja, Californiai Magyarság,* but also for the *Bajtársi Levél* (Hungarian gendarmes), mostly under the pseudonym "Horvay Bánk." Benedek Horváth, *Megállító percek. Karcolatok, emlékek*. (Köln, Detroit, Bécs. 1965). Biogr. http://193.225.122.118/eletrajzilexikon/?dir=H#HORVÀTHBENEDEKÁRPÁD_

77. Béla H. Bácskai, "Cserkészek Valley Forgeban," *Nemzetőr* II/14 (1957. augusztus), 8. In 1963 he wrote about a gathering of Hungarians in Cleveland, OH. Cf. Library of Congress, Microf. No. 05668, The Guardian of Liberty (*Nemzetőr*) 1969–1976.

78. In 1966, he had published his memoirs of 1956, *The City in Darkness*. *Könyv, Könytár, Könyvtáros*. 20 (2011). http://epa.oszk.hu/01300/01367/00243/pdf/EPA01367_3K_2011_05_48-53.pdf In 1975, Pogány wrote the obituary of Mindszenty for the *Nemzetőr*. András Pogány, „A ravatal Bécsben," *Nemzetör,* XX/303 (June 1975), 2.

It is very important to emphasize that other representatives of the Hungarian-American diaspora, such as the American Hungarian Foundation (AHF-Amerikai Magyar Szövetsége) established already in 1906, were not involved in the organization of Mindszenty's visits. Although the AHF was rather to the right of the political spectrum, expressing anticommunist and nationalist ideas, the federation also included members who were critical of the Cardinal.[79] The President of the AHF at the time (1965–74) was the reformed (Calvinist) bishop Zoltán Béky (1903–78).[80] Mindszenty, who had been extremely anti-Protestant in his youth, had become more conciliatory during his later years, including Protestants in his vision of a Hungarian nation.[81] While the Cardinal visited Washington, DC, and Congress, he also met Béky, who called him "the greatest living Christian martyr."[82] Mindszenty was thus officially invited by representatives of the most important Hungarian parishes and by one of the right-wing "Freedom Fighter" organizations, not by the more moderate American Hungarian Foundation.

Emotional Encounters: Mindszenty in New Brunswick, NJ, and Cleveland, OH

Mindszenty's two visits to the United States were big successes, but they also revealed the decline of American-Hungarian communities and the waning support from Rome. His first visits happened before the Pope deposed him as head of the Catholic Church of Hungary. On September 28, 1973, Father Füzér welcomed Mindszenty at Kennedy Airport when the Cardinal arrived from his tour through Canada on September 28, 1973. The Archbishop of New York and Cardinal Spellman's successor, Cardinal Terence Cooke (1921–83), was also present. But in contrast to Spellman, Cooke only met briefly with Mindszenty, and then rushed off to a football game. Cooke was not deeply interested in the fate of American-Hungarian parishes. Like the Vatican, which was also not in favor of separate ethnic churches in the United States, he did not support Mindszenty's idea of an American-Hungarian bishop who would be head of all Hungarian parishes in the country.[83]

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79. Várdy, *Hungarian-Americans*, 129–30.

80. Béky had studied in Sárospatak and left Hungary already after his graduation in 1927. https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/b-74700/beky-zoltan-74A7B/

81. Cf. also Balogh, *Mindszenty,* 1365.

82. Quoted in Balog, *Mindszenty,* 1367.

83. Cf. Balogh, *Mindszenty,* 1318. Cooke has been, like Mindszenty, considered for beatification.

FIGURE 1. József Cardinal Mindszenty in 1973 dedicating newly rebuilt St. Ladislaus Church in New Brunswick, New Jersey. American Hungarian Foundation (New Brunswick, NJ) Collection. https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/21745/

On the next day, Mindszenty visited Catholic parishes and Hungarian communities in New Jersey, including Hungarian protestant pastors. A few days later, a crowd of 5,000 celebrated the Cardinal's blessing of St. Ladislaus Church in New Brunswick.[84]

There, in a working-class neighborhood called "Little Hungary," with its Hungarian bookstore and restaurant, three dozen policemen and an honorary formation of the Knights of Columbus with swords and feather-decorated hats, protected the Cardinal from the enthusiastic crowd.

A large number of Boy and Girl Scouts also gathered on the occasion. Many Hungarians, who attended the events, cried and were overwhelmed by their emotions. For them, meeting or even just being near Mindszenty seemed to have brought back memories of earlier moments in their lives.

84. *Catholic News Service*—Newsfeeds, October 2, 1973.

After this short visit, Mindszenty returned to Vienna where he worked on his Memoirs which were published later in 1974, deepening his rift with Pope Paul VI. *The New York Times* reported on February 14, 1974, that Mindszenty planned "a tour of the United States soon, to explain to Hungarian American communities and other groups why he refused to resign from his post in the Roman Catholic Church despite personal pleas from Pope Paul VI."[85] This time, the Cardinal came for six weeks in May and June.

His first stop was Washington, DC. Although Mindszenty was not invited by the Nixon administration, his visit to the U.S. capital included a number of official meetings with members of the political elite.[86] Among other places, he visited the Kossuth House on Dupont Circle that was, at the time, owned by the Hungarian Reformed (Calvinist) Federation of America. Next was a reception in Congress, where Mindszenty expressed his gratitude that the U.S. Senate had never signed the Trianon Treaty of 1920 that had led to the dismantlement of the former Hungarian Kingdom. A Mass in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, the national church of U.S. Catholics, followed. Here, about 2,500 people gathered, among them many Hungarians in folk costumes, but also a delegation of Cuban exiles, who shared the anticommunist attitudes of the Cardinal.

Mindszenty then continued his triumphal tour through the United States, visiting mostly cities and towns with larger Hungarian communities, including New York City, Buffalo, NY, Detroit, and, most of all, Cleveland. His visits were broadcasted by local TV and radio stations, and covered by the U.S. press, but most of all, by the Hungarian émigré papers. However, the more "progressive" Canadian *Új Szó* and the *Amerikai Magyar Szó* only briefly commented on the events, while the right-wing papers celebrated Mindszenty as "the spritiual head of all Hungarians."[87] In New York, in late May 1974, Mindszenty met András Pogány at Fordham University, where he was introduced by the philosopher Dietrich von Hildebrand as an "inflexible fighter against communism, the relentless enemy of the Catholic faith."[88] Pogány gave a talk about the "Plight of the Catholic Church in Hungary" that was later cited in the U.S. House of Representatives.[89]

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85. "Mindszenty Plans to Tour U.S. to Explain His Refusal to Resign," *New York Times*, February 14, 1974.

86. The following according to Balogh, *Mindszenty*.

87. Quoted in: ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/ II "Vecchio," 209.

88. *The Ram*, June 1, 1974, 3. *The Ram* is a paper published by Fordham University.

89. Government Publishing Office, Honorable Edward J. Derwisnki of Illinois, *Extention of Remarks*, September 23, 1974, 32270-32272. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1974-pt24/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1974-pt24-3-3.pdf

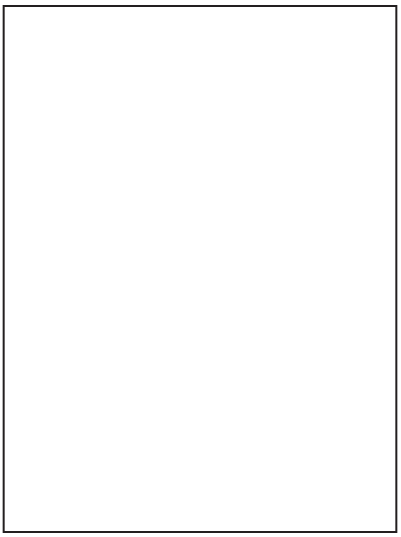

FIGURE 2. Mindszenty portrait (1974), Library of Congress Photographic Collection. Photographer: Bernard Godfryd (1924–2016).

Outside of New York City and Washington, DC, Mindszenty's visits often drew much attention because of the larger Hungarian communities. In Cleveland, Mayor Ralph J. Perk (1914–99), a Republican, emphasized the importance of the Hungarian ethnic population.[90] Perk, a Catholic, was also head of the American Nationalities Movement. Perk called the Cardinal "a living saint" and "the symbol of freedom all around the world."[91] Again, the visit was accompanied by parades, honor guards by the Knights of Columbus in full gala uniform, delegations of boy and girl scouts, and many other Hungarian, Croatian, and other nationality associations. Mindszenty spoke to hundreds of people, while large crowds attended the events with him. For the Hungarian community in Cleveland, this was probably the most important celebration of their national identity in the twentieth century.[92] While there were still about 113,000 people of Hungarian descent in Greater Cleveland in the 1980s, although by now mostly in the suburbs, the number had dropped a decade later

90. Perk was mayor from 1972–77 https://case.edu/ech/articles/p/perk-ralph-j

91. *Mindszenty József Biboros Érsek-Primás*, 15.

92. Endre Szentkirályi, *Hungarians in Cleveland, 1951–2011. Then and Now*. PhDiss., U Debrechen 2013.

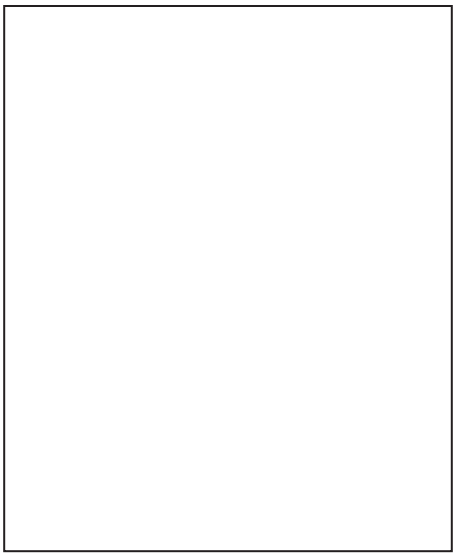

FIGURE 3. Mindszenty Plaza in Cleveland. Photographer Daniel Hanson. With permission of photographer.

almost by half to less than 62,000.[93] In 1977, a Mindszenty bronze statue was dedicated on Mindszenty Plaza in downtown Cleveland.[94]

A month later, Mindszenty was in Pittsburgh, where the mayor, Peter F. Flaherty (1924–2005), a Catholic Democrat, even proclaimed a "Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty Day" on June 26, 1974.[95] While many of the Hungarian Americans were moved to tears when they went to see Mindszenty, others were concerned about possible negative consequences of his visits. Almost a year before Mindszenty came to the United States, a Hungarian priest living in the United States, Elek Horváth, wrote to a Hungarian priest who worked in the Vatican. In the letter, Horváth expressed his concern that a visit of the Cardinal could run into difficulties if it was not of a "private nature." He further wrote: "Aside from the

93. Numbers from: https://case.edu/ech/articles/h/hungarians.

94. https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM8W39_Joseph_Mindszenty_1892_1975_Cleveland_Ohio.

95. MMAL 086. d. Amerikai út, 1974. 3. dosszié, Pittsburgh. Press cuttings from *Magyarság*, editions of June 14 and June 21, 1974. On Flaherty: http://old.post-gazette.com/pg/05109/490421.stm

Catholics, for the representatives of the American intellectual circles, the politicians, the press, radio and television, which are dominated not by Catholics but by really aggressive liberals and leftists, the Primate is a 'reactionary' political personality, and they rather look at him with dislike than with sympathy."[96]

On June 9, 1973, the newspaper *Kanadai Magyarság* reported about a letter by a "Committee of Concerned Catholic American Hungarians" that opposed Mindszenty's visit.[97] The "Committee" wrote an open letter, urging the U.S. government not to allow the visit or at least postpone it, adding: "We were born in Hungary but we don't want Mindszenty to criticize the government."[98] As mentioned above, neither the US government nor the US bishops extended an official invitation. Others disapproved. On October 5, 1973, an article in the *Catholic Transcript*, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of Hartford, Connecticut, was asking: "Is Cardinal Mindszenty an embarrassment to us in 1973? An embarrassment, that is, to the so-called free world and to the Church?"[99] The article concluded that Mindszenty's visit was very timely to remind Americans of the "reality of communism" which was still "totalitarian."

When the Vatican announced Mindszenty's "retirement" in February 1974, many Catholics and American-Hungarians protested. However, according to the Catholic News Service, the Catholic press was mostly "favorable," stating "that the time had been somewhat overdue" and "that the best interests of the church in Hungary had to be uppermost in the Pope's intentions."[100] In this context, Edward Magri, a New York Post correspondent to the Vatican, also wrote that the Pope gained "general approval" for his "policy of reconciliation with the Soviet Bloc" although when he dismissed Mindszenty, "it led to some protests by conservatives."[101]

During his visits, Mindszenty got involved in political controversies. In June 1974, during his tour through California, the Cardinal declined an

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96. *Zágon-leveleskönyv. Iratgyűjtemény-töredék Mindszenty József bíboros ról 1967–1975*, ed. Németh László Imre (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2011). Letter 28-1, December 31, 1972, Kensington (USA), Dr. Elek Horváth to József Zágon, Rome, pp. 67–70.

97. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/ III "Vecchio," 223.

98. ÁBTL 3.2.9. R–8–009/ III "Vecchio," 223.

99. "Is he an embarrassment?" *Catholic Transcript*, Volume LXVI, Number 24, October 5, 1973, p. 4.

100. "Catholic Editors comment on Mindszenty Retirement," *Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds*, February 20, 1974.

101. *The New York Post*, March 5, 1974.

honorary degree offered by the Jesuit University of Santa Clara. The university president, Father Thomas D. Terry, SJ, said that "the university had hoped to honor him for his courage and his heroic perseverance in the cause of justice and freedom."[102] However, the university had come under fire from "pro-life" organizations when it had named as a member of the Board of Trustees Congressman Don Edwards, who had been accused for supporting "pro-choice" positions. Members of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation had sent letters to Mindszenty, urging him not to accept the honorary degree.

Conclusions

During the early 1970s, Mindszenty was still a symbol for anticommunist activists in the United States. But for many, this also included antifeminist, and, more generally, anti-liberal ideas and a rejection of "Western decadence." Thus, he had become entangled in the American Culture Wars.

Many American Hungarians were emotionally moved when Mindszenty visited their communities. However, this did not exclude that they also respected representatives of the church in Communist Hungary. On August 17, 1975, 600 believers of Holy Cross (Szent Kereszt) Church in Detroit, Michigan, commemorated the death of Cardinal József Mindszenty, who had passed away in May of that year.[103] Mindszenty had visited the parish in 1974 and had sent a letter to the Franciscan Father Domonkos Csorba, only days before his death. However, only one year later, Dr. László Lékai, the new primate of the Catholic Church in Communist Hungary, visited the church and celebrated Saint Stephen's Day with the parish community. This was obviously not seen as a contradiction.

On the highest level, President Nixon, Pope Paul VI, and János Kádár were more or less bound by their diplomatic initiatives in which the Cardinal was seen as an obstacle. Since the weight of American Hungarians who supported Mindszenty seemed not to count much on the national level of the United States, it was mostly a few senators, congressmen, or political activists like Phyllis Schlafly who used the opportunity offered them by Mindszenty's international reputation to propagate their conservative agendas that seemed to be, like the Cardinal, out of date at that time. However, Mindszenty and many of his ideas and some of his political

102. *The Catholic Transcript*, Vol. LXVII, No. 7, June 7, 1974.

103. István Török, *Katolikus Magyarok Észak-Amerikában*, *A Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* (Youngstown, OH, 1978), 143–44.

supporters would see a revival under Reagan, Pope St John Paul II, and, later on, in the Era of Viktor Orbán.

For the Catholic Church it was more difficult. Since the late 1950s, the popes had begun to rethink their policy towards the Soviet Bloc when Pope St John XXIII initiated a somewhat more conciliatory tone, although the difference with Pius XII should not be exaggerated.[104] The questions was now: How could a nuclear catastrophe be prevented? And how could a (further) nationalization of the Catholic Church in countries like Czechoslovakia or Hungary under strict control by the Communist Party be avoided or at least slowed down? These were the main questions. One generation after the early Cold War, communism did not seem to be a temporary phenomenon any longer. The West, especially the United States, had, in the meantime, lost much credibility in the world because of the Vietnam War. Finally, the Catholic Church had to listen to the new nations of the Southern hemisphere that had come out of colonial rule and that also regarded the West more critically.

For Mindszenty, all this did not count, he only focused on "his" Hungarian nation that he claimed to represent according to a "thousand year" old unwritten constitution. He saw negotiations simply as "betrayal" of the victims of communism. Many, but surely not all, Hungarians, both Catholics as well as the more nationalist Calvinists, who lived in the United States, followed him in this. But the emotional encounters of the Hungarian diaspora with the octogenarian cardinal in places like Cleveland, Detroit, New Brunswick and elsewhere should not be misunderstood as being in unspoken political agreement. For most, Mindszenty embodied a time when they had, in one way or another, suffered as victims of communism or simply as refugees in a huge country they did not know. The Cardinal brought back memories, sometimes probably also traumas. And he brought American Hungarians together and gave them, for the last time in the twentieth century, media attention they had not enjoyed since 1956. For others, Mindszenty was just a famous, fascinating personality, someone whose stubbornness even drew him admiration from people with contrary or at least different political views.

104. Gerald Fogarty, SJ, "Vatican II and the Cold War," *Vatican II Behind the Iron Curtain,* ed. Piotr Kosicki (Washington, DC, 2016), 27–48.

Mobility and Identity: Christianity and the Making of Local Society in Northeast China, 1840–1945

Ji Li*

Unlike other parts of China, most Catholic villages in Manchuria or northeast China developed out of domestic immigrant settlements from Shandong and Hebei provinces. This article studies identity formation of these communities during the century between the establishment of the Catholic Manchuria Mission in 1840 and the extension of the state into rural society until the end of the Japanese rule in 1945. In examining the dual processes of integrating Catholic immigrants into a global Catholic Church and state structure in modern times, it argues that these communities established a strong Catholic identity within a short period because they were homogeneous and developed strong group cohesion during the transformation of Manchurian local society. Thus, they survived many political storms even to the present day.

Keywords: Catholic community, local society, migration, mobility, Manchuria

On March 5, 1901, in a small village of northeast China, Alfred Marie Caubrière, a twenty-five-year-old French Catholic missionary from the Missions Entrangères de Paris (MEP) sat down in front of his desk and began a letter to his parents. "This might shock you but I admit that this news brought me great happiness. Later, perhaps, the overwhelming feeling of new responsibility would have prevailed, and I would have received it only with fear. But for now, maybe it is bad but, I simply thank

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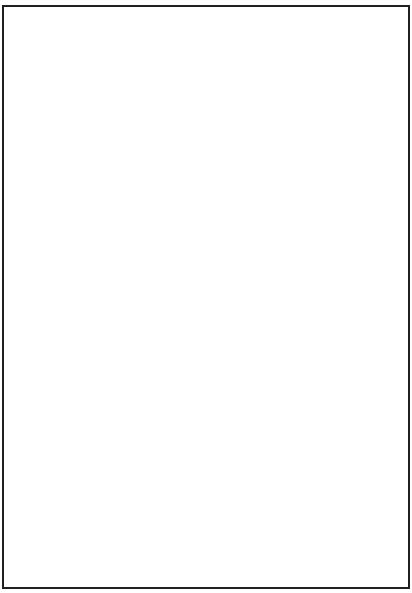

FIGURE 1. The Portrait of Alfred Marie Caubrière (1876–1948), from "Massacre du R. P. Alfred Caubrière (June 18, 1948)," *Missionnaires d'Asie: revue bimestrielle; organe des Missions-Etrangères de Paris et de l'Oeuvre des Partants,* (Paris, 1949), 27.

God for having made a little clearer my situation regarding the Christians. I am now, officially, their priest."[1] Caubrière was then in Santaizi, a Catholic village in today's Liaoning province of northeast China. When Caubrière's official appointment as the vicar of Santaizi arrived, he had been in this village less than a year. He first came to Santaizi as a trainee and assistant to Jean Corbel. A new priest usually has to work for a considerable period of time in a community to be appointed to take charge of it. But Caubrière made his name in the fatal battles against the Boxers' siege of the Santaizi church in the previous year. The MEP recognized his valor and the urgency of appointing a full-time priest-in-residence in the community. When the official appointment letter arrived, Caubrière was indeed joyful. "This is a change that I have already told you could happen" (Figure1).

1. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, March 5, 1901. The collection of Caubrière's family letters, including altogether 794 unpublished letters written between 1893 and 1940, in which 610 were from Manchuria, including 233 from the Catholic village of Santaizi, is now preserved in the Archives des Missions Etrangères de Paris (AMEP).

However, soon after the initial joy, Caubrière realized that he was not quite sure of the precise area that fell under his supervision. "I think it extends in the north to the Leao River; in the south, it goes as far as a river that is not far from Chaling, but whose name I do not yet know. If you are curious about the corner that I have to cultivate, look on your map: Santaizi, K'a lima, Ta niou p'outse, Tseou kia ouo p'eng; these are the principal *chrétientés* of this district. I will update you gradually, as I learn more myself."[2] It is not surprising that Caubrière did not know exactly the administrative territory for which he was responsible, as the local society was still loosely formed around scattered immigrant settlements. Before the state intensified its local administration and established Liaozhong County in 1906, Santaizi remained marginal to all county seats in this area. Located in the middle of nowhere, its territory, without any clear demarcation, was loosley associated with neighboring counties of Xinmin, Liaoyang, Chengde, Zhen'an, and Haicheng—back and forth during different periods.

The situation of Santaizi was not unique in northeast China. Many *chrétientés* or Catholic communities like Santaizi did not have clear geographic boundaries and were an outgrowth of immigrant settlements that were usually located on the border of several county-level administrative units. Growing in a shadow beyond the effective reach of the state and its local administration, many Catholic communities in the region hosted resident French missionaries for decades, especially after the Roman Catholic Manchuria Mission was founded in 1840.[3] They developed a strong Catholic identity in the following decades and survived many political storms such as the Boxer Uprising, the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese occupation, and constant wars and social chaos in the first half of the twentieth century. The resilience of these communities is remarkable, as almost all of these nineteenth-century Catholic communities survived and remain Catholic today.

This article examines how these Catholic villages in northeast China had developed such a strong Catholic identity during this chaotic period by examining the dual processes of the extension of the global Church into the lives of indigenous Catholics and the expansion of the state into rural

2. Ibid. This study preserves the original spelling of names and places in Caubrière's letters.

3. The Roman Catholic Manchuria Mission was initially a part of the Manchuria-Mongolia Mission established in 1838 by Pope Gregory XVI. Two years later in 1840, the mission was separated into two independent missions of Mongolia and Manchuria.

society from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Both processes have caught scholarly attention in recent years. In his study of the origins of the Boxer Uprising, Joseph Esherick argues that Catholic communal identity in Shandong was built in opposition to its neighbors, accumulating mutual hostility that eventually erupted into violence.[4] Challenging the interpretation of acculturation, Henrietta Harrison argues that the indigenous Catholic identity in Shanxi developed from rejecting foreign priests and foreign imposition, while at the same time local Catholics have been seeking the authentic membership of a global Catholic Church.[5] Focusing on northeast China, Thomas DuBois discusses how state structures of religion engaged with local society in the Manchukuo period from a conceptual perspective of social engineering.[6] This article builds upon these studies on Catholic community in north China and further explores the formation of Catholic identity in the unique situation of Manchuria that encountered the reorganization of local society starting from the late Qing reforms. Against the general background of "two broad historical processes" in this period summarized by Prasenjit Duara—the economic changes stemming from the impact of the West and the extension of the state into rural society—this article provides an empirical study on identity formation in an immigrant society during the state-building process.[7]

The analytical unit in this article are the scattered Catholic settlements. They were different from villages in traditional Chinese rural society that were bounded by kinship, lineage, or William Skinner's marketing system model.[8] Most of these settlements uprooted themselves from

4. Joseph Esherick, *The Origin of the Boxer Uprising* (California, 1987).

5. Henrietta Harrison. *The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (California, 2013). The scholarship on acculturation and Christianity as an indigenous and resilient Chinese religion includes Nicole Constable, *Christian souls and Chinese spirits: A Hakka community in Hong Kong* (California, 1994); Richard Madsen, *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society* (California, 1998) and "Beyond Orthodox: Catholicism as Chinese Folk Religion," in: *Chinese and Christianity: Burden Past, Hopeful Future*, Stephen Uhally Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu, eds. (Sharpe, 2001), 233–49; Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Harvard, 2009); Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Washington, 2008); and Lars Peter Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China* (Routledge, 2013).

6. Thomas David DuBois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia: Manchuria 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 2016).

7. Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942* (Stanford, 1991), 1.

8. William Skinner's marketing system model is elaborated in "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China," *Journal of Asian Studies,* 24 (1964–65), 3–43, 195–228.

provinces like Hebei and Shandong and began new Catholic communities *de novo*. Many early Catholic immigrant families settled in northeast China before the arrival of missionaries. In the process that integrated them into a global Church, these Catholic settlements responded to what Duara calls the "cultural nexus of power" in rural society.[9] Duara adds a cultural dimension to Philip Huang's exploration of economic and social dynamics of rural north China, and points out that Catholic villages were both grounded in the local society and linked to sources of power beyond the local cultural nexus itself.[10] As Duara did not study Catholic villages per se, this article examines how the global Church system in immigrant settlements created a distinctive network beyond the local administration in the nineteenth century, and how local religious power extended in juxtaposition with the extension of the state in the early twentieth century.

Different from many scholars who study rural society of north China by using investigative materials produced by the Japanese South Manchurian Railway Company from 1940–1942, research for this article relies on missionary writings and systematic church records, as well as Chinese materials of government documents and local gazetteers. These materials provide crucial contemporary perspectives that allow one to explore how these Catholic communities encountered and experienced the growth of both the global Church and the state in a transformative period. The first part of the article discusses local Catholic settlements during the mass migration. Different types of migration since the Qing dynasty included the voluntary immigrants of commoners and the government-organized immigrants of bannermen—those who belong to the Qing military organization of the Eight Banners. This resulted in different relationships among people, land, and the state. While immigrants' designated identity defined their relationship to the land rather than the reverse, religion provided a crucial alternative for community formation and identity construction. The second part of this study examines the extension of the global Church into the Catholic settlements and how this process helped to consolidate the community identity. The third part argues that the extension of the state into Manchurian rural society strengthened—rather than weakened as many may have assumed—the communal Catholic identity during chaotic years of the state-making in the first half of the twentieth century.

9. Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State*, 130.

10. See Philip Huang for his examination of the characteristics of north China villages in *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China* (Stanford, 1985).

Mass Migration and Catholic Settlements

The growth of Catholic communities in northeast China was historically constituted in the very fabric of Manchurian society, that is, the unique relationship among people, land, and state that was deeply rooted in the social structure inherited from the Qing period, especially its immigration policies. After the initial promotion of immigration to Manchuria for the sake of more extensive land cultivation, for most of the Qing period there was an official ban on the immigration of Han Chinese to Manchuria, the homeland of the Qing Manchu rulers.[11] In the early nineteenth century, due to financial imperative, the Qing government began to relocate the capital's elite banner population to its homeland.[12] Such state-sponsored migration required a large amount of labor to work on the vast farmlands of Manchuria, and the immigration ban was lifted in 1860 and ended altogether in 1897. Consequently, the late nineteenth century began to witness growing waves of immigration to Manchuria from northern China. As a result, the population of Manchuria grew from three million in 1840 to eighteen million in 1910. Between 1889 and 1911, over a mere thirteen years, the population increased by nine and a half million.[13] By 1949, the region's population was close to forty-nine million.[14]

Immigrants to Manchuria included primarily two categories: the state-sponsored bannermen and the voluntary commoners. The former was organized under the Eight Banner system and its status in Manchuria created a distinct social structure in the region: the demarcation of *qiren* (bannermen) and *minren* (civilians or non-bannermen). According to designated identities, the Qing government created a delicate system to distribute and manage Manchurian lands. The land owned by the bannermen were *qidi* (banner land) and those by non-bannermen were *mindi* (civilian land). The consequence of this banner-civilian land system resulted in the so-called "state-sponsored inequality."[15] In such a social structure imposed by the

11. In the first two decades of the Qing reign, between 1644 and 1667, the Qing court issued a series of edicts, including the well-known "The Regulations on Recruiting Civilian Commoners to Cultivate Land in Liaodong (1653)" to encourage immigration to Manchuria for land cultivation.

12. Shuang Chen, *State-Sponsored Inequality: The Banner System and Social Stratification in Northeast China* (Stanford, 2017).

13. Ping'an Ma, *Jindai dongbei yimin yanjiu* [Studies on migration to Dongbei in modern China] (Jinan, 2009), 40.

14. Shanyu Zhang, *Zhongguo renkou dili* [Demography and geography of China] (Beijing, 2007).

15. Chen, *State-Sponsored Inequality*.

state, the correlation between people's identity and land corresponded to different types of governance: the military government for bannermen and banner lands, and the civilian government for non-bannermen and non-banner lands. This dichotomy is called *qimin fenzhi* or "separate governance on bannermen and non-bannermen."[16] But in reality, an ambiguous area existed in the seemingly strict system and the boundary between the enforced banner-civilian classification was not rigid.[17] Since the late nineteenth century, the military government was unable to manage with the dramatically increased number of Han Chinese farmers and the civilian government gradually became dominant during the late Qing reforms in which Manchuria became Three Northeastern Provinces in 1907. Before this transition, in the long nineteenth century, the local administration beyond the military government was very loose and slack.

Different from those state-sponsored immigrants who were all designated local elites, the large number of voluntary immigrants from north China were lower class farmers. In rural China, people's identity was largely defined by land, kinship, and lineage. In an immigrant society like Manchuria, their identities were dominantly defined by their relationships to different types of land. Some of these emigrant farmers were *yimin* (migrants), legal and entitled to land; some were *liumin* (vagrants) or *youmin* (wandering people), who had no established residence or visible means of support; and some were *fei* (bandits) or professional bandit militias who looted for a living. *Yimin* usually farmed on the registered land, and *liumin*, even if they farmed on land they could not register as farmers.[18] Once their affiliations to land changed, their identities would change accordingly.

On top of these designated and land-affiliated identities, religious identity—Catholics in this particular study—emerged with migration to Manchuria. Among the immigrants to Manchuria, Catholic immigrants were seldom recognized, even though they shaped the religious demography of northeast China with enduring effects. Unlike Chinese Protestants, whose numbers experienced exponential growth in the post-Mao era, Chinese Catholics remain a relatively stable population whose growth depends largely on the continuity of the multigenerational families and the

16. Shuren Diao, *Dongbei qidi yanjiu* [Research on banner land in Northeast China] (Jilin wenshi, 1993).

17. Yuanyuan Qiu, "Strategies of Living in the Context of Separate Governance of Eight Banners People in the Qing Dynasty," in: *Lishi yanjiu* [Historical Research], 388 (2020), 68–93.

18. Diao, *Dongbei qidi yanjiu*.

community.[19] A distinctive feature of Catholicism in northeast China is that most of the region's Catholics are descendants of Catholic immigrants whose ancestors converted to Christianity in their hometowns and brought Christianity to the locality in which they settled. Many of them arrived in Manchuria earlier than European missionaries did, and these early Catholic immigrant clusters gave the church a good foundation on which to grow.

The majority of the voluntary immigrants were from Hebei and Shandong provinces in north China; both were well known for having hosted Catholic missions.[20] In Hebei, Catholicism can be traced back to as early as the fourteenth century. Before 1949, there were 800,000 Catholics according to official Chinese statistics.[21] Similarly, Catholic missionaries have long worked in Shandong, including a renowned Jesuit missionary, Niccolo Longobardi (1559–1654), who left abundant letters and reports describing Catholic missions in the province.[22] The Franciscans arrived in 1650, and by 1723 there were "Catholic communities all over the province."[23]

There is no demographic record of Catholic population having immigrated from Hebei and Shandong to northeast China, as China did not implement systematic registration of Christians or any religious population in its history. But official court documents and local gazetteers include many accounts about scattered Catholic communities in northeast China. In the eleventh year of Emperor Qianlong's reign (1746), the emperor issued his first decree to ban Catholicism nationwide. Consequently, the government of Fengtian Prefecture (roughly equivalent to today's Liaoning

19. Yonghui Qiu, ed., *Zhongguo zongjiao baogao (2017–18)* [Annual Report on Religions in China (2017–18)] (Zhongguo shehui kexue wenxian, 2020).

20. During the mass migration to Manchuria, in nearly all years more than 95% of the migrants came from Hebei and Shandong provinces. See Thomas R. Gottschang, "Economic Change, Disasters, and Migration: The Historical Case of Manchuria," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 35.3 (1987), 461–90.

21. *Hebeisheng zhi (zongjiaozhi)* [Local Gazetteer of Heibei Province (Religion)], vol. 68, p. 208.

22. Ronnie Hsia, "Tianzhujiao yu mingmo shehui: Chongzhenchao Long Huaming shandong chuanjiao de jige wenti," [Catholicism and the Chinese society in the late Ming dynasty: several questions regarding the missionary work of Niccolo Longobardi in Shandong under the Emperor Chongzhen's reign], *Lishi yanjiu* [Historical Research] (2009.2), 51–67.

23. Feiya Tao and Tianlu Liu, *Jidu jiaohui yu jindai Shandong shehui* [Christian Church and early modern society of Shandong] (Jinan, 1995), 10. See also Rolf G. Tiedemann, "Christianity and Chinese 'Heterodox Sects': Mass Conversion and Syncretism in Shandong Province in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Monumenta Serica,* 44.1 (1996), 339–82.

Province) submitted a memorial to the emperor, reporting that the authorities had discovered Catholic communities in seven counties.[24] This is the first official Chinese record of Catholic communities in Manchuria. The memorial concluded that there were approximately a hundred Chinese Catholics in the prefecture and no Western missionaries.

From Emperor Qianlong's reign until the early nineteenth century, Catholicism experienced very limited growth in Manchuria because of the official prohibition of Christianity and immigration. Nonetheless, with an increasing number of Catholics immigrated to Manchuria, immigrant Catholic families began to spread throughout the vast region. Local gazetteers, though randomly, mention many prominent Catholic families in different parts of Manchuria, which include the Du family of Santaizi and the Su family of Biguanbao in Liaoning, and the families of Li, Ding, and Xiao of Xiaoheishan in Jilin. In 1818, eight families, including five Catholic, established a settlement in today's Nong'an County in Jilin province. Xiaobajiazi, or literally "small eight families," soon developed into a prominent Catholic community.[25] In 1840, Emmanuel Verrolles, the first apostolic vicar of the Catholic Manchuria Mission from the French MEP, discovered Xiaobajiazi and purchased land to build the first village church. In 1844, another MEP missionary, Charles Joseph Venault, was assigned to Xiaobajiazi and became the first priest-in-residence in a local Catholic community in the Manchuria Mission.

Santaizi in southern Manchuria was another significant Catholic immigrant settlement. It was originally called Dujiazhuang, or "the village of the Du family."[26] According to the county gazetteer, the Dus were Catholic immigrants from the village of Xidu in what used to be Laizhou Prefecture in Shandong province. The patriarch who spearheaded the family's move to Manchuria was Du Shoushan, who settled in Liaoyang in

24. They are Kaiyuan, Chengde, Haicheng, Gaiping, Ningyuan, Yongji, and Yizhou. See "Qianlong shiyinian Fengtianfu jinjiaoan chahuo jiaomin fenbutu" [The map of distribution of Catholic cases in Fengtian Prefecture in the eleventh year of the Qianlong emperor], in: Yan Rui, "Qianlong shiyinian Fengtianfu jinjiaoan tanwei" [A study on the cases of prohibition of Catholicism in Fengtian Prefecture in the eleventh year of the Qianlong Emperor], in: *Wenben, diyu yu jieshi de xinshijiao: Zhongguo dongbei diqu de jiduzongjiao yu zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* [Manuscripts, memories, localization, and explanations: New perspectives on Christianity in northeast China and Sino-Western cultural exchange], ed. Yifeng Zhao (Shanghai, 2013), 37.

25. *Nong'an xianzhi* [Local gazetteer of Nong'an County] (Jilin, 1993), 640–41.

26. As recorded in *Minjian ziliao ben*, a folklore survey conducted by the Liaozhong County government in the 1980s. *Minjian ziliao ben* (internal distribution, 1987), 37.

eastern Manchuria.[27] His two sons, Du Hai and Du Ping, later moved Santaizi and Shaling respectively and introduced Christianity to the two places. Over the ensuing decades, the two settlements developed into two significant Catholic communities.[28] The earliest missionary who visited Santaizi was Verrolles; when he first visited the village in 1841, he reported there were 170 Catholics.[29] Two decades later, in 1865, there were already two missionary schools for girls.[30] In 1864, Joseph Boyer purchased three humble rooms near the southern entrance to the village and established a catechism school there.[31] Boyer called Santaizi a "good village" in his parish report of 1865.[32] A few years later, in his parish report, Philibert Simon praised Santaizi as a "true Christian parish, like a delicious oasis in the desert of paganism."[33] In 1875, Isidore Métayer led the construction of the first village church and was appointed the first priest of Santaizi. By the time Caubrière arrived in Santaizi in 1900, the village had 600 Catholics, "which made Santaitzi one of the largest Christian communities in southern Manchuria."[34] Caubrière lived in Santaizi for nearly three decades from 1899 to 1927 and witnessed the most significant growth of the community. In 1935, the MEP registered over 2,600 Catholics in Santaizi. The renewed Santaizi Church could accommodate 1,500 people.[35] It became one of the largest among 242 Catholic churches established by the MEP in the Manchuria Mission in terms of its capacity and grandeur (Figure 2).

Santaizi is one of the many Catholic settlements that experienced the steady growth until the mid-twentieth century, despite the constant wars and regime changes. The growth was largely due to the extension of the

27. The exact timing of the family's relocation to Manchuria remains unknown. According to the author's fieldwork and archival research, as well as to the newly compiled genealogy of the Du family, most probably the first Dus moved to Santaizi between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

28. Santaizi is one of the five largest Catholic villages in northeast China. The other four are Haibei in Heilongjiang, Xiaobajiazi and Sujiawopeng in Juin, and Songshuzuizi in Liaoning. Peijun Wu, "20 shiji shangbanye dongbei tianzhujiao shi de kaocha [Investigation of the history of Catholicism in northeast China in the first half of the twentieth century]," *Waiguo wenti yanjiu* [Journal of Foreign Studies], 3 (2010), 33–36.

29. AMEP 225, p. 153.

30. AMEP 0563, p. 2094.

31. *Liaozhong Xianzhi (1993)* [Local Gazetteer of Liaozhong County], 770.

32. AMEP 0563, p. 2096.

33. Emile Briand, *Philibert Simon, missionnaire en Mandchourie: Sa vie, sa correspondance, ses œuvres* [Philibert Simon, Missionary of Manchuria: His Life, His Correspondence, His Works] (Paris, 1878), 208.

34. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, August 19, 1900.

35. "The Construction of Santaizi Church,"*Manzhou gongjiao yuekan* [Manchuria Catholic Monthly], 1 (1935), 14–15.

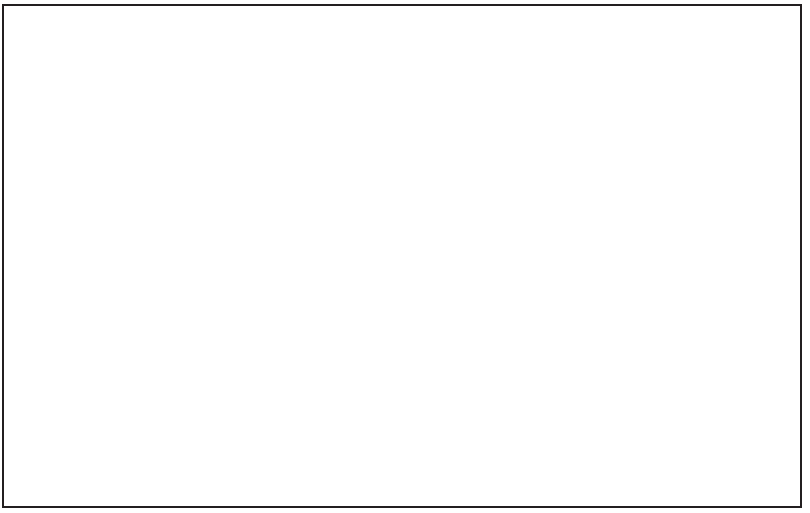

Figure 2. The Church of Santaizi, 1934, from "The Construction of Santaizi Church," in: *Manzhou gongjiao yuekan* [Manchuria Catholic Monthly], 1 (1935), 14.

global church into local society, which established a distinctive network on top of the local administration. It also nurtured a strong communal identity, because these Catholic immigrant settlements began *de novo* as nearly entirely Catholic communities. The immigrants' request for stability and security coincided with the church's growth, which regulated the local religious practice and consolidated the shared communal identity.

Integrating Catholic Settlements into the Global Church

Before the late Qing reforms that established new counties and reorganized local administrative functions at the turn of the century, many Catholic communities did not have clear geographic boundaries like those Caubrière described in his letter. Most Catholic communities were an outgrowth of immigrant settlements located on the borderland of several counties and far away from county seats. During the Boxers' attack on the Santaizi church, Caubrière used to write to the magistrate of the neighboring Liaoyang County asking for help, but his request was ignored. Most local magistrates paid little attention to such religious communities unless they were forced to get involved to deal with conflicts and quell unrests.

The slack local administration provided an opportunity for the growth of Catholic Church on the one hand. On the other hand, it was due to the

imperial expansion and systematic church effort.[36] The Roman Catholic Manchuria Mission was founded in 1840 and entrusted to the French MEP. In 1840s, the establishment of the Manchuria Mission and other four missions on China's borderlands accompanied the expansion of French control over the Catholic faith in China.[37] The so-called French Religious Protectorate refers to a system of foreign privilege that was institutionalized through a series of treaties signed between the Qing court and the French government between 1844 and 1865.[38] Under the treaties, sixty-seven missionaries had joined the Manchuria Mission by the end of the nineteenth century. They had ordained nineteen indigenous priests, trained approximately two hundred catechists, and overseen the establishment of Catholic schools in virtually every major Christian community.[39] These communities encompassed hundreds of faithful indigenous lay Christians who participated actively in baptism, proselytism, and church education[40] (Figure 3).

Church records also demonstrate the rapid and steady increase of religious institutions: parishes grew from eleven in 1873 to forty-five in 1919; churches multiplied fivefold from fifty-three in 1901 to 253 in 1919; *chrétientés* shot up from 160 in 1896 to 400 in 1919 (Figure 4). As key religious and institutional signifiers, the hierarchical network of parishes, churches, and *chrétientés* played a critical role in organizing local society. A village church was often shared by several neighboring *chrétienté*s for the administration of the sacraments, so it gradually became a center to organize localities regardless of its position in local government. Caubrière recorded that during the Boxers Uprising, a great number of Catholics from neighboring villages took refuge in the Santaizi church and they organized into a defensive force against the Boxers' attack.[41] In 1909, Chi-

36. For the complicated relationship between Christianity and imperialism in China, see Ryan Dunch, "Beyond cultural imperialism: cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity," *History and Theory*, 4.1, no. 3 (2002), 301–25.

37. Within a decade from 1840–48, the MEP had established five new missions or apostolic vicariates in China's borderlands: Manchuria (1840), Tibet (1846), and Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hainan (all in 1848).

38. These treaties include the Treaty of Whampoa (1844), the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), the Convention of Peking (1860), and the Berthemy Convention (1865). Ernest P. Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*: *China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (Oxford, 2013).

39. For the list of the MEP missionaries and indigenous priests in the Manchuria Mission from 1840–98, see Ji Li, *God's Little Daughters: Catholic Women in Nineteenth-Century Manchuria*, (Washington, 2015), 145–51.

40. *Ibid*., 103–14.

41. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, August 19, 1901.

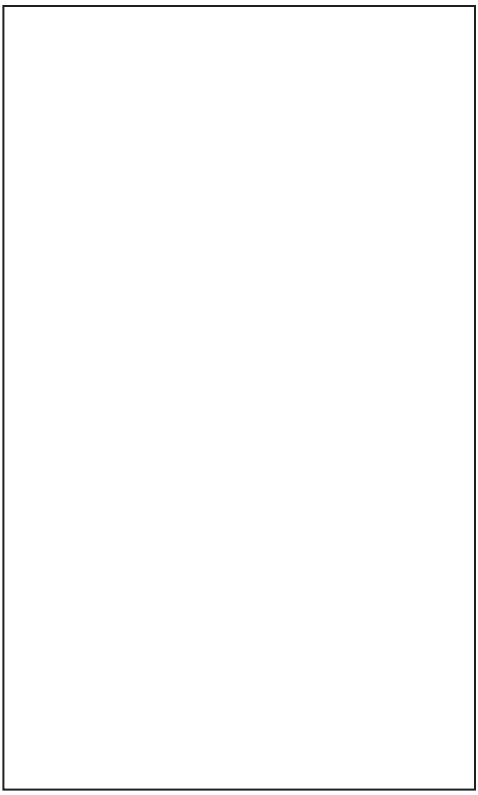

FIGURE 3. Map of the Manchuria Mission (1889), from: Adrien Launay, "Mission de Mandchourie (1889), Carte dressée d'après les travaux des missionnaires de Mandchourie" (Paris, 1891).

nese Catholics from all the neighboring villages came to Santaizi to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Caubrière's arrival in the village church. On that day, Caubrière had in the catechumenate 250 people from different villages preparing for Baptism.[42] Hierarchal institutions and informal relations became fundamental for exercising power through networks. The local churches created a distinctive network on top of the official administration, and the missionaries in charge became local authorities whose power extended to cover an area defined by the local church system rather than the government.

42. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, December 22, 1909.

FIGURE 4. Churches, Parishes and *Chrétientés* in the Manchuria Mission, 1873–1919, from: Parish reports in AMEP 0562, 0563, 0564, 0565, 0566, 0567, and 0567A.

Extension of the global Church into Catholic settlements is shown by the statistics and it relied on the church reporting system. To fulfill the requirements in the annual report, missionaries did assiduous work to supervise and guide local practices. Their daily mission work was transliterated into two forms in the annual report: *tableaux d'administration* and *comptes-rendus*. The former contained quantitative statistics that meticulously documented the frequency of the community's reception of the sacraments to demonstrate the consolidation of communal identity. The latter were mostly qualitative and verbal evaluations that measured local conversion and religiosity. The reports in Santaizi, for example, recorded the annual frequency of baptism, confession, confirmation and communion for about a century. As the frequency increased steadily and ritual practices became routinized, the communal identity was reported to be confirmed.[43] Through the observance of the rituals, the missionary annual reports created a coherent narrative for incorporating the Catholic settlements into the global Church.

But what Catholic identity meant for the community went beyond the statistics and graphic representations of parishes, churches, and sacraments. Examining local materials of the nineteenth century, Catholic

43. Ji Li, "Measuring Catholic Faith in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century China," in: Owen White and James Patrick Daughton, eds., *In God's Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World* (Oxford, 2012), 173–94.

identity demonstrated in Manchuria was not as strong as in other parts of China, where mutual hostility accumulated in villagers' daily life became the main reason leading to violent conflicts or *jiao'an* based on religious differences between Catholics and non-believers.[44] Indeed, Christian communities in Manchuria were attacked significantly during the Boxer Uprising, but an examination of *jiao'an* recorded in major archival collections shows that the quantity of anti-Christian *jiao'an* in northeast China was notably low.[45] For instance, in the first two decades after the first Opium War from 1842 to 1860, there were 62 *jiao'an* reported in China, but none in the northeast.[46] The first *jiao'an* in Manchuria, the Niuzhuang Case, was reported in 1861. It was twenty years later than the first one reported in Beijing. From 1861 to 1910, there were altogether 105 *jiao'an* recorded in all three northeastern provinces, compared to 333 in a single province of Shandong during the same period.[47] The majority of the 105 *jiao'an* concerns economic disputes on church land and property rather than violent conflicts. And 66 of the 105 cases happened between 1894 to 1902, a decade marked by mass migration, local reforms, wars, and uprisings.

Looking into the daily life of Catholic settlements, missionary personal accounts also demonstrate a relatively peaceful contact between Catholics and non-believers. For Catholics, threats and hostilities were mostly from bandits and soldiers rather than from non-Christian villagers. In Caubrière's over two-hundred family letters written in Santaizi village during his three decades of residence there, one finds numerous mentions of "pagans." But besides the Boxers' attack in the summer of 1900, he did not mention any violent conflicts between pagans and Catholics. In contrast, he talked about how pagan villagers came to remind him of the advent of bandits and how they helped each other during the Russo-Japan-

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44. See, for example, Alan Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province 1860–1900* (Michigan, 2001) and Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*.

45. The major published archival collections of *Jiao'an* include *Jiaowu jiao'an dang* [Archives concerning incidents involving foreign missionaries], series 1–7, (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974–81); *Qingmo Jian'an* [Religious court cases at the end of Qing]. Vols. 1–5, (Zhonghua shuju, 1996–2000); and Zhu Shijia, ed., *Shijiu shiji meiguo qinhua dang'an shiliao xuanji* [Selected historical archives of the American invasion of China in the nineteenth century] (Zhonghua shuju, 1959).

46. Zhao Shuhao, "Lun jindai zhongguo zaoqi jiao'an de qiyin he tedian [On the Causes and Characteristics of Early Religious Cases in Modern China]," *Shixue yuekan* [Journal of Historical Science], 2 (1998), 15.

47. Tian Chao, "Shilun wanqing dongbei jiao'an de tedian [On the Characteristics of Religious Cases in Northeast China]," *Liaocheng daxue xuebao* [Journal of Liaocheng University], 2 (2008), 317.

ese War: the pagans living in the north of the Santaizi Catholic community borrowed a small cannon from the church to fight against harassing bandits.[48] In the aftermath of the Boxer's attack on the village church, Caubrière even wrote that, "They killed a lot of Christians, it is true; but since the persecution, the pagans have suffered more from the war and the brigands than the Christians had suffered from the Boxers."[49]

So, the origins of *jiao'an* or anti-Christian sentiments in northeast China, though they shared many similarities with the anti-foreign sentiments, are not exactly the same as those in inner China. The relatively mild situation in Manchuria before the Boxer Uprising was largely due to the unique condition of the region—its vast territory, scattered population, loose social bonds within immigrant settlements, slack local administration, as well as the nature of these Catholic settlements which began *de novo*. The Boxer Uprising was a turning point and accelerator for the growth of communal identity for these Catholic settlements. During the Boxer Uprising in 1900, many village churches were attacked by Boxers and government soldiers, including over a thousand who attacked the Santaizi church and besieged it for twenty-one days. With tireless resistance, the Santaizi church survived the Boxer assault, but revenge took place soon after. Two months after the Boxer Protocol was signed in November 1901, Santaizi Catholics, led by Du Yintang, a member of the prominent Du family, kidnapped a provincial inspector named Shan Ying who was passing through the area on a business trip. Chinese documents explain the kidnapping was due to Shan Ying who "led a team of soldiers to attack Santaizi church during the Boxer Rebellion last year."[50] Similar collective retaliation also happened in other counties like Xinmin and Kaiyuan in southern Manchuria.[51] Prominent families had established a reputation during the resistance against Boxers' attack. In the case of Santaizi, Du Yintang was able to assemble more than two-hundred villagers for kidnapping a provincial official. By contrast, the state appeared weak and incompetent. In the memorial submitted by Zeng Qi, the General of Shengjing, reporting this incident, Du Yintang and his two hundred fellow villagers were grouped together and called "Santaizi

48. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, July 20, 1904.

49. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, May 6, 1902.

50. "No. 72, A diplomatic note submitted by Zeng Qi to a Russian military commissioner regarding the kidnapping of Shan Ying by Santaizi Catholic villagers, in: *Dongbei yihetuan shiliao* [Archival Documents concerning the Boxer Uprising in Northeast China] (Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1981), 184.

51. "No. 71, an advisory note submitted by Zeng Qi to Minister Wang dispatched from Beijing regarding the revenge and harassment of Catholic villagers of Xinmin and Kaiyuan," *ibid*., 183–84.

tianzhu jiao'min" or Santaizi Catholic villagers. This was the first official recognition of Santaizi's group identity in Chinese government documents, even though Santaizi as a prominent community was recognized by the Catholic Church six decades ago. The cohesiveness of the village community was critical for the consolidation and collective identity formation. The post-Boxer retaliation demonstrated the strong communal identity that came into being in these Catholic settlements and further facilitated the growth of the church within the community.

These Catholic communities emerged in an immigrant society, in which immigrants' political and social resources were scarce. Their shared religious identity became a potent force that sought to defend the sense of security. In the social interstice of the privileged Manchuria society of banner-civilian system, the global Church created an alternative system beyond the local administrative structure, that brought significant transformation during the late Qing new policies and subsequent reforms by different regimes. Until the end of the Japanese rule in 1945, the state had no means to integrate the church system into its state making project. In fact, the extension of the state into the Manchurian local society virtually facilitated the growth of religious governance in these Catholic communities.

Extension of the State into Catholic Communities

Reorganization of local society in northeast China started during the late Qing reforms at the turn of the twentieth century. It was launched in response to the aftermaths of the Boxer Uprising and the heavy burdens of its indemnity. As part of a broader boosting of the Qing's local administration of immigrant settlements and borderlands, it also initiated the state-making process to strengthen the management of local society.[52] The late Qing reforms, in particular the establishment of new administrative units, intended to set up a new organizational context in which local power can be wielded. For the Catholic communities, the extension of the global Church in the nineteenth century already established a network that structured distinctive accesses to power and resources in local society. The extension of the state into rural society in the early twentieth century did not challenge the religious governance within these communities. On the contrary, the constant changes of local administration in different regimes strengthened the relatively stable religious communities in the first half of the twentieth century.

52. Ren Yuxue, *Studies on the Local Administration System in Qing Northeast China*. Ph.D. dissertation, Fudan University, 2008.

Santaizi, for example, had received little attention from neighboring county seats in the long nineteenth century and the Catholic community had been administered by the church and missionaries, who had effectively mobilized Catholic villagers in defense of the village church during the Boxes' attack. After the attack, the communal identity was consolidated and became more distinctive as a magnificent church was built with the Boxer indemnity. But the community, same as other villages, became increasingly vulnerable to natural disasters and social chaos, especially the "bandits who are devastating the land and are completely out of control."[53] In 1906, Zhao Erxun, the General of Shengjing, submitted an edict to the Qing court regarding the loose hold that the central government had over the Santaizi area and requested that stronger administration be established through a new county. Another record reports that Du Lisan, a well-known bandit, had secured a foothold along the Liao River and was taxing local residents heavily. He also extracted taxes from the shuttle boats that crossed the Liao River. In effect, he had become a de facto local administrator, directly challenging the administration of late Qing provincial government. Under the pressure, on September 15, 1906, a new county named Liaozhong was established. Liaozhong means "in the middle of the Liao," as the new county had the Liao River to its east and the ancient Liaodong Prefecture to its west.[54] Liang Shouxiang was appointed the county's first local governor.[55] Establishing new counties to strengthen local administration had become an important strategy in the late Qing reforms.

The newly established Liaozhong County imposed an administrative system and a political hierarchy on the scattered Catholic communities, ignoring the existing system of religious governance centered on the local church. Catholic communities were incorporated into an administrative scheme of five *lu* [road] and twenty-eight *qu* [district], covering about 300,000 people and 2,600 square meters reallocated from three neighboring counties.[56] Below the level of the *qu*, there were towns and villages, many of which grew out of immigrant settlements. A prominent Catholic community of Xinmin, for example, became a new town. The community developed out of three families of Shi, Lu and Wu. They were all Catholic

53. *Liaozhong xianzhi* (1934) [Local gazetteer of Liaozhong County], 33.

54. *Liaozhong xianzhi*, 34.

55. Liang En'hui, "Liaozhong wangshi: Liao Tai liangxian fenjiang huajie zhi dianmo" [History of the establishment of Liaozhong and Tai'an Counties], *Liaozhong wenshi ziliao*, 3, pp. 91–98.

56. *Guangxu Liaozhong xiangtu zhi* (1908) [Local history of Liaozhong during the Emperor Guangxu's reign], 35.

from Shandong and regarded as *minren*, that is, non-bannermen. Their settlement was named Xinmin, literally "new people." Many other villages in Liaozhong were also named after their earliest immigrant families, such as Zhujiafang, named after the Zhu family; Shijia wopeng, named after the Shi family; Zhaojia cun, named after the Zhao family; and Liu Erpu, meaning "two Pus," named after an immigrant named Liu Pu who had two sons.[57] Such structure of Liaozhong villages provided an opportunity for the local church to grow, as the conversion to Catholicism was usually based on families rather than individuals.

In 1906, the new Liaozhong County fell under the jurisdiction of the late Qing prefecture of Fengtian. All administrative and judicial power in the county belonged to the *zhixian*, the local magistrate. Caubrière also noticed this administrative transformation and mentioned it in a letter to his parents: "Did I tell you that since the last few months, one of the villages of the district has been established as a sub-prefecture? It is the village of Ache Niou, an old nest of brigands, on the road between Santaitzi and Kalima. I went to visit the new sub-prefect with great fanfare, and I was very well received. Pray, so that these good relations will be durable; for they may be of great consequence for the conversion of pagans of the district."[58]

As a survivor of the Boxer Uprising of 1900, Caubrière was rightly cautious of the new administration. Even though Catholic communities did not catch the immediate attention of the new County head, the painful experience of the Boxers' attack on Santaizi church and the subsequent difficult negotiations with previous local magistrates forced Caubrière to realize the local administration was critical for the survival of Catholic community.

In the first two decades after the Liaozhong County was established, the local administration was instable and precarious. It became a conglomeration of the traditional community-based system and new structures promoted by the late Qing reforms and later warlord government. The banner-civilian dual government was first abolished and a number of civilian positions were initiated. In 1909, *baofang* or the community-based system of law enforcement and civil control was implemented in all villages. Catholic households, same as their neighbors, were organized indiscriminatingly into the system. When the late Qing government initiated local autonomy in 1910, it set up a Liaozhong County Autonomy Committee that divided the county into five administrative levels encompassing

57. *Liaozhong xianzhi* (1993), 56–63.
58. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, January 31, 1907.

one *cheng* (the county seat), five *zhen*, two *xiang*, and altogether 968 towns and villages. The village of Santaizi belonged to Ciyutuo, one of the five *zhen*s until the Communist Party took over the region in 1948. The late Qing reform had little real effect on local governance, including local Catholic communities.

In 1912, with the overthrow of the Qing dynasty the Republic of China was founded and the Fengtian warlord replaced the late Qing governor. The political chaos, however, provided an opportunity for the Church, and missionaries on the ground were generally quite optimistic about their prospects under the new regime. Caubrière wrote to his parents about the new Republic on the eve of the 1911 revolution: "Imperialists and revolutionaries do not want to harm either Christians or foreigners."[59] His colleague Eugène Chometon in northern Manchuria shared the same optimistic expectation that the Republic would hold "less antipathy towards that which is foreign, and by consequence, to the Christian religion. Christians will be able to hold literary ranks, to assume official burdens, to have some social influence."[60]

But in Liaozhong County, the governance remained too weak and chaotic to promote any substantial reforms. The local administration and judiciary were in constant conflict; local administration underwent constant change; and the local governor implemented heavy taxes. The inflation rate skyrocketed. After the founding of Manchukuo in 1932, the Japanese launched reforms of local administration, including three major ones in 1934, 1937, and 1940, to consolidate its governance and economic dominance of the local society. The 1934 reform re-implemented the traditional *baojia* system. After the total war with China was launched in 1937, in its "Outline of the Reform Proposal for the Local Administrative Organization of Manchuria," the Japanese implemented *jie-cun* or street-village system, a new scheme to organize local communities based on streets, villages, and households. The *jie-cun* system divided the whole Liaozhong County into fifty-seven *jie-cun* and 522 *tun* or village. According to the pro-Japanese census of 1940, there were 52,413 households and 333,944 people in Liaozhong County.[61] In 1940, Manchukuo issued a series of policies to organize the local administration, including "The Outline of Administrative Reforms" and "The Establishment of the National

59. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, November 21, 1911.

60. *Rapport Annuel des Evêques*, Southern Manchuria, 1912, in: DuBois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Northeast Asia*, 49.

61. *Liaozhong xianzhi* (1993), 16–17.

Neighborhood Protection Organization." These policies intended to organize and mobilize effectively the grassroots society into the war, but with only limited effects.

As these polices reorganized local society according to different administrative units, especially streets and villages, they largely left out the local religious network that was built on top of them. But the Japanese government did show an interest to investigate and regulate religious practice on the ground. From 1933 on, the Ministry of Culture and Education ordered an investigation into local beliefs. In 1934, a census listed all religious professionals, including Buddhist monks, Daoist priests, lamas, Christian priests, and others. One survey report also identified more than fifty Catholic communities with "highly autonomous status" or Autonomous Catholic Villages, including Xiaobajiazi, Haibei, Songshuzuizi, Sujiawopeng, Dayingzi, and Santaizi.[62] The Japanese government also showed particular concerns in regulating religious property and personnel, especially in the grassroots Catholic communities and their missionaries, most of whom were citizens of foreign countries. In 1939, the "Temporary Regulations for Temples and Missionaries" required missionaries to apply to the Ministry of Civil Affairs for certification. But these regulations did not challenge the local church authority and were seen as the rule by law in a time of establishing legitimacy. Manchukuo law set the boundaries of religion as an institution that aimed at its social engineering of the regime.[63]

Under the negotiated relationship with the Japanese government, the Catholic Church de facto maintained a steadily growth under Japanese rule. The *Manchuria Catholic Church Monthly* was founded in June 1935. It was a Chinese periodical published by the MEP. From 1935 to 1941, it published seven volumes and 77 issues, with a total of more than 3,000 pages. The main content of the periodical was about Catholic doctrine and the Catholic situation in Manchuria. With approval of the Manchukuo government, the survival of the periodical during the regime suggested a tacit acquiescence between the Japanese and the Catholic Church. For Catholic missionaries on the ground, Japanese Manchukuo promised peace and "religious freedom." Caubrière admitted as such in his family letters written during the Manchukuo state: "The Japanese do not want to have communists in northern China, since they could contaminate Manchuria and

62. Shibata Kenzō, *Religions in Manchuria* (Mukden, 1940); Xiaofeng Wang, *Weiman shiqi riben dui dongbei de zongjiao qinlue yanjiu* [Research on the Japanese invasion of northeast China during the Manchukuo period] (Beijing, 2015), 92.

63. See DuBois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion*, 108–29.

Korea . . . and I think they are absolutely right. Call me 'pro-Japanese' for this; I will not defend myself, and will not worry too much about it."[64]

Regardless of regime changes, the implementation of varying systems of local administration by the early Republican government, by warlords, and by the Japanese Manchukuo did not change the Catholic landscape, which remained remarkably constant. From 1900 to 1945, the Catholic Church in Manchuria continued its steady management of forty-five parishes. Many Catholic communities experienced their most significant development during this period despite the political disorder. Haibei, for example, was founded in the early twentieth century by missionary Andrè Roubin, who purchased from the local government 2,400 *xiang* of farmland with 5,000 *liang* of silver, built a small church, and called for Catholic immigrants. In 1920s, Roubin became the de facto governor of Haibei, or the Town of St. Joseph as he called it.[65] When the state administrative measures reached into the village level, they did not challenge the Catholic missions that had already taken deep root in the communities for more than half a century. In some periods such as the Manchukuo, the government had to negotiate with the Church to reinforce the legitimacy of the regime. Although the incessant political chaos did constrain the flourishing of the Catholic community to some degree, the expansion of the state in Manchuria did not transform and delegitimize the established order of religious authorities. This consistency guaranteed the growth of Catholic identity in these communities.

Conclusion

A salient feature of Catholic communities in northeast China is that they were founded by domestic Catholic immigrants, and the development of the communities were structured in the dual processes of the extension the global Church into the lives of indigenous Catholics and the extension of the state into rural society. The two historical trajectories, however, did not conflict with each other during a long period until the mid-twentieth century. This was largely due to the region's unique nature of mobility and social structure inherited from the Qing dynasty. Due to the state-sponsored migration, the state classified immigrants into distinct categories, each associated with differentiated entitlements to land and corresponding social status. Such state-sponsored structure was aimed at the creation of a

64. Letter by Alfred Marie Caubrière, July 25, 1937.

65. For the missionary governance in Haibei, see Ji Li, "Catholic Communities and Local Governance in Northeast China," *China Review* 18.4 (2018), 107–30.

stable society, in which people were mobile, lands were entitled, and people's identities were largely designed by the state and affiliated to land. But voluntary mass migration to Manchuria since the late nineteenth century posed a severe challenge to the state's efforts to organize and control society. The unstable immigrant population challenged the political and social boundaries set in the local society and made local communities fluid and flexible. This provided an opportunity for the Church to take roots in the immigrant settlements, as the Church challenged the system of identity entitlement defined by the state, and in the interstices between military and civilian government, faith and identity grew.

The church system, led by the Catholic Manchuria Mission, was built on top of the loose local administration. Especially in the nineteenth century, the Church enjoyed significant authority and legitimacy in Catholic settlements. Missionaries and prominent indigenous Catholic families saw their numbers and influence expand greatly. The external threat and social chaos at the turn of the century such as the Boxer Uprising further confirmed the communal identity. In the first half of the twentieth century, despite the political chaos, Catholic settlements kept a steady growth. The Church never challenged the reorganization of local society throughout different regimes. Similarly, the state's intrusion into rural society did not consider indigenous Catholic communities as distinctive political forces, as all Catholic communities were an integral part of the local society. They were grounded in local networks of taxation and administration, even though through the Church they had a distinctive approach to power beyond indigenous resources.

The local church network and foreign missionaries played vital roles in the creation of a resilient Catholic identity that persisted under a succession of different political regimes. When missionaries came and erected churches in Manchuria, they established routines to regulate local religious practice and foster a Christian identity. This identity, created and expressed through ritual performance, relied on the local Church that emphasized the strict observance of Catholic rituals and sought to imprint the global church system onto local society. This historical process of religion-making happened in tandem with the formation of local society: immigrants settled in a locality, developed a sense of belonging, and gradually compromised with the state's evolving system of local administration. Unlike other immigrant groups, the Catholic community developed a form of religious governance buttressed by the global church system before the intensive waves of state-building in the twentieth century. This religious governance did not undermine the state's reorganization of local society in different

regimes. On the contrary, it facilitated the growth of Catholic identity during the chaotic years.

The development of Catholic communities in northeast China amid the intense political transformation demonstrates a significant yet neglected story about religion and local society. Catholic immigrants occupied multiple structures. European missionaries, local priests, and common believers formed a clear and effective hierarchy beyond the state's loosely bounded administration, which had little impact in these villages before the twentieth century. However, it is important to note that although religion played a critical role in forming and organizing communities that lay outside the state's reach in the nineteenth century, in the subsequent years of intensive state-building the Catholic communities responded to the strictures of official administration much like other immigrant communities did. Many Catholic communities became integral parts of newly established counties and districts. The transformation of Catholic immigrant communities did not happen until after 1945 when the communist party was winning the civil war and finally took over the region to launch the land reform. It was followed by the campaign to expel missionaries in 1952 and thoroughly reorganize the Chinese church in the following years. The formation of local society in northeast China and the survival of Catholics communities in this region, as examined in this article, provide significant insights on the origins of church-state relations in contemporary China.

Review Essay

American Catholics: A History. By Leslie Woodcock Tentler. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2020. Pp. xiv, 402. $30.00. ISBN 978-0300-21964-7.)

Introduction

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For decades the field of American Catholic history— its scope and arc, its protagonists and problems—has been defined by a handful of sweeping studies of Catholic church and life across the span of U.S. history. With *American Catholics: A History*, Leslie Woodcock Tenter contributes to this genre. Tentler is, notably, the first female historian to publish a survey of this sort, and *American Catholics* joins and advances works by male counterparts, including Jay Dolan, Patrick Carey, James Fisher, and James O'Toole. Drawing upon her pathbreaking academic career in U.S. Catholic history (Tentler is Professor Emerita in the Department of History at Catholic University of America), and her expertise in urban Catholicism and Catholic family life, Tentler offers readers a well-organized account of U.S. Catholicism over four centuries, built from selective original research paired with synthesis of existing scholarship.

American Catholics proceeds in fourteen chapters divided among five sections. Tentler opens each section with a profile of a Catholic figure whose life, and sometimes saintly afterlife, manifests themes of the section. Tentler's choice of profiles across the book—Eusebio Kino, Samuel Mazzuchelli, Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini, John C. Cort, and Patricia Caron Crowley—demonstrates her commitment to building an account of American Catholicism in which ordained and lay actors, men and women, cradle Catholics and converts, all make defining contributions.

In Part One, "On the Fringes of Empire," Tentler departs from histories that locate the origins of American Catholicism in the Protestant British colonies. Instead, Tentler begins her story with the imperial projects of Spain and France. She introduces the Catholic Reformation in Europe as context for the work of Franciscans and Jesuits who sought to

transform the earthly lives and eternal souls of Native peoples in territory claimed by Spain, stretching from "La Florida" to California, and in Wendat and Iroquois territory claimed by France. Tentler considers how Natives responded to missions, and she highlights the role of Catholic sisters in New France from the mid-seventeenth century. In centering women religious early on, she establishes an important theme for her book. "Adaptable and surprisingly independent," Tentler writes, "women religious in New France created a template of sorts for the nascent church in the United States" (42).

After this foundational treatment of European imperial Catholicism, the remaining four sections of *American Catholics* proceed chronologically. Parts Two ("Growing with the Nation, 1815–1870") and Three ("A Turbulent Passage, 1871–1919") treat the long nineteenth century. Episodes that anchor Tentler's narrative here—including the development of Catholic urban strongholds amid European immigration, the expanding presence of priests and women religious in and beyond ethnic Catholic communities, and resulting American concerns about Catholic influences in politics and education—will be familiar to scholars who regularly teach "Immigrant Church" oriented courses on U.S. Catholic history. Here too, though, Tentler finds opportunity for fresh historical consideration, notably through in-depth discussion of rural or "frontier" Catholicism as it expanded with the formation of dioceses across what is now the Midwest. "The frontier experience," writes Tentler, left "in its wake a Catholicism open to the nation's democratic culture and even its pluralism" (83). Tentler's chapter on "Slavery and the Civil War," in which she treats Catholic leaders' critiques of the Emancipation Proclamation alongside evidence of anti-Black racism that characteried Irish Catholic regiments fighting for the Union cause, is also noteworthy (125).

Parts Four and Five of *American Catholics*, entitled "Exuberant Maturity, 1920-1962" and "A World Unbound, 1963–2015," span the last century of U.S. Catholic history. Here Tentler follows a U.S. Catholic Church as it develops via engagement with American social movements, and in response to its increasingly affluent, educated, and suburban white laity, even as it is rocked, midway through the period, by Second Vatican Council reforms. While Tentler's concern with how clerical activity relates to "ordinary" Catholic life is evident across her book, these final sections offer readers the clearest sense of a Church moving in dynamic relation to patterns of hardship and gain that mark the lives of lay Catholics. This is clear in attention that Tentler gives Catholic responses to poverty and labor organizing, U.S. trends in higher education, birth control, and later declin-

ing church attendance. The book's fifth and final section concludes with subsections treating the clerical sex-abuse crisis and Pope Francis's 2015 visit to the United States. Side by side, these discussions close *American Catholics* on a purposefully ambivalent note. In her last paragraph, however, Tentler opts to end on hope. Recalling a Spanish language Mass she attended in Los Angeles, she looks "to the Catholic future with joyful expectation" (353).

Reviews

Philip Gleason (University of Notre Dame, emeritus)

Professor Holscher has given us a fine overall assessment of Leslie Tentler's *American Catholics*, the publication of which constitutes a significant landmark in the historiography of our field. In what follows, I will take note of some points that came to mind in reading Professor Holscher's summary and the book itself.

First, it is not as much a novelty as Professor Holscher suggests that the book begins with chapters on the Spanish and French missions. Tentler may give more space to these topics than earlier writers did, but surveys of American Catholic history going back to books published by James Hennesey in 1981 and Jay Dolan in 1985 begin with Spanish and French missions.

What is more unusual is that the chapter on "Catholics in the British Colonies" covers everything from the early days of Catholic settlement in Maryland in the 1630s up to John Carroll's death in 1815. If taken literally, this would mean that American Catholics dwelt in some sort of colonial status for thirty years after the nation gained its independence from Great Britain. Moreover, the need to cover so much historical ground in an eighteen-page chapter threatens to overwhelm the reader with information, all of which seems to occupy the same level of importance. The clarity of Tentler's exposition largely mitigates that problem, and her discussion—always conscientiously documented—benefits from the availability of much new research. That factor (which for me means work published since 2000) is also reflected in the endnotes to Tentler's chapter on slavery and the Civil War, while her notes to the chapters on the frontier church and ante-bellum immigration suggest that less work has been done in those areas in recent years. Her own treatment of post-Vatican II developments is especially valuable in view of the relative paucity of historical work on that era.

Tentler's coverage of the priesthood, from the dire shortage of clergymen in the colonial and frontier eras, to the more recent crises relating to priestly identity, resignations from the priesthood, and clerical sex-abuse, is particularly rich, generating more than one hundred index citations. Her treatment of women religious is almost equally detailed, requiring some eighty citations. Shifts in lay devotional life are also recorded, including the practical disappearance of confession over the past half-century.

Herself a convert, Tentler calls frequent attention to the role converts have played in American Catholic history, beginning with Mother Seton, foundress of the American Sisters of Charity. As to the most prominent of ante-bellum converts—Orestes A. Brownson and Isaac T. Hecker—Tentler finds the latter a much more sympathetic figure than the former. But while it is not altogether implausible that Brownson called women's suffrage "the most dangerous reform initiative ever undertaken in the United States" (117), the authority cited by Tentler does not validate that assertion.

Tentler's having viewed American Catholicism from the outside during her childhood and as a young adult perhaps left her with a special sensitivity to Catholic "otherness." Indeed, she speaks in one place (181) of "the aura of otherness that surrounded anything Catholic in Protestant America." That might suggest that otherness was forced upon Catholics by external pressure, but many other passages in book testify to Catholics' enthusiastic embrace of a "rhetoric of Catholic difference" (146)—a theme that runs through the book and is dialectically related to the threat to Catholic identity posed by socio-cultural assimilation.

It is, no doubt, ungenerous to list things left out of a broad survey that covers so many topics so well. Yet it is surprising that Bishop John England is not mentioned at all; that the same is true of Archbishop Bedini's ill-starred visit to the United States in 1853; and that no note is taken of the role played by the theology of the Mystical Body of Christ in American Catholic thought in the 1930s and after. What must be a printing error on page 229 garbles the title of the liturgical journal *Orate Fratres*. Less easy to account for is the mis-identification of Erie Pennsylvania's second bishop—Josue Young—as Josue White (120). But details like these fade in significance in the light of Leslie Tentler's splendid new synthesis of the American Catholic story.

Robert Trisco (The Catholic University of America, emeritus)

Leslie Woodcock Tentler, professor emerita of history in the Catholic University of America, has written a social rather than institutional history

of American Catholicism. Her "first priority" was "to emphasize lay religion in all its variety" (xii). This approach to the field has enabled her to avoid cluttering her text with many ecclesiastical names and titles, though she does devote space to clerical ministry. It has also caused her to omit mention of many important persons and institutions.

The book contains fifteen black-and-white illustrations, which are not listed in the table of contents. There are no footnotes; the notes are inconveniently lumped together on the last twenty-nine pages. There is no bibliography.

The author has divided her text chronologically into five "parts," each of which is prefaced by a brief "profile" of a representative person of that period. The criterion for choosing these five persons is not explained; most of them are hardly well known, especially Eusebio Kino, S.J., Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P., John Cort, and Patricia Caron Crowley. Four pages are devoted to the Jesuit missionary, but only two to St. Junipero Serra without any reference to his two-volume biography by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., or his writings edited in four volumes by Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. Such ignoring of the older pertinent literature is notable in regard to other prominent historical figures such as the biographies of John Carroll by Peter Guilday (two volumes) and Annabelle M. Melville. John England, bishop of Charleston (embracing three southern states) from 1820 to 1842, the most prominent Catholic prelate of his era and the subject of a heavily documented two-volume biography by Peter Guilday, is never mentioned.

Several other omissions are surprising. The religious orders of men and women founded in the United States receive scant attention. The Maryknoll Society is mentioned, but the names of its co-founders are not given. The production of liturgical music could have been mentioned. Diplomatic relations between the American government and the Papal States in the nineteenth century and the Holy See in the twentieth are not included although all the American ambassadors since 1984 have been Catholic lay people. Comparisons of American Catholics with American Protestants is almost completely lacking, nor is the extensive ecumenical activity on the national and diocesan levels acknowledged. In the chapter on Catholic "education and intellectual life," the reader might have expected some recognition of Catholic learned societies and journals beyond the National Catholic Educational Association. The prominence that many Catholic universities and colleges achieved through the success of their athletic teams would seem to deserve some acknowledgment. Other organizations that have played important roles but are not included in this history are the

Catholic Church Extension Society founded by Bishop Francis Clement Kelley and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference under the dynamic leadership of Monsignor Luigi Ligutti.

The author's special interests have determined the choice of topics that she treats. She has devoted long sections to immigrants, especially Polish and Italian. Three pages are taken up with the letters of an otherwise unknown member of the Irish Brigade during the Civil war. Reflecting her own geographical origins, she relies heavily on sources related to Detroit in the last chapters. She has described the pastoral work of priests in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at length. Although many generalizations lack supporting evidence, they merit consideration. The last chapter, which is a sociological overview of contemporary religious practices, will be useful to future historians of the American Catholic Church.

Joseph M. White (Independent Scholar)

Reading Professor Tentler's volume brought a flood of memories. In the early 1980s as a faculty fellow at the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at Notre Dame, I commented on draft chapters of Director Jay P. Dolan's *American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (1985). By then Christopher J. Kauffman recruited me for a three-decade stint until 2014 to evaluate, comment on, and fact check about 600 articles published in his *U.S. Catholic Historian* during that period. His motto for historical understanding was: "Context is everything!" As an advisory editor of this *Review,* I heed Editor Minnich's command for evaluating submissions: "Look at the notes first!" to determine what sources are included or excluded.

The dust jacket describes the work as a "comprehensive survey." To produce such the author states: "What to include and what to ignore? My first priority, despite the paucity of relevant sources, has been to emphasize lay religion in all its variety. What did it mean to be a 'good Catholic' at particular times and in particular places."

Like previous survey histories, Spanish, French, and British colonial experiences begin the volume. Therein the pattern emerges and continues throughout of relying on books as sources. Yet those of major historians are overlooked. Of perhaps several thousand journal articles in the field especially those addressing the social history of groups and lay activism, the author cites about twenty-nine and neglects significant unpublished dissertations. Hence, too many sources from the sheer abundance are overlooked especially those published since Dolan's 1985 volume.

What the author presents, nonetheless, is interesting and makes a striking impression. Across the narrative, five historic figures (Eusebio Kino, Samuel Mazzuchelli, Frances Xavier Cabrini, John C. Cort, and Patricia Crowley) are profiled in detail. Throughout the volume the author introduces the views and activities of interesting lay, clerical, and vowed religious figures to represent current trends and movements.

In a striking omission of figures related to the lay religion theme, the author ignores a major founding father. Never mentioned is Bishop John England of Charleston (1820-41) who provided his famous diocesan constitution with elected parish vestries and annual diocesan conventions of laity and clergy. His vision for Catholic laity in the United States made him an iconic figure for lay activism resounding for generations.

Having reflected on the author's work since first reading it a year ago, I conclude how impossible it is to do justice to the range of relevant topics in a volume limited to xiii plus 402 pages. Furthermore, addressing contexts—theological, canonical, or historical—needed for introducing and providing reasons for what actually happened is either limited or neglected. In dealing with the range of Catholic peoples, James Joyce's famous remark about Catholics "here comes everybody" has gained currency. Instead, presuming a paucity of sources, the author leaves out too many groups and describes too little about the ones included. For instance, the Irish and Germans' mass immigration settling from the 1830s onward provided two differing ways of being Catholic. The Irish accepted priest-run parishes and institutions. The author dismisses Germans with a remark that some were interested in a "vibrant liturgical life." Ignored is their insistence on self-governing parishes and institutions aiming to preserve language, perpetuate traditional religious culture, and above all keep Irish ethnic ways and bishops away. Their tense relations with bishops exploding in controversies in the 1880s and 1890s needed explanation.

Despite abundant sources, the author ignores the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866), its plan for evangelizing African Americans, and the limited results. In fact, African American Catholic history and racism as overlooked scholars describe is neglected throughout the volume. Post- Civil War evangelization of Native Americans especially in the West and their communities' religious life is not adequately addressed.

In the "new" immigration of the late nineteenth century, Poles and Italians are given separate segments unlike Germans. Ultra-Catholic Poles built strong parishes and institutions to perpetuate their national culture.

By contrast, the anti-clericalism of Italians who mostly came from southern Italy needs explanation. Arriving in the same era, other Eastern European groups and French Canadians are not mentioned. These groups' distinctive practices in parish communities and institutions deserve inclusion.

Arrival of what were then called Greek Catholics—members of Eastern Churches (formerly called "rites")—are predictably ignored as in other general histories. Because married clergy ministered in their homelands, the easily frightened American bishops persuaded the Holy See to prohibit married Eastern Catholic priests to minister in the U.S. This and other aspects of Eastern Catholics' mistreatment deserve a mention not given. When will Eastern Catholics be included in the U.S. Catholic historical narrative?

Addressing what is expected of a "good Catholic" for various groups and times needed some elucidation not given. To begin, the author needed to discuss what bishops and priests obsessively taught: Catholics were absolutely forbidden to worship with non-Catholics and to join so-called oath-bound secret societies, e.g., freemasons and specific fraternal orders. Good Catholics thereby self-isolated from the life of local communities and increased non-Catholics' suspicions. But Catholic lay organizations were enabled to flourish. Not mentioned: Catholic societies offered attractive mutual benefits or insurance for members. The Knights of Columbus are mentioned in passing, but other lay groups are not. The founding, aims, and routine activities of lay organizations are not described, and their relations and tensions with Church officials not addressed. After the U.S. bishops formed their National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) in 1919, its Department of Lay Organizations started the twin groups, the National Council of Catholic Men/ Women, to organize lay activities at parish, diocesan, and national levels. Though mentioned in passing, their founding, aims, and uneven successes are not addressed. The NCWC's National Rural Life Conference aiming to nurture the faith life of millions of rural Catholics is ignored.

Worship, sacramental practice, and lay spirituality are addressed here and there, but too often theological content, catechetical teaching about, and spiritual benefits of are not described. The difference between liturgical and non-liturgical devotions and their relationship to each other are not made clear to readers.

In conclusion, the volume is under-researched and omits too many aspects of lay religion and racial/ethnic groups. Likewise explanations of why often do not appear. It seems unfair that the scholarship of too many

important authors is ignored. Major works on Catholic women and Latinos are overlooked. But to end on a positive note, the volume well represents the ascendant Lived Religion approach that highlights the historian's subjective understanding of topics that evoke personal interest.

Paula M. Kane (University of Pittsburgh)

The volume makes excellent use of the well-timed anecdote and of many secondary sources on American Catholicism, briskly summarizing four centuries of history. Readers are handily led to understand how American Catholics became heirs both to European cultural traditions and to the Enlightenment. Yet ultimately, as the volume shows, Americans built a different kind of Catholicism, based upon a unique understanding of church forged by their struggles as disparate immigrant populations striving to succeed in a Protestant-dominated society while embracing democracy and religious pluralism. Through the decades Catholic underdogs even became arrogant about their otherness. I laughed at Mary McGill's comment on the overweening confidence of Catholics in 1927: "I think I would hate people who are so certain and set apart" (204). The strategy of separatism developed by Catholics had its roots in oppression and nativism, served a useful purpose for a time, and proved to be less necessary by the 1960s. Where is American Catholicism now? With the laity's accommodation to neoliberalism? With the sharp divide between conservative and progressive segments of the church as manifested in national, state, and local politics? With the decline in church membership, Mass attendance and tithing heralded by the rise of the "nones," many of whom are former Catholics?

In this brief comment let me mention three issues that the volume raises: representation of lay religion; omitted groups; the survey text genre. Every narrative with a long historical sweep has to make choices, and in Catholic history it is always hard to strike a balance between the institutional presence and lived experience. In her preface Tentler states her intention to pay more attention to laypersons than to the clergy, and "to emphasize lay religion in all its variety" (xii). It is never clear, however, how she understands these concepts. For many readers lay experience likely encompasses familiar elements of American social history: assimilation of immigrants, demographic change, education, labor issues, political involvement, social mobility and so on. But the phrase "lay religion" needs some sorting out. Is it extra-liturgical, such as the many activities of ethnics rendered in studies of vernacular religion? (And even many of those activities remained closely tied to the church due to promised spiritual rewards

of indulgences.) Or does "lay religion" consist merely of responses to papal and episcopal statements, which basically subsumes lay "activity" into the institutional Church? How much of the lay experience is active, and how much reactive?

Does Tentler hold to her promise to put the laity first? Sort of. For starters, the visual impact of the book contradicts a focus on lay Catholics by its puzzling choice of photographs: Elizabeth Seton, a Sisters of Charity group portrait, Cardinal Gibbons, a clerical Bible scholar, priests at a 1964 civil rights demonstration; both Roosevelt presidents, and Pope John Paul II. The only images of lay Catholics are of nursing school graduates in 1897, girls at a first communion breakfast, 1940, and black boys boxing at a Catholic Worker house in the 1940s. Why not also show lay people at a Grail or Christian Family Movement gathering; a Marian procession or a shrine pilgrimage; a parish council or Cursillo meeting; Maryknoll lay missioners; the Call to Action conference; a women's ordination demonstration; Voice of the Faithful and Catholic LGBTQ activists?

If laity are the centerpiece, incidents discussing lay persons or actions are nevertheless often followed by subsequent profiles of priests and bishops which are lengthier than the lay segments. Even a section on the education of women religious (250–53) is half the length of the treatment of male seminary training (253–58). At present, the clergy and hierarchy are in disrepute, given what we know about their callous sexual abuse of children and adolescents throughout the last century, and the deliberate concealment of their criminal predations by higher-ups. While priests are necessary to supply the sacraments to the faithful, it is amazing that any lay Americans suffering this breach of trust still struggle to be thoughtful, intellectually curious Catholics. They continue to respect the authority of papal and episcopal statements, but also have learned to resist ideas that overlook lay experience on behalf of defending moral abstractions. (Attempts since 2004 to exclude Catholic pro-choice politicians from the Eucharist is one recent example of episcopal overreach.)

So how are varied lay experiences captured in these pages? As Tentler duly notes, chronicling the laity remains hard due to source limitations. Some chapters, such as "The Frontier Church," can only foreground priests, since Catholic settlers left few records. In later chapters, however, I appreciated the deft treatment of contemporary issues particularly affecting the laity: marriage annulments, birth control, parish closings and clergy sexual abuse of minors. Still, I missed citations to more recent journal articles and dissertations that could add new details about lay movements and

opinion in the recent past, and incorporate revisionist views of topics like anti-Semitism, slavery, the Civil War, the Cold War, and human rights.

Tentler's use of "public Catholicism" (Chapter 12) as emergent in the 1920s differs from José Casanova's view of it as a distinct stage following "social Catholicism," namely the era defined by papal encyclicals from *Rerum Novarum* forward that produced a robust industrial unionism and reflected a Catholic version of the Social Gospel. Public Catholicism, in Casanova's view, arrived only in the 1980s, marking the shift from ethnic Catholicism to a national sensibility, leading progressive bishops to take positions against nuclear war and weapons, and for economic justice, complicating a singular focus upon antiabortion. Tracing "public Catholicism" as a recent formulation would be helpful to highlight how bishops worked with and against the concerns of the laity and how the laity responded in parish life, especially using examples from less familiar dioceses.

My second concern is about omissions: why is there no section on African American Catholics, native Americans, and Eastern Catholics, to parallel the coverage of European immigrants? Also surprisingly, many lay organizations, such as the National Council of Catholic Women and the National Council of Catholic Men, receive only brief mentions and little discussion about what they did and how they represented a segment of lay opinion. Since we do not have an abundance of diaries or memoirs by laypersons, conference proceedings and organizational publications give some contours to lay history, but there is little use of them here. The influence of Catholic leaders upon American popular culture, especially television and film censorship, comprises less than one page. (272–3) Surely this topic is an ideal place to explore the impact of lay Catholics on mass media. A section on Catholic intellectual life and literature was better developed, but didn't follow the 1950s surge of fiction authors to the present moment when Catholics remain lively contributors to literature and theater. One could trace the creative arts through time as evidence of lay reflection on the question: "What is a Catholic artist/author/poet/playwright?"

A final question concerns the genre of the narrative survey. Is it needed in 2021, given the fact that American Catholicism is well-served by at least ten existing works, from Dolan (1985) to O'Toole (2015)? While I am glad to praise this impressive contribution by a female colleague, I wonder about its utility. Who assigns the survey text now and for what audiences? Are such volumes the mainstay of courses only at Catholic colleges and universities? We badly need data from faculty about current Catholic textbook usage and curricula, while another agenda item

prompted by *American Catholics* is to make an all-out effort to locate primary sources documenting modern lay Catholics and secure them a place in the archives.

RESPONSE

Leslie Woodcock Tentler (The Catholic University of America, emerita)

My thanks to Kathleen Holscher for her elegantly concise synopsis of *American Catholics*, and also to the other contributors for their generally thoughtful criticisms. Let me note at the outset that this was a book written under what were, at least for me, unaccustomed circumstances. I was writing for the very first time to the particulars of a publisher's contract: Yale imposed a strict page limit and insisted on what was euphemistically called "light" footnoting. (My initial contact at the press was frank about his personal preference for no footnotes at all.) Of course I found these restrictions frustrating. How does one cover some 500 years of "all things Catholic" in roughly 150,000 words or justify footnotes that academic reviewers will likely regard as anemic? But I think that Yale was probably right: very long books are costly and tend to discourage potential readers, few of whom have much interest in footnoted erudition. Examining the footnotes first, as Joseph White counsels, makes excellent sense when it comes to a scholarly monograph. It's a less revelatory strategy with a book like *American Catholics*.

The criticisms offered by the various contributors dwell more than anything else on what I chose to omit from my narrative. Everyone understood, I think, that omissions—even significant omissions—were necessary. But how could I possibly have neglected to mention Charlestown's estimable bishop John England, probably the most interesting of the nation's antebellum prelates, not least because of his efforts to promote a limited degree of lay participation in the governance of his then-remote diocese? I remember making that choice, albeit a bit nervously. I wanted to emphasize the extent to which American circumstances—geographic, demographic, and, if to a typically lesser extent, ideological—promoted lay participation in parish government in a variety of antebellum locales. I cast my lot with the grass roots, in other words, rather than honoring a worthy episcopal vision, and did so, I honestly believe, less for ideological reasons than a concern for narrative coherence. Still, this omission is one I regret and would remedy if given the chance.

Other omissions rest more lightly on my conscience. I do not regret failing to list the numerous Catholic professional societies that came into

being after the turn of the twentieth century, given the constraints under which I was operating. Better, I thought, to explain the rise of an institutionally-separate Catholic intellectual world and illustrate the point with a few examples. Too much information can easily get in the way of meaning. (This is perhaps as good a place as any to dispute Joseph White's singular contention that I fail to explain the causes of the various trends and developments I discuss. He may not agree with my explanations, but they are indisputably there.) I early on made my peace with a similar strategy when it came to Catholic social and devotional organizations: given their numbers and variety, how could I possibly do justice to their various founders and purposes? But I did discuss the changing scope and nature of Catholic organizational life, employing a limited number of examples as illustration. Certainly my choices in this regard reflect my assumptions about what mattered most when it came to the larger course of Catholic development. Thus the sodality movement gets more attention than the Knights of Columbus, given the impact on the former on the Catholic politics of gender.

There is not much point in a further belaboring of what I chose to omit. More important by far is the question of what I chose to include. Robert Trisco, in particular, seems troubled by at least some of these choices, among which I suspect are my emphasis on birth control and the space I devote to the labor movement, while Paula Kane queries my inclusion of chapter sections on the clergy. Why would I make such a choice, she asks, in a book ostensibly centered on lay experience? It does seem obvious to me that priests have an impact, often quite a powerful one, on the laity they serve. Priests embody the values of Catholic culture—the "official" values, if you will—in a particularly evocative way, and until very recently could enforce those values via the sacrament of penance. Even lukewarm Catholics, after all, nearly always confessed at least annually, and although that encounter was typically brief it could also be emotionally charged. The clergy do not, of course, define the whole of the Catholic world. The laity has its say, as do the legions of women religious. The larger society plays a role, as well, making demands and offering alternative modes of thinking and being. Thus the Catholic world that evolved over time was characterized at every stage of its development by complexity and contradiction. Often enough, it appears to have been governed by assumptions and rules not readily apparent to outsiders—including those, like us, who are outsiders due to temporal distance.

Let me offer an archival example of what I mean. Many years ago, working in the archives of the Immaculate Heart of Mary sisters in Monroe, Michigan, I came upon a remarkable entry in the 1938 convent

chronicle from Holy Rosary church in Detroit, where the IHM sisters taught in the parish high school. Although central or diocesan high schools at the time were invariably single-sex institutions, parish high schools like Rosary's were often coeducational, largely because of their relatively small size. The situation seems to have troubled the pastor, given the many Roman screeds against coeducation in adolescence, and in 1938 he ordered the boys in his parish high school to leave forthwith and enroll—assuming that they could afford it—in a same-sex Catholic institution. Many apparently did so. But "about sixty courageous souls walked back to us as if nothing had been said," according to the sisters' chronicle, "and tried to hide behind their more fortunate feminine companions."[1] The gamble succeeded: the brave boys were permitted to remain and they were eventually joined by others. Boys outnumbered girls in the tenth grade at Holy Rosary by the fall of 1943.

I learned from archival moments like this the value of sources close to the ground. Certainly it matters that Rome inveighed against coeducation. It matters too that Rosary's pastor was prompted to enforce—or to try to enforce—such an awkward Roman stricture in his own back yard, although coeducational Catholic high schools were still quite numerous in Detroit. (Existing documents, alas, do not indicate his motives.) But the story is not complete without the sisters' chronicle, which in this particular instance gives us the whole of a quirkily complicated story. One only wishes that documents existed to shed light on the thinking of the boys. Authority is being negotiated here, but more or less wordlessly. We know from experience that this happens regularly in today's church. It also happened in the past.

Archival moments like this one do much to explain my choices in *American Catholics*. Wherever possible, I gave pride of place to the voices of ordinary Catholics as they came to terms, aided by a Catholic cultural tool box, with the sometimes bewildering world into which they had been born. Thus the obscure Peter Welsh, who joined the Union Army in 1862 and wrestled in his letters with the meaning of a war that ultimately claimed his life, merits discussion on portions of three pages. I did not argue for Welsh's typicality, which I could not possibly have defended. But as a morally serious Catholic trying to work out his salvation at a fraught moment in our nation's past, he does in fact tell us something important about American Catholic history. So do the many Catholics who joined

1. IHM Mission Chronicles, Holy Rosary, Detroit, entry for 1938. Archives, Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, MI, chronicles, IHM missions.

the industrial union movement that was born in the 1930s, despite that movement's undoubted secularity. They learned to define their Catholic selves in less exclusively tribal terms, even as clerical support for that movement helped secure the loyalty of working-class men to the church. And who can doubt that private anguishing over contraception, especially after 1945, led ultimately to a sea change in Catholic assumptions about authority? It is quite true, as Robert Trisco notes, that these particular topics have long been of interest to me. But *American Catholics* also deals with any number of subjects that never previously engaged my attention, ranging from Catholic education to the evolution of administrative capacities at the diocesan level. I was actually rather pleased, in the end, at how many aspects of the Catholic past I managed to include in the book.

None of this really matters, if—as Paula Kane suggests—survey histories are no longer of interest to teachers or students or educated readers generally. I do know that the death of the book was predicted even before I published my first one back in 1979, and that books are still with us. Perhaps survey histories are an especially vulnerable genre, although why this should be so is not entirely clear to me. I would expect a general history to have broader appeal than a highly specialized monograph. I recall with gratitude a survey history of Africa that was part of my pandemic reading. The author's point of view was vigorously distinctive and he doubtless omitted many things. But his book opened a world to me. I can only hope that *American Catholics* will do the same for whatever readership it manages to attract.

Book Reviews

Medieval

Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales, 1240–1540. By Richard Copsey, O. Carm. (Faversham, Kent, England: Saint Albert's Press. 2020. Pp. xxxiv, 548. £ 49.95 plus postage and packing. ISBN 978-0-904849-52-3; ePub ISBN 978-0-904849-0.53-0.)

If Richard Copsey, O. Carm., published only this Biographical Register, the Carmelite Order and medieval historians would be greatly indebted to him for what is a major contribution to medieval studies. Over the years Copsey has authored many publications concerning medieval Carmelites. Almost singlehandedly he has made it possible to think that now is the time for a full-length history of the medieval English Carmelites. Father Copsey, before retirement, did not have the luxury of devoting himself full-time to historical research. Throughout his life Copsey has been busy about many things. He is the past prior provincial of the Carmelites in Britain, former editor of the polyglot journal *Carmelus* (Rome), member of the Institutum Carmelitanum (Rome), and founding board member of the Carmelite Institute of Britain and Ireland. Copsey, a Carmelite friar, priest, and scholar has wasted few moments in his adult life.

This register was inspired by A. B. Emden's biographical registers of the medieval universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Copsey's entries about individual friars are exhaustive when data is available. Note the size of the following entries: John Bale, former Carmelite at the time of the Reformation, pages 93–108, John Baconthorpe, pages 85–93, Thomas Netter pages 414–425 and Saint Simon Stock, about whom so little has been known, pages 369–374. This register includes all known Carmelites who were members of the English province as well as significant members of the order who visited this province. The Muslim takeover of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem forced the Carmelite hermits to migrate to Europe, where they eventually became friars. Geoffrey Chaucer's "ordres foure" included Dominicans, Franciscans, Austin Friars, and Carmelites. Copsey notes interactions between the Carmelites and the other mendicant orders. It is now clear that medieval mendicant orders need to be studied, not in isolation, but as a movement with many interactions.

Copsey's register has nearly 5,000 entries with 4,480 who were members of the English province. Copsey has scoured untold record depositories; in fact, over the years he has amassed countless items of information not previously noticed by historians. One gains some idea of the breadth of Copsey's far-reaching search of published and manuscript sources with his twelve pages of abbreviations. After the publication of this volume, Copsey issued two sets of corrections and additions. He welcomes new information and corrections which will appear on the website of the British Carmelites at http//:www.carmelite.org/copseyregister.

The Introduction contains a brief overview of the medieval Carmelite province, an account of the education of medieval Carmelites along with comments on the characteristics of the register and other information that facilitates consultation of the register. Copsey has provided readers with useful Appendices: 1) Carmelite Houses in the Medieval English Province, 2) Distinctions in the English Province plus Houses with date of their foundation), 3) Provincials in the English Province, 4) Notable Carmelites who Visited England, 5) English and Welsh Carmelite Bishops, 6) Priors General 1240–1540. There is also an alphabetical Index of Surnames. Scholars and dissertation writers will appreciate that Copsey has listed publications about friars sometimes amounting to an extensive bibliography. The binding of the register is sturdy and will hold up well on the reference shelves. Illustrations in black and white with some in color are an attractive feature of this register.

Saint Mary's College and the University of Notre Dame Keith J. Egan

American

Telling Stories that Matter: Memoirs and Essays. By Marvin R. O'Connell. Edited by William Schmitt. (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press. 2020. Pp. xx, 250. $35.00. ISBN 978-1-58731-865-8.)

Many readers of the *Catholic Historical Review* are no doubt familiar with the scholarship of Father Marvin O'Connell (1930–2016), who received the ACHA's John Gilmary Shea award for his book on Modernism in 1995 and its Lifetime Achievement Award in 2013. Having completed acclaimed studies on subjects ranging from the Reformation to the Oxford Movement to Americanism, Father O'Connell finally set to work telling his own story during his retirement years. While O'Connell's health failed before he was able to complete it, three of his friends, Father Wilson Miscamble, C.S.C., and David Solomon from the University of

Notre Dame and William Schmitt from Holy Cross College, decided to publish what he completed of his memoir along with a sampling of his articles and reviews.[1]

Father O'Connell began studying for the priesthood when he was just fourteen. He enrolled at Nazareth Hall preparatory seminary in St. Paul and spent six years there before moving on to the major seminary. A gifted student, O'Connell hoped that he would be one of the seminarians chosen to go to Louvain for graduate study but was passed over. Instead, he was offered something even better: a fellowship to study at the University of Notre Dame under the direction of Father Philip Hughes, the renowned English-born church historian. O'Connell declares it "the greatest good fortune that ever befell me" (p. 14).

Shortly after his ordination in 1956, O'Connell headed down to Notre Dame to begin his doctoral studies. There he met Father Eugene Clark from the Archdiocese of New York, who was Hughes' other student. He also became a friend of Philip Gleason, who was then a graduate student, and renewed his friendship with Ralph McInerny, a new philosophy instructor who had been in the seminary with him in St. Paul.

In his memoir, Father O'Connell makes clear that he treasured his time studying under Philip Hughes, whom he depicts as genial and brilliant and a bit quirky. Each week O'Connell would go to Hughes' little house in South Bend for a tutorial. An authority on the English Reformation, Hughes urged O'Connell to study "one of our fellows" (p. 61). O'Connell took his advice and completed his dissertation on Thomas Stapleton, a learned English Catholic theologian who spent most of his life in exile. Hughes also stirred in O'Connell an interest in John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement.

Completing his course work in 1958, O'Connell returned to St. Paul and was assigned by the archbishop to teach at the College of St. Thomas. He taught four courses per semester and notes that some of his classes were held on Saturdays. He also lived in a dormitory where he was expected to keep watch over ninety freshmen. In addition, he served as a weekend assistant in various St. Paul parishes and as a confessor to two communities of sisters. Somehow, Father O'Connell found the time and energy to press on with his research and writing. In 1964 Yale University Press published

1. Father Miscamble also wrote an obituary for Father O'Connell which appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review,* 102 (Autumn, 2016), 879–882.

his Stapleton dissertation, and five years later Macmillan published his book on the Oxford Movement.

O'Connell's years at St. Thomas were challenging for him in other respects as well. As dramatic change swept America and the Catholic Church in the 1960s, O'Connell found that he did not like much of it. While he had been a "*Commonweal* Catholic" in the 1950s, he turned in a more traditional direction in the following decade. He was disheartened to see some of his married friends divorcing and several of his clerical classmates leaving the priesthood. Politically, too, he turned in a more conservative direction, becoming friendly with William F. Buckley, Jr., and supportive of the *National Review*. In 1966, O'Connell agreed to give voice to his conservative views on a weekly basis for the archdiocesan newspaper. The column, "Tracts for the Times," was syndicated in thirty papers and ran for seven years.

Unfortunately, Father O'Connell's narrative stops in 1972, when he was about to leave St. Thomas and return to Notre Dame to succeed Hughes, who had died a couple of years earlier. However, the essays and reviews selected by the editors help to give readers some insights into Father O'Connell's thinking during his years on the Notre Dame faculty (1972–1995). The editors included two of his eloquent reflections on Newman and several of the Oxford Movement leaders who remained Anglicans. They also included O'Connell's appreciative review of the writings of J.F. Powers, who often focused his short stories on Minnesota priests.

At the same time, the editors acknowledged that Father O'Connell had a stern side and could be a fierce critic of work that he considered subpar. He always strived for objectivity as a historian and had no patience for writers who were careless with their sources or were interested in promoting political agendas. O'Connell thought that Father Richard McBrien, who held a chair in Theology at Notre Dame, was guilty on both counts. The editors chose to put in two of O'Connell's reviews of McBrien's books. With each, O'Connell offered withering criticism of what he considered to be McBrien's sloppy and highly partisan work.

The editors are to be commended for publishing the final work of this eminent historian. It is a thoroughly engaging read from start to finish.

Salve Regina University John F. Quinn

Notes and Comments

Association News

Davis Prize: In September 2020, the Cushwa Center in partnership with the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) launched the Davis Prize to recognize outstanding works in progress on the Black Catholic experience. The prize honors Father Cyprian Davis, O.S.B. (1930–2015), a Benedictine monk and beloved scholar whose ground-breaking book *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (1990) won the ACHA's John Gilmary Shea Prize. The Davis Prize is awarded annually and includes a cash award of $1,000. Recipients will be honored each January at the ACHA's annual meeting. The next application deadline is December 31, 2021.

The University of Notre Dame's Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism is pleased to announce that Leah Mickens has been named the inaugural recipient of the Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., Prize for her book project, "In the Shadow of Ebenezer: A Black Catholic Parish in the Age of Civil Rights and Vatican II."

Mickens recently earned her doctorate from Boston University's Graduate Program in Religion. Her project takes as its focus Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church in Atlanta, the city's oldest historically Black parish, located one block from Ebenezer Baptist Church, where Martin Luther King, Jr., served as co-pastor. Mickens examines how Black Catholics at Our Lady of Lourdes influenced and were influenced by the religious and social change ushered in by the Second Vatican Council and the civil rights movement. Among other things, the study considers the liturgical inculturation and ecumenical exchange whereby the parish affirmed and reinterpreted its Black Catholic identity in a postconciliar, Southern, and Protestant-majority urban context.

The selection committee was gratified to receive so many stellar applications reflecting the variety of research advancing Black Catholic studies right now," said Kathleen Sprows Cummings, director of the Cushwa Center and the John A. O'Brien Professor of American Studies and History at Notre Dame. "Among the group, Dr. Mickens' work in particular stood out. It sets a very high standard for the future of our newest funding program, and we're excited to see it progress toward publication."

"Dr. Mickens' work brings together how both the Second Vatican Council and the civil rights movement engaged the minds, spirits, and activism of Black Catholics," said Cecilia Moore of the University of Dayton, who served as a member of the prize's review committee. "This is a study that I will love to see published and to teach as well. It also promises to open the way for more studies like it."

Cushwa Center, University of Notre Dame Shane Ulbrich

Fellowships

The Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz awards various fellowships.

It awards eight to ten fellowships for international doctoral students in European history, the history of religion, historical theology, or other historical disciplines beginning in September, 2021, or later. It funds PhD projects on European history from the early modern period until 1989/90. It is particularly interested in projects with a comparative or cross-border approach on European history in its relation to the wider world, or on topics of intellectual and religious history.

The IEG Fellowships provide a unique opportunity to pursue one's individual PhD project while living and working for six to twelve months at the Institute in Mainz. The monthly stipend is €1,350. Additionally, one can apply for family or child allowance.

Requirements: During the fellowship one is required to reside at the Institute in Mainz and participate actively in the IEG's research community, the weekly colloquia, and scholarly activities. Fellows are expected to present their work at least once during their fellowship. The IEG preferably supports the writing up of dissertations; it will not provide funding for preliminary research, language courses, or the revision of book manuscripts. PhD theses continue to be supervised under the auspices of the fellows' home universities. Fellows are expected to have proficiency in English and a sufficient command of German to participate in discussions at the Institute. The IEG encourages applications from women.

Application: All application materials except for the application form are to be combined into a single PDF and sent with their application form to: application@ieg-mainz.de

Letters of recommendation should be submitted directly by the referees. They may write in either English or German and should use the language in

which they are more proficient. The application form can be downloaded under the following: https://bit.ly/formIEG. The next deadline for these doctoral students is August 15, 2021. Questions concerning the IEG Fellowship Programme should be directed to Barbara Müller: fellowship@ieg-mainz.de. Her postal address is: Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG); Head of Research Fellowship Programme; Barbara Müller, M.A.; Alte Universitätsstrasse 19; 55116 Mainz; Germany. The URL website is: https://www.ieg-mainz.de/en/fellowships

The Leibnitz Institute also offers one fellowship for a period of six to eight months for international doctoral students (m/f/div.) in the field of Digital Humanities. The fellowship supports international doctoral students who wish to carry out their own research project using Digital Humanities methods. The focus should be on a leading question that contributes to the institute's research programme, preferably on the current topic of "Negotiating differences in Europe." As a member of the institute's Digital Historical Research Unit, the fellow will collaborate closely with researchers of our DH Lab. This can help one develop additional perspectives for one's research project. Scholars from the humanities with a historical focus who use digital methods for their projects are also invited to apply for the fellowship.

The monthly stipend is €1,350. Additionally, one can apply for family or child allowance. As an actively involved member of the IEG's research community, one will be able to discuss and complete one's project in the inspiring working environment of the IEG. As a Fellowship holder one is required to reside in Mainz and participate actively in the IEG's research community and the weekly colloquia, where one is expected to present one's work at least once during one's fellowship. Fellows must submit a final report of their project at the end of the funding period. Proficiency in English and German is required in order to participate in discussions at the Institute.

Application: Questions regarding the fellowship's content should be sent to Thorsten Wübbena. Applications contain the following documents: 1. Letter of motivation (PDF); 2. curriculum vitae; a list of publications, if available (PDF); 3. a brief description of the proposed research project (5 pages) (PDF); 4. copies of university certificates and proof of language competence (PDF); 5. Academic letter of reference. The academic advisor should send an up-to-date reference directly to the IEG by the application deadline. The deadline for 2021 fellowships has already passed. For questions regarding subsequent years, please contact Barbara Müller at fellowship@ieg-mainz.de.

Seminars/Workshops

From June 7 to 8, 2021, the Fondazione per le scienze religiose in Bologna will sponsor a seminar on the theme "Stigma, Discrimination, Birth, 'Racism,' and Their Dis/Connection with the Christian Experience." Among the papers to be presented are: "'For it is not Right to Take the Children's Bread and Throw it to the Dogs' (Mark 7:27b): Ethnic Tensions in the New Testament" by Gabriella Gelardini; "From Augustine to Gregory the Great: The Baptism of Conversion of the 'Rustici'" by Rita Lizzi Testa; "Slaves, Conversion, and Skin Colour in Rome, 18th and 19th Centuries" by Giulia Bonazza; "Matrimoni misti, corpo e contagio in età moderna" by Cecilia Cristellon; "Confessing Slaves in the 18th Century French Caribbean" by Miriam Franchina; "The Problem of Exclusion of non-White People from the Priesthood and Religious Orders in the Early Modern Catholicism(s)" by Massimo Carlo Giannini; "The Race of Slaves. Sacramental Practices for Slaves in the 18th and 19th Centuries" by Maria Teresa Fattori; "Anti-Black Racism, Prayer and Sainthood (19th–20th Centuries)" by Matteo Caponi; and "Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Theological Assessment of 'Race'" by Christophe Chalamet. Presentation and discussion will be in English, French, German, and Italian. The Seminar will be held in remote mode; online registration is required. Please register per email writing to segreteria@fscire.it by June 6, 2021 (13.00 CET). The link to remote participation will be sent to registered participants in the morning of June 7, 2021

From June 9 to 10, 2021, Atria Larson (St. Louis University) will lead a seminar on "Medieval Penitentials and the Law, Theology, and Practice of Penance" sponsored by the Fondazione per le scienze religiose in Bologna. The seminar will introduce participants to the rich and varied source material in the medieval period related to penance. An overview of substantial changes in the historiography of the history of late antique and medieval penance over the past several decades will be combined with investigation of original source material extant in manuscripts and in printed editions. The seminar will emphasize the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to the history of penance that includes considerations of literary genre, theology, law, historical change, and ritual practice. For more information, contact info@fscire.it.

The Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, and the Deutsche Historische Institut Paris (DHIP) are sponsoring an autumn course of five days (September 27 to October 1, 2021) devoted to the diplomatics of medieval papal charters open to those

with doctorates, or working on one. The couse will be held at the DHIP and Archives nationales. If the Covid crisis does not permit in-person instruction, the course will be held online. The deadline for applying is June 15, 2021. For more information, see: DHIP; Zur Ausschreibung; Zum Kursprogramm; and Zum Anmeldeformular .

CONFERENCES

From August 30 to September 2, 2021, the European Academy of Religion will hold its annual conference at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster in Germany, with both on-site and online participation possibilities. As in previous years, the scientific program will be composed of working sessions (panels and book presentations) and keynote lectures that will focus on the overarching topic "Religion and Change." Among the issues to be addressed are:

1. Change and Transformation of Religion (in the history of religion). Has there been a development of religion within history? Do religions stand for a solid and substantial metaphysical order of natural and moral reality amidst a world which is permanently changing, or are religions themselves in a process of inner (essential) change, reform, and transformation? How do religions integrate the concepts of change, reform, and transformation in their own doctrines? How is religion related to history and change? How does the differentiation of religious symbol systems proceed?

2. Evolution and Religion. In what sense do we have to understand religion as being part of the evolution of humankind (of evolutionary history)? What follows from such an analysis of the origin of religion? What kind of critique of religion emerges from this understanding (for example, a genetic critique of religion)? What is the significance of such a critique for a contemporary concept of religion?

3. Hermeneutics and Religious Traditions, Texts and Practices. Is Interpretation the key to understand the relation between religion and change? Is there a specific hermeneutics in respect to the holy texts and practices of religions? What models of relating the holy texts and practices of a religious tradition to the present day and its challenges in diverse contexts are available and used in the religions?

4. Dynamics of Change. How can religions contribute to transformations, development, and progress in societies? Does religion restrain

or promote transformation, development, and progress in societies? Can and do religions include a dynamic of their own transformation and development?

For more information, please contact Hans Peter Grosshans, President of the European Academy of Religion, at tel. 49 251 83-22575 or email: grosshans@uni-muenster.de.

From September 15 to 17, 2021, the Reformation Researh Consortium in cooperation with the Fondazione per le scienze religiose (Bologna) will hold a conference on the theme "Righteousness in Early Modern Christianity: Voices, Fruits, and Failures." Among the topics to be treated are: *Voices* (and their theological or philosophical backgrounds): Crying out for righteousness: voices of the oppressed; The concept of 'righteousness' in Early Modern Law; 14th and 15th century debates on righteousness; Christian and Non-Christian views of social righteousness; Cultural voices: art, literature and music. *Successes* (and their secrets): Political and ecclesiastical initiatives for a righteous society; Examples from law and politics; Individual and popular initiatives; Effects on art and architecture. *Failures* (and their lessons): Examples of failed projects; Examples of missed chances; Internal and external causes of failures; Responses to failures. The conference will be held at the Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII, Via San Vitale 114, I-40125 Bologna. For more information, please conact segretaria@fscire.it.

Publications

Annales Historiae Conciliorum—Journal for the History of Councils (formerly *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*) in the first issue for 2020 (Vol. 50) contains the third part of the "Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung zur Konziliengeschichte "Konzil und Minderheit—I Concili e le Minoranze," which was held in Rome on October 10–14, 2018: Johannes Grohe and Thomas Prügl, "Zur Einführung" (pp. 5–10); Luca Demontis, "La minoranza assente. I vescovi lombardi al concilio provinciale di Aquileia del 1282" (pp. 11–26); Christina Traxler, "The Bohemian Delegation at the Council of Constance (1414–1418) and its Struggle for Truth and Recognition" (pp. 27–48); Thomas Woelki, "'Papst plus eins'. Eine kanonistische Lehre zur Verteitigung der pro-päpstlichen Minderheit auf dem Basler Konzil" (pp. 49–68); Nelson H. Minnich, "Minorities at Lateran V (1512–17): Their Need of Papal Support" (pp. 69–82); Matteo Al Kalak, "Minoranze variabili. Tecniche di governo e meccanismi di voto al concilio di Trento" (pp. 83–100); Klaus Schatz, "'Non placet' oder 'Placet iuxta

modum'? Hintergründe, Intention und Folgen der Abstimmung der Minorität am 13. Juli 1870" (pp. 101–12); Agostino Marchetto, "La minoranza nel Vaticano II dal 'Diario' di Pericle Felici, suo Segretario Generale" (pp. 113–28); Claudio Anselmo, "Il comunismo al Vaticano II: una battaglia della minoranza conciliare" (pp. 129–46); and Gabriel Adriányi, "Die letzten Diözesansynoden Ungarns 1993–99 und die Seelsore für die grösste Minderheir, die *Roma*" (pp. 147–54).

The theme of the articles in the issue of *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* for autumn, 2020, Vol. 97, is "Obispos y aristocracias laicas en la España medieval: entre la colaboración y el conflicto": Susanna Guijarro González, "Obispos y laicos durante el período de génesis y afirmación de la diócesis de Burgos (siglos XI–XII)" (pp. 15–43); Carla Cimino, "Los obispos y la aristocracia local: las posibilidades del patronazgo eclesiástico en la Extremadura leonesa del siglo XII" (pp. 45–66); Eduard Juncosa Bonet,"*Ací no hic ha rey ne reyató, car l'archabisbe és rey e senyor*. El poder spiritual y temporal de los arzobispos de Tarragona en la Baja Edad Media" (pp. 67–95); Juan A. Prieto Sayagués, "Prelados, nobleza y oligarquías urbanas. Una relación a través de los monasterios en la Castilla bajomedieval" (pp. 97–115); and Jordi Morelló i Bagueat, "Los obispos de la Corona de Aragón a mediados del siglo XV: panorama socioeconómico de una élite de poder" (pp. 117–45).

An "Article Forum on Rachel Wheeler and Sarah Eyerly's 'Singing Box 331: Re-sounding Eighteenth-Century Mohican Hymns from the Moravian Archives'" fills the entire issue for July, 2020 (3d ser., Vol. 77) of the *William and Mary Quarterly*: Jean M. O'Brien, "Animating Box 331" (pp. 366–71); Cameron Blevins, "Sound and Community: 'Singing Box 331' as Digital History" (pp. 372–79); Glenda Goodman, "Conditioned Ears: How to Listen to Mohican-Moravian Hymnody" (pp. 380–86); Patrick M. Erben, "Releasing the Energy of Eighteenth-Century Indigenous Hymnody" (pp. 387–92); and Rachel Wheeler and Sarah Eyerly, "The Singing Box" (pp. 393–404).

Four articles on Canadian Catholic history are presented in Volume 86 (2020) of *Historical Studies*: Luca Codignola, "The Church Triumphant: Roberto Perin's View from Rome" (pp. 7–24); Patricia E. Roy, "'Something new in Canada': The Coming of Catholics to the University of British Columbia" (pp. 25–50); Katelyn Arac, "From Hagiography to Historiography: Reclaiming Kateri Tekakwitha" (pp. 51–70); and Henry Wostenberg, "The Tinchebray Fathers' Evolving Relationships with their Alberta Hierarchy, 1904–1924" (pp. 71–104). The second half of the fas-

cicle contains Volume 86 (1–2, 2020) of *Études d'histoire religieuse*: Jean-Philippe Warren, "Lutter pour l'Église et la patrie tout en se récréant. Le cercle Langevin de l'ACJC, 1910–1920" (pp. 5–20); Pierre Hurtubise, "Les établissements d'enseignement supérieur catholiques au Canada: d'hier à aujourd'hui" (pp. 21–36); Sébastien Lecompte-Ducharme,"Les élites et la religion populaire. L'éducation catholique au secondaire Québécois, 1870–1920" (pp. 37–56); and Dominique Laperle, "La prédication du dominicain Benoît Lacroix auprês des Sœurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie" (pp. 57–74). Peter Ludlow will replace Edward MacDonald as editor, and Colin Barr will be the new associate editor of *Historical Studies.*

Obituary

Giles Constable
(1929-2021)

In keeping with his desire not to have the traditional obituary, the journal announces that the noted scholar of medieval Christianity has died. Born in London on June 1, 1929, he was educated at Harvard (A.B. 1950; Ph.D. 1957) and at Cambridge (1952–53). He taught at the University of Iowa (1955–58) and at Harvard University (1958–1984) where he was the Henry Charles Lea-Professor of Medieval History from 1966 to 1977 and served as Director of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library from 1977 to 1984. In 1985 he joined the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study as a Medieval History Professor in the School of Historical Studies, retiring from that position in 2003 as Professor Emeritus. He received a Guggenheim Fellowship for Humanities in 1967 and was a member of many international learned societies. He published numerous books and

articles on medieval religion. Among these are: *Monastic Tithes* (1964), *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (1967), *Consuetudines Benedictinae variae* (1975), *Cluniac Studies* (1980), *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (1996), *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (2008), *The Abbey of Cluny* (2010), and *Medieval Monasticism* (2019). He was a truly kind and supportive teacher, colleague, and friend.

The Catholic University of America NELSON H. MINNICH

Periodical Literature

General and Miscellaneous

A centenary of ecclesiological itinerary at the Pontifical Gregorian University (Part 1). From the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ to the Post-conciliar Church: a view by Sebastian Tromp and Angel Anton. Gabriel Mmassi, S.I. *Gregorianum*, 101 (4, 2020), 813–32.

L'ouverture des Archives du Saint-Siège pour le pontificat de Pie XII (1939–1958). Dries Vanysacker. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 115 (July–Dec., 2020), 729–35.

Un Consultore del Sant'Uffizio al concilio: P. Ermenegildo Lio tra morale "nuova" e "perenne." Alessandro Di Marco. *Annales Historiae Conciliorum*, 50 (1, 2020), 175–202.

Discerning Sports as a Sign of the Times: The Vatican II Fathers' Changing Mentality on Leisure Activities (1959–1965). Dries Bosschaert. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 40 (3, 2020), 629–52.

The Ruptures of History as Challenge to Ecumenism. Giuseppe Ruggieri. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 40 (3, 2020), 653–74.

Caterina da Siena dottore della Chiesa 50 anni dopo. Maria Grazia Bianco. *Istituto Paolo VI*, notiziario n. 80 (2020), 37–55.

Des femmes docteures de l'Eglise? Une question inédite dans l'Eglise du XX^{e} siècle. Clarisse Tesson. *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, 106 (July–Dec., 2020), 261–81.

Le "crépuscule" du catholicisme tridentin? Réflexions sur la "fin d'un monde." Bruno Dumons. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 41 (3, 2020), 859–75.

Storiografia, impegno civile, ispirazione religiosa. Gli studi su Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves a trent'anni dalla scomparsa. Giuseppe Battelli. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 40 (3, 2020), 675–709.

Catalogues de manuscrits latins. Inventaire hagiographique (trente–septième série). François Dolbeau. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 138 (June, 2020), 151–89.

From Paper to Screen. The Digital Indipetae Database, a New Resource for Jesuit Studies. Emanuele Colombo. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, LXXXIX (1, 2020), 213–30.

I Francescani a Nazaret: 1620–1954. Narcyz Klimas. *Collectanea Franciscana*, 90 (3–4, 2020), 497–525.

Le Scuole della Custodia di Terra Santa dal Seicento al XX secolo nei documenti della Santa Sede e dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori. Narcyz Klimas. *Collectanea Franciscana*, 89 (3–4, 2019), 521–58.

Il restauro della tavola medievale del Museo Francescano di Roma: San Francesco d'Assisi con la Regola. Barbara Gallas & Yohannes Teklemariam Bache. *Collectanea Franciscana*, 89 (3–4, 2019), 721–36.

Relazione tecnica dell'intervento conservativo eseguito sul volume "Magni S. Francisci Vita Distincta Miraculis Descripta Simulacris," presso il Museo Francescano di Roma. Lavina Brugiotti. *Collectanea Franciscana*, 89 (3–4, 2019), 737–62.

Ruler Martyrs at the base of Ethiopian crosses. On the design at the base of the vertical beam of Ethiopian processional crosses and its comparison to Armenian Khatchk'ars. Dorothea McEwan. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 85 (2, 2019), 427–52.

Why Denominations Can Climb Hills: RLDS Conversions in Highland Tribal India and Midwestern America, 1964–2000. David J. Howlett. *Church History*, 89 (Sept., 2020), 633–58.

ANCIENT

La recension longue de l'*Index apostolorum discipulorumque Domini* du pseudo-Dorothée: contenu—datation—postérité. Xavier Lequeux. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 137 (Dec., 2019), 241–59.

Suicide by Gladiator? The *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* in Its North African Context. L. Stephanie Cobb. *Church History*, 88 (Sept., 2019), 597–628.

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