

THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. 107

SUMMER 2021

NO. 3

Assassinations, Mercenaries, and Alfonso V of Aragon as Crusader King in the Thought of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini

JOHN-PAUL HEIL*

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, was the most outspoken humanist supporter of a fifteenth-century crusade after the fall of Constantinople. In his crusade writings from 1456–58, Piccolomini argued that that King Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples was the ideal figure to lead the crusade, portraying Alfonso as a Spanish imperator whose qualities matched or exceeded even the Pope and the Emperor, using classical rhetoric popular with Neapolitan humanists like Bartolomeo Facio. Even after Alfonso's death, Piccolomini celebrated the king as an exemplary ruler whose Spanish virtues brought peace to Italy and Spain and which could have restored Constantinople and healed a politically divided respublica Christiana.

Keywords: Alfonso V, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Neapolitan humanism, Callixtus III, Frederick III, crusade

When Constantinople fell in 1453 to Mehmet II (1432–81), Renaissance humanists championed a crusade to halt the Ottoman advance into Hungary and Transylvania.¹ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–64, elected Pius II 1458) was at the forefront of this movement.

* John-Paul Heil is a Ph.D candidate at the University of Chicago and an adjunct professor of history at Mount St. Mary's University. The author thanks Gregory Murry, Emily O'Brien, and Ada Palmer for reading drafts of this article, as well as to the *Catholic Historical Review's* anonymous reviewers. The author is indebted to the University of Notre Dame's Rome Global Gateway program, which financed archival research used here.

1. James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), 111–207, here 111. For a select historiography of humanist thought on the Crusades, see *ibid.*, 112 n 2.

Piccolomini, like his contemporaries Poggio Bracciolini, Biondo Flavio, and Andreas Contrarius, held that a crusade's success rested upon the virtue of its leaders. Despite his initial attempts to convince his patron and employer Emperor Frederick III (1415–93) to lead the crusade, by 1456, Piccolomini saw one princely candidate as surpassing all the rest: Alfonso Trastámara (1396–1458), the hereditary king of Aragon responsible for conquering the previously Angevin kingdom of Naples in 1442. In his orations, letters, and histories from 1456 to Alfonso's death and the beginning of his papacy in 1458, Piccolomini developed an image of Alfonso as a Spanish *imperator* who could politically reorder a war-torn *respublica Christiana* just as the king had in Naples and Spain. Like his contemporary humanists in Naples, Piccolomini connected Alfonso as *imperator* with classical and early Christian imperial exemplars and emphasized the king's contemporary power in the Mediterranean; in some cases, Piccolomini even depicted Alfonso supplanting Frederick. In his later autobiographical *Commentaries*, Piccolomini continued to defend Alfonso, (albeit critically) for his commitment to maintaining peace in the *respublica Christiana*, contrasting warmongers like Alfonso's rival, Pope Callixtus III (1378–1458). Piccolomini pinned many of his and Christendom's hopes on Alfonso, whose Spanish heritage Piccolomini saw not as a sign of foreignness or weakness, but of strength and virtue.

I. Humanist Depictions of Alfonso in the Renaissance Historiography

Piccolomini's arguments for Alfonso's leadership of the Quattrocento crusade relate to larger questions about the humanist depiction of princes, especially Alfonso, which recent Renaissance scholarship has begun to address. Older historiography of Aragonese Naples frequently emphasized the propagandistic elements of Neapolitan humanism under Alfonso's patronage. In his economic analysis of Alfonso's kingdom and later biography of Alfonso, Alan Ryder argued that one of Alfonso's savviest moves was to assemble a humanist court and start a literary campaign, led by Antonio "Panormita" Beccadelli (1394–1471), to encourage "the magnification of Alfonso as a worthy focus of literary and artistic attention" to downplay his foreignness to the Italian peninsula.² Jerry

2. Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990), 306–07. Ryder observed that Alfonso's success was rooted in "a fruitful interaction of Spanish and Italian genius, of energizing forces sufficiently akin in their common Mediterranean culture to harmonize, sufficiently dissimilar in their historical development to yield a hybrid of tough originality." See Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous: The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford, 1976), 365–66.

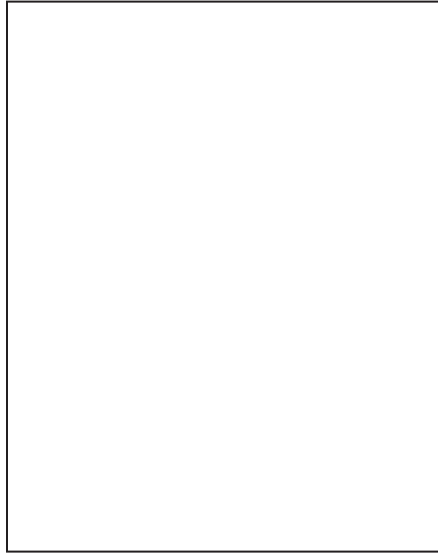


FIGURE 1. Juan de Juanes, King Alfonso V of Aragon and Naples, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=79317159>

Bentley dovetailed with Ryder's conclusions, determining that Alfonso used humanists as courtly propagandists to solidify his image as a learned ruler, a task humanists were happy to carry out thanks to Alfonso's largess.³ According to Bentley, Neapolitan humanists anticipated Machiavelli in emphasizing that a prince's appearance of virtue over legitimate possession of virtue in order to justify morally Trastámaran political machinations.⁴

3. Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 298. Humanists in Naples were paid significantly higher salaries than their counterparts elsewhere in Italy. See *ibid.*, 60.

4. *Ibid.*, 140, 251. Bentley's findings contrasted earlier Italian scholarship which argued that Aragonese Naples imported existing humanist thought from northern Italy but lacked a distinctive intellectual characteristic of its own. See Antonio Altamura, "Orientamenti bibliografici sull'umanesimo nel sud-Italia," *Italica*, 24, no. 4 (1947), 325–28, here 328; Francesco Tateo, "Le virtù sociali e l'immanità nella trattatistica pontaniana," *Rinascimento*, series 2, vol. 5 (1965), 119–54, here 121–22. However, in identifying Neapolitan humanism as pre-Machiavellian, Bentley also defined Neapolitan humanists as important only insofar as they anticipated Machiavelli, a Florentine. Compare Mario Santoro, "Humanism in Naples," in: *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil (Philadelphia, 1988), 296–331, here 296.

While some, like Fulvio delle Donne, still view Neapolitan humanism as propagandistic, recent scholarship reconsidered the rhetorical content of Neapolitan humanistic writings, particularly focusing on the humanists' classical models and their treatments of Alfonso.⁵ Central to this conversation was Bartolomeo Facio (1400–57), Alfonso's official court historian, whose 1458 *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri* imitated Julius Caesar's historical *Commentarii belli Gallici* and *Commentarii belli civilis* but framed Alfonso in the role of imperial protagonist.⁶ Francesco Tateo explored the parallels between the *Commentarii* and the *Rerum gestarum* and closely examined how Facio drew explicit comparisons between the moral characters of Caesar and Alfonso, which, as Hester Schadee recently noted, used the humanist *topos* of virtue without focusing on particular virtues.⁷

Significantly, Emily O'Brien connected Facio's *Rerum gestarum* to Piccolomini's *Commentaries*, the autobiography Piccolomini wrote as Pius II between 1462–64.⁸ O'Brien advanced that Piccolomini adopted Facio's Caesarean model to develop the story of his own life as an *apologia* for papal authority and to politicize his papacy as a Roman principate on par with the classical emperors.⁹ O'Brien highlighted how Caesar's *Commentarii* focused on rhetorical self-defense and "offered humanist historians an attractive model for illustrating a protagonist's *virtus* through an account of

5. Fulvio Delle Donne, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo monarchico: Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte Aragonese di Napoli* (Rome, 2015), 23–30; "Cultura e ideologia alfonsina tra tradizione catalana e innovazione umanistica," in: *L'immagine di Alfonso Il Magnanimo*, ed. Fulvio Delle Donne and Jaume Torr  (Florence, 2016), 33–54; "Le parole del principe: Effetto di realt  e costruzione del consenso," in *Linguaggi e ideologie del Rinascimento monarchico aragonese (1442–1503)*, ed. Fulvio Delle Donne and Antonietta Iacono (Naples, 2018), 13–24.

6. Sondra Dall'Oco, "La 'laudato regis' nel 'De rebus gestibus ab Alphonso primo' di Bartolomeo Facio," *Rinascimento*, 35 (1995), 243–51, here 245–46. Dall'Oco saw Facio's work as "an indispensable process to render a 'foreign' sovereign acceptable to the surrounding courtly culture" of Italy. See *ibid.*, 243.

7. Francesco Tateo, *I miti della storiografia umanistica* (Rome, 1990), 144, 152–53; Hester Schadee, "Alfonso 'the Magnanimous' of Naples as Portrayed by Facio and Panormita: Four Versions of Emulation, Representation, and Virtue," in: *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance: The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historiographical and Biographical Texts*, ed. Patrick Baker (Berlin, 2016), 95–108, here 106. Cf. Peter Stacey, *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince* (Cambridge, UK, 2007), 185.

8. Pope Pius II, *Commentaries*, trans. Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 2003), I.vii.

9. Emily O'Brien, *The Commentaries of Pope Pius II (1458–1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy* (Toronto, 2015), 5; and her "Arms and Letters: Julius Caesar, the Commentaries of Pope Pius II, and the Politicization of Papal Imagery," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62 (2009), 1057–97, here 1060.

his *res gestae*. They were particularly useful for defending military and political actions, especially those that were ‘otherwise unjustifiable.’¹⁰ Facio and Piccolomini both had much to justify: Facio had to defend Alfonso against accusations of military aggression, while Piccolomini needed to reconcile his calls for papal absolutism with his own conciliarist past.¹¹ Caesar’s posture of defense via “explanations [after the fact] for questioned and questionable actions,” the *récit justificatif*, was not necessarily rooted in objective historical reality, but in the artful reinterpretation of the past.¹² O’Brien and others have noted that Piccolomini likely read Facio’s *Rerum gestarum* in 1456, during his diplomatic mission to broker peace between the papacy and Naples at the conclusion of the Piccinino affair.¹³

However, Piccolomini adopted elements of Facio’s *Rerum gestarum* even before his *Commentaries*. Piccolomini associated Alfonso with classical and Christian imperial imagery in his calls between 1456 and 1458 for Alfonso to lead a crusade and, like Facio, held up Alfonso as a peacemaker in Italy in his 1458 history *De Europa*. This challenges the scholarly view that Quattrocento humanistic imperial depictions of Alfonso were simply mercenary propaganda. Despite his connections with Neapolitan humanism, Piccolomini never relied on Alfonso’s patronage to survive; in fact, during his 1456 mission to Naples, at a critical juncture in his clerical career, Piccolomini had to convince Alfonso to make peace with his nemesis Pope Callixtus III, which according to the *Commentaries* frustrated the king.¹⁴ Moreover, although he became a cardinal after successfully negotiating peace with Alfonso in 1456, Piccolomini had a difficult relationship with Callixtus, opposing the pope’s nepotism.¹⁵ Portraying Alfonso as imperial and a unifier of Christendom was a very risky political move, as it came at the expense of both Frederick III, Piccolomini’s long-time patron, and Callixtus III, who despised Alfonso.

10. *Ibid.*, 1061. O’Brien here quoted Gary Ianziti, *Humanist Historiography under the Sforzas: Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Milan* (Oxford, 1988), 176.

11. For Piccolomini, see O’Brien, “Arms and Letters,” 1063. For Facio and Alfonso, see *ibid.*, p. 1086 and Giacomo Ferràu, “Il ‘De rebus ab Alphonso primo gestis’ de Bartolomeo Facio,” *Studi Umanistici*, 1 (1990), 60–113, here 101–04.

12. O’Brien, “Arms and Letters,” 1084.

13. *Ibid.*, 1089–1090; Gabriella Albanese *et al.*, “Storiografia come ufficialità alla corte di Alfonso il Magnanimo: I *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri X* di Bartolomeo Facio,” in: *Studi su Bartolomeo Facio*, ed. Gabriella Albanese (Pisa, 2000), 45–95, here 52; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters II* (Rome, 1985), 271–75.

14. Pius II, *Commentaries*, I.31.8, 1:157. Unless noted, all translations from the *Commentaries* are taken from volumes 1 and 2 of the I Tatti editions.

15. *Ibid.*, I.30.4, 1:149. See also O’Brien, *The Commentaries*, 105.

Furthermore, on the surface, Piccolomini's choosing Alfonso to lead the crusade makes little sense. In addition to his rivalry with the papacy, Alfonso had sponsored an invasion of Siena, Piccolomini's hometown, to destabilize Callixtus's authority and escape his promises to participate in the crusade. What did Alfonso have that the other princes at the forefront of the crusades movement—like Frederick, Callixtus, or Philip, Duke of Burgundy (1396–1467)—did not? Based on Piccolomini's orations, letters, and histories about or addressed to Alfonso between 1456 and 1458, it was Alfonso's Spanish and Gothic heritage which enabled him to pacify and maintain an empire across the Mediterranean, granted him a *voluntas* (will) and *facultas* (capability—moral, financial, or otherwise) to bring about a crusade which explicitly surpassed the *respublica Christiana's* other princes, and made him an *imperator*, a ruler on par with ancient and early Christian imperial antecedents.

II. Piccolomini and Alfonso's Crusading Backgrounds

Despite Piccolomini's enthusiasm for Alfonso as crusader king in the late 1450s, the Siense humanist initially hoped to spur Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1415–93) to crusade. Piccolomini and Frederick shared substantial history. Following his legal training in Siena (where he likely met Panormita for the first time), Piccolomini became a prominent diplomat.¹⁶ He served as the Council of Basel's secretary and transitioned from being a conciliarist secretary for anti-pope Felix V to priesthood and the Imperial chancery, where he served as Frederick's secretary and trusted adviser; he was ordained bishop of Trieste in 1447 and of his hometown Siena in 1450.¹⁷ While in Germany, he was crowned imperial poet laureate in 1442.¹⁸

After the fall of Constantinople, Piccolomini increasingly depicted Frederick as a crusader king. In Frederick's obedience oration to Callixtus III in 1455, Piccolomini emphasized that, thanks to the emperor, the *respublica Christiana* "lack[s] neither the *facultas* nor the *voluntas* to exterminate the Turks."¹⁹ However, although "the emperor endeavors against this pestilential beast and its evils," Piccolomini argued that, because "there

16. Jaime Leños, "Opportunism or Self Awareness: The Misunderstood Persona of Pope Pius II," *Imago Temporis, Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011), 243–63, here 247.

17. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Europe (C.1400–1458)*, trans. Robert D. Brown (Washington, DC, 2013), 6–8.

18. *Ibid.*; *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius: Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*, trans. Thomas M. Izbicki *et al.* (Washington, D.C., 2006), 26, 30, 34.

19. *Ibid.*; *Orationes politicae, et ecclesiasticae*, ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi (Lucca, 1755), 345.

is need for all the faithful to drive back the Turks and avenge the affront to the Christian people," a duty that "requires great cost and many men," Pope Callixtus should join forces with the emperor.²⁰ Piccolomini instructed the pope that "it now concerns you, and our Emperor, to do what must be done; for unless you, the two great lights, the first of all the heads of the world, the salt of the earth and protectors of the world, unite Christian men towards this work, there is no reason why we should hope either or why the Turks should fear a Christian army being assembled."²¹ Despite Piccolomini's celebration of Frederick, the emperor's failure to attend his own crusading Diets of Regensburg and Frankfurt (1454) and Diet of Wiener-Neustadt (1455) sunk Piccolomini's hopes that the Emperor would unite the feuding princes of Europe to crusade.²²

By 1456, Piccolomini had turned his attention from Frederick to Alfonso of Naples. Piccolomini and Alfonso also shared a history. Shortly after Alfonso's seizure of Naples from the Angevins, Piccolomini wrote about Alfonso in his *De viris illustribus*, composed between 1445 and 1449, and characterized him as "a man of great spirit. No one in his time has been more severely tested by Fortune, yet there is also no one who so consistently and surprisingly turns back into her favor than he."²³ Piccolomini concluded that Alfonso was "immeasurable in spirit, contemptuous of danger, devoted to luxury, variable in faith, a distributor of lavish wealth, with the disposition of a magnanimous man, both averse to and a practitioner of trickery."²⁴ However, Piccolomini softened to Alfonso once the two began a personal acquaintance. One of Piccolomini's most important diplomatic missions was to negotiate the marriage contract between Frederick and Alfonso's niece Leonora (1434–67) in 1450.

20. Ibid., 344. "Adversus hanc pestiferam bestiam, et adversus haec mala conatus est imperator . . . propulsare Turcos, et illatam Christianae plebe contumeliam ulisci omnino opus est omnium fidelium, magnoque sumptu, et magnis viribus indiget. . . ."

21. Ibid., 345. Piccolomini's oration also stated that both Alfonso and Charles, Duke of Burgundy would aid the papal-imperial coalition.

22. Ibid., *Reject Aeneas*, 48. For Piccolomini's frustrations with Frederick's "vacillation" on the crusade, see Pius II, *Commentaries*, I.xiv.

23. Piccolomini, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Adrian van Heck (Vatican City, 1991), 80. "Vir magni animi, quo suo tempore nemo seviorem fortunam expertus est, quam tamen ipse mira constantia in favorem sui convertit."

24. Ibid., 84. ". . . animi immensurati, periculorum, contemptor, luxurie deditus, fide varius, pecunie largus distributor, magnanimis viris affectus, numquam quiescens, doli *vitator ac* structor." Emphasis van Heck's. This assessment echoed several of Piccolomini's earlier letters, in which he critiqued Alfonso's ambitions and compared him to a serpent. See Ibid., *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, vol. 61, ed. Rudolf Wolkan (Vienna, 1909), 176–77, 201–02.

Alfonso had long flirted with the idea of going on crusade. During Alfonso's victorious entrance into conquered Naples in 1443, a small theatrical performance held in front of the Tower of Royal Virtues on Alfonso's triumphal arch depicted, according to Panormita, a scene acted out by "young Catalan [men] saddled atop small horses made of papier-mâché, armed with an Aragonese shield and a sword, who fought against a group of knaves [playing] Turks, who had monstrous heads."²⁵ After the performance, a woman personifying Magnanimity, the virtue most associated with Alfonso in humanist texts, showed Alfonso "those barbarians would be chased away by the victorious Spanish and encouraged the king to understand that, if war against the infidels, who abhor the name of Christ, should be undertaken soon, the ready and able Spanish would undoubtedly be the victors."²⁶ Alfonso's self-constructed image as crusader king evoked not only the humanist ideals of classical virtue, but also the medieval knightly tradition and his own Spanish roots. His Spanish virtues morally legitimized him and connected him to the "tradition of Reconquista, which guaranteed him success in this endeavor."²⁷

After his Neapolitan coronation, Alfonso claimed two titles tied to the crusading movement. The first was the title of King of Jerusalem, which Alfonso held by virtue of his succession to the Angevin monarchy of Naples and used for himself in Neapolitan court documents by 1444.²⁸ The second was King of Hungary. Alfonso inherited the title King of Hungary in 1435 from Giovanna II, who had given Alfonso his initial claim to Naples as his brother's fiancé; John Hunyadi (1406–56), regent of Hungary, offered Alfonso kingship of Hungary officially in 1447, and suggested that Alfonso take the crown and lead a Hungarian-Wallachian army to attack the Ottomans. Although he accepted Hunyadi's offer of the crown

25. Joan Molina Figueras, "Contra Turcos. Alfonso d'Aragona e la retorica visiva della crociata," in: *La Battaglia nel Rinascimento meridionale: moduli narrativi tra parole e immagini*, ed. Giancarlo Abbamonte (Rome, 2011), 97–110, here 101. ". . . il combattimento fra i cavallini e i Turchi che precedette la sfilata della grande Torre delle Quattro Virtù Reali."

26. Antonio Beccadelli, *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum et Neapolis libri quattor* (Rostock, 1589), 110. "Ad animi excellentiam, subinde demonstrans barbaros illos ab Hispanis victos fugatosque, ut intelligeret rex, siquando bellum suscepturus esset contra infideles et a Christi nomine abhorrentes, Hispano praesto esse ac procul dubio victores evasuros." See Figueras, "Contra Turcos," 102 n. 14.

27. Figueras, "Contra Turcos," 102. "L'antica tradizione ispanica della Reconquista, garantendogli il successo di tale impresa. . . ."

28. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 293. The Angevins had laid claim to Jerusalem ever since Fulk V of Anjou in 1131.

and promised to lead the attack, Alfonso became embroiled in Italian conflicts and the attack never proceeded.²⁹

IV. The Piccinino Affair: Alfonso as crusade saboteur?

While Alfonso fashioned himself as a crusader king in imagery and titles, his actions provide little evidence that he intended to follow through. Writing from Naples on September 30, 1453—the same day as Nicholas V's (1397–1455) papal bull decrying Mehmet's actions—Alfonso pledged to muster his forces against the Ottomans “within three years.”³⁰ Despite his public support for Nicholas V's calls for a crusade, Alfonso displayed far more interest in Italian affairs, whether for personal reasons or to shore up his power on the peninsula. His Italian concerns included his relationship with Neapolitan noblewoman Lucrezia d'Alagno (1430–79), his attempts to expand Neapolitan trade and influence into Albania and the Balkans, his old grudge against his enemies in Genoa, and especially the elevation to the papacy of his former secretary and *consigliere* (as well as Lucrezia's uncle-in-law by marriage), Alfonso de Borja as Pope Callixtus III in April 1455.³¹

Perhaps thanks to Piccolomini's encouragement, Borja quickly set his sights on securing his legacy: a crusade. Shortly after his election, Callixtus publicly vowed to “do everything in my power, even, if need be, with the sacrifice of my life . . . to reconquer Constantinople.”³² Callixtus's ambitions were stymied by a looming threat in the northern Papal States: the *condottiero* Jacopo Piccinino (1423–65) and his mercenary army, the

29. Ibid., 300–01. For analysis of Alfonso's titles, see Santiago Sobrequé Vidal, “Sobre el ideal de cruzada de Alfonso V de Aragón,” *Hispania* 12, no. 47 (1952), 232–52, here 233. For Hunyadi's deal with Alfonso, see Ádám Anderle, “Alfonso V, el Magnánimo and the Hungarian Throne,” *Mediterrán tanulmányok* 6 (1978), 17–28, here 17.

30. Vidal, “Sobre El Ideal,” 249. “Que ans de tres anys screm ab nostre poder.” Vidal believed Alfonso specified this specific period so that he could secure the Italian peninsula's peace, a promise he followed through on in his signing of the Treaty of Lodi in 1454. See *ibid.*, 238. In 1451, Alfonso declared he was ready to assemble a diet. Ricardo Fubini, *Italia quattrocentesca: Politica e diplomazia nell'età di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, (Milan, 1994), 197.

31. For Lucrezia, see Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 393–400; Enrico De Rosa, *Alfonso I d'Aragona: il re che ha fatto il Rinascimento a Napoli* (Naples, 2007), 73–79 and 114–15; Benedetto Croce, “Lucrezia d'Alagno,” in: *Storia e leggende Napoletane* (Bari, 1919), 85–117, especially 101–02. For Alfonso's Eastern European expansion, see Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders,” 125; Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 301–05; Massimo Viglione, “*Deus vult?: cambiamento e persistenza dell'idea di crociata nella Chiesa* (Rome, 2014), 78–80. For Genoa, see Ryder, *Kingdom of Naples*, 310–15 and Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 400–05.

32. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 2:346.

Bracceschi. Left without their lucrative contract from the Republic of Venice after the Peace of Lodi, Piccinino and his army pillaged through central Italy to support themselves until they arrived in July, 1455 at Siena's outlying territories, where they seized four fortresses.³³ Piccinino's attack offended both the newly elected Callixtus and the Bracceschi's old archnemesis, former *condottiero* and duke of Milan Francesco Sforza (1401–66). Sforza was in turn allied with the Medici, *de facto* leaders of Siena's long-time rival Florence. Eager to deflect blame and reestablish itself economically following Constantinople's fall, Venice allied with Florence and its old enemy Milan to oppose Piccinino's forces.³⁴ Only Naples remained neutral, which caused Milanese speculation that Alfonso himself was Piccinino's patron and had arranged this invasion of Siena's territories.³⁵

Though there is no explicit historical evidence supporting this accusation, the Milanese theory that Alfonso orchestrated Piccinino's invasion is plausible.³⁶ Siena had been caught between Milanese, Florentine, and Neapolitan tensions earlier in 1450, when a group of 144 Siennese pro-oligarchic conspirators, fed up with the increasing democratization and turnover of the city's Council of the People, conspired to overthrow the city's government and institute a more oligarchic regime.³⁷ The conspirators asked Alfonso to sponsor them.³⁸ This unsuccessful conspiracy left many pro-oligarchic forces in Siena, who looked with favor on Alfonso as a power who could back their efforts to replace the populist regime with an oligarchy, strengthened by the distant king's protection. Many of these conspirators from the 1450 *coniuratio* were then involved in a 1455 partisan plan to hand the city over to Piccinino, his mercenaries, and, by extension, to Alfonso.³⁹

33. Serena Ferente, *La sfortuna di Jacopo Piccinino: storia dei Bracceschi in Italia, 1423–1465* (Florence, 2005), 50.

34. Luciano Banchi, "Il Piccinino nello stato di Siena e la Lega Italica (1455–1456)," *Archivio storico italiano*, 4 (1879), 44–58, here 47.

35. *Ibid.*, 48; see especially 48 n. 1.

36. Ryder pointed out secret communiques between Alfonso and Piccinino in which Alfonso offered Piccinino 12,000 ducats to continue fighting in northern Italy after Piccinino was repelled from Siena by the Italian League. See Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 410 n. 51.

37. Petra Pertici, "Una «coniuratio» del Reggimento di Siena nel 1450," *Bullettino Senese di storia patria* 99 (1994), 9–27; Christine Shaw, *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, UK, 2000), 30–31.

38. *Ibid.*, 31.

39. *Ibid.* See also Ferente, *La sfortuna*, p. 48 and Domenico Bassi, "L'epitome di Quintiliano di F.P. Senese," *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 22 (1894), 385–470.

While it is uncertain if Alfonso devised Piccinino's plan to invade Siena, the Neapolitan king undeniably benefited from the mercenary's destabilization of northern Italy, which distracted the peninsula from Callixtus's attempts to mount a crusade.⁴⁰ After he broke his silence and stepped into the fray as a mediator between the papacy and Piccinino, Alfonso gained himself a reputation as peacemaker and secured a permanent ally by forming a marriage alliance with the Sforza of Milan. By pacifying the Papal States, he also saved face with Callixtus, who was frustrated by the many obstacles to his crusade, including Alfonso's continued refusal to contribute his forces to the crusade.⁴¹

Although Piccinino's efforts to hold against the forces allied against him fizzled out in 1456, support for the crusade also waned, leaving Alfonso free to gain glory and renown by presenting himself as a crusader king and defender of Christendom without the fear of having actually to embark on a costly and risky war. After a defeat from a Milanese-Papal coalition, Piccinino retreated to Castiglione della Pescaia, a Neapolitan fortress, where Alfonso resupplied the Bracceschi.⁴² Piccinino captured Orbetello, cheering the Sienese conspirators who wanted him nearby until their coup, but Alfonso recognized that Piccinino was cornered.⁴³ To extricate him, Alfonso argued to Callixtus and his allies that ending hostilities would be the optimal outcome for all parties involved and Christendom as a whole: the Pope had been searching for someone to marshal a force against the Ottomans and in Piccinino, Alfonso suggested, the Pope had a perfect candidate.⁴⁴ This proposal was not well-received. Alfonso evacuated Piccinino and the Bracceschi to the Abruzzi provinces in October, 1456, where they remained until Alfonso sent them and his bastard son Ferrante

40. Ryder argued that Alfonso financed Piccinino's invasion to undermine Callixtus's reign early on and establish a foothold in northern Italy, which would sandwich the Papal States between two Alfonsine-controlled powers. Ferente's 2005 biography of Piccinino expressed similar views. Pastor held that Alfonso's sponsorship of Piccinino was a delaying tactic, "for it gave him time to place fresh obstacles in the way of the projected campaign against the Turks," which succeeded: by June, 1456, Callixtus's attempts to repel Piccinino's incursion had cost the Papacy 70,000 ducats. Bentley examined the role Neapolitan humanists, especially Panormita, played in the Piccinino affair, and argued that "Panormita and Alfonso basically raised hopes for a crusade . . . in order to extract concessions from the pope. Alfonso could not consider embarking on a crusade while Calixtus made war against Piccinino. . . ." See Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 405, 410; Ferente, *La sfortuna*, 58; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 2:362; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 153-54.

41. Ferente, *La sfortuna*, 58.

42. Ibid.; Shaw, *Politics of Exile*, 31.

43. Ibid.

44. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 405-06.

(1423?–1494) to launch a campaign against Rimini in 1457.⁴⁵ The conspiracy in Siena dissolved, resulting in many exiles and executions.⁴⁶

V. Piccolomini's 1456 Diplomatic Orations in Naples:

Alfonso as imperator

Despite Alfonso's deflection of crusading responsibilities throughout the Piccinino affair and the historiographical consensus that Alfonso never intended to crusade, Piccolomini set his sights on Alfonso as the ideal candidate to lead the crusade.⁴⁷ As bishop of Siena, Piccolomini represented the city at the peace talks in Naples between Alfonso and the Milan-Siena-Papacy coalition.⁴⁸ As talks concluded in spring 1456 after months of deliberation, Piccolomini gave two orations to Alfonso calling for his crusade leadership, the first on May 10 and the second on June 6. These orations developed themes which Piccolomini's later pro-crusade writing expanded on, including a celebration of Alfonso's Spanish virtues and reputation as peacemaker, as well as the promise of Alfonso's authority over the *respublica Christiana* should he liberate the east.

Piccolomini's first oration, given before the peace talks concluded on May 31, promised Alfonso future glory if he ceased his support of Piccinino and led the crusade. Piccolomini hailed Alfonso "not as merely a man, but as a Christian man; not merely a Christian man, but a Christian king . . . and created by God not merely as a Christian king, but the most powerful and wisest of all the kings that Europe has and as a king a philosopher, something that is unheard of in our age."⁴⁹ Alfonso's "power

45. Ibid.

46. Ferente, *La sfortuna*, 57; Paola de Capua, *Le lettere di Francesco Patrizi* (Messina, 2014), 76–85.

47. Regarding the legitimacy of Alfonso's crusading intentions, see Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 292; "The Eastern Policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, 28 (1979), 7–26; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 165; Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 125; David Abulafia, "Ferrante I of Naples, Pope Pius II, and the Congress of Mantua (1459)," in: *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Aldershot, 1997), 235–249, here 236; Leños, "Opportunism," 256. For recent reevaluations, see Mark Aloisio, "Alfonso V and the Anti-Turkish Crusade," in: *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (Abingdon, 2017), 64–74, here 64; Bruno Figliuolo, "La Terrasanta nel quadro della politica orientale di Alfonso V d'Aragona," *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 100 (2016), 483–516, here 484.

48. Banchi, "Il Piccinino," 239; Enea Silvio Piccolomini, "Modestius," ed. Michael Cotta-Schönberg (2019), 9.

49. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, "Orationem pro suscipiendo in Turcas bello," in: *De dictis et factis Alphonso regis Aragonum et Neapolis libri quattuor* (Basel, 1538), 255. "Nec qualis-

of peacemaking and command over arbitration are things no one can doubt” and, for that reason, Piccolomini urged Panormita and all gathered for the talks to “open the ears of the king that he abandon Piccinino and restore peace against the Turks.”⁵⁰ Piccolomini assured Alfonso that, upon their return from the East, “the returning kings of the North and the West will convene in Rome and will hail you as great *imperator* of the *respublica Christiana*.”⁵¹ Not only would Alfonso be celebrated on the Capitoline, in the Temple of Jupiter, hailed by noblewomen, virgin maidens, magistrates, and cardinals alike, but he would also be “conducted into St. Peter’s Basilica as a prince of the Apostles,” where “Callixtus III . . . bestowing a lavish blessing upon him, will embrace him and warmly kiss him as an old father, and then withdraw to the inner palace, where they will have long conversations among them both about the recent victory and about Spanish affairs.”⁵² Although Callixtus would doubtlessly have been infuriated by this, Piccolomini’s message was clear: Alfonso’s entrance into Rome and the Vatican would that of a Spanish *imperator*.

Piccolomini’s second oration reaffirmed the promises of the first. The first part of the oration commemorated “the peace” between Piccinino and Siena, which Alfonso achieved through his “wise and divine judgment,” declaring that “we see today that that not only our city, but . . . all of Italy and indeed the whole of the *respublica Christiana* have recovered their well-being.”⁵³ According to Piccolomini, Alfonso’s peace would spur the entire *respublica Christiana* to action against the Turks, who “will be humiliated and foiled by our consensus. In fact, when all the Hungarians, the Serbians, the Valachians, the Albanians, and the Greeks hear that

cumque homo, sed Christianus homo. Nec qualiscumque homo, sed Christianus homo. Nec qualiscumque homo, sed Christianus rex . . . quod non qualiscumque rex ad Deo creatus est, sed regum quos habet Europa est potentissimus et sapientissimus, quod nostro seculo inauditum est, rex atque philosophus.”

50. Ibid. “Huius pacandae potestas atque arbitrium penes Alphonsum esse nemo dubitat. Suade igitur Antoni, suadete omnes, quibus apertae sunt regis aures, ut relicto Piccinino pacem Turciae restituat.”

51. Ibid., 256. “Convenient Romam Septentrionis et Occidentis reges, redeuntemque magnum imperatorem Christianae Reipublicae salutabunt.”

52. Ibid. “. . . in Apostolorum principis beati Petri Basilicam deducetur. Ibiqum maximum sacerdotem Calistum tertium . . . largam ab eo benedictionem accipiens, amplexus atque deosculatus grandaeuum patrem, secum in penitiorem palatii partem secedet, ubi et recenti victoria et de rebus Hispanicis longos inter sese sermones habebunt.”

53. Piccolomini, “Ad Alphonsum Aragoniae Regem Aeneae Senensis episcopi oratio,” in *ibid.*, 257. “In qua pacem sapienti ac divino consilio tuo perfectum vulgari iussisti. Quare non urbi nostrae solum verum . . . ac toti Italiae, imo vero universae reipublicae Christianae salutem hodie partam videmus.”

there is peace and concord in Italy, they will resist the Turks with invincible spirits.”⁵⁴

Piccolomini called for a renewal of unity between Alfonso and Callixtus, in language which evoked Frederick’s 1455 obedience oration but with Alfonso taking the emperor’s place: “Thus, illustrious king, you must act! This honor has been reserved for you and Callixtus the highest Pontiff, to restore the Christian religion, attacked on all sides and almost entirely destroyed, to its former glory.”⁵⁵ Just as with Frederick, Piccolomini framed Callixtus and Alfonso as the lights of the West, “for the ancient East that formerly poured out the true light of faith to us now expects light and salvation from the West.”⁵⁶ Piccolomini concluded his call to crusade by explicitly comparing Alfonso to the great ancient Christian emperors, stating that “we read often about Christian emperors and pontiffs sent from Spain who looked after the Catholic faith beneficially and splendidly, like Theodosius, Damasus, and others,” a tradition which Alfonso and Callixtus must carry on: “We trust that in our age the eastern kingdom will again be returned to Christ, the true and singular God, under Callixtus III, a pope divinely given, and Alfonso, the wisest and incomparable king, both Spanish.”⁵⁷ Echoing the first oration, Piccolomini celebrated Alfonso for settling “through this one peace settlement all the quarrels of all Italy,” which signaled the “beginning” of his call to act like an early Christian Spanish emperor and defend the east.⁵⁸

VI. Piccolomini’s 1457–58 *De Europa*: Alfonso as “Master of Peace-Making in Italy”

Although Piccolomini’s mission was a success—Alfonso agreed to contribute fifteen galleys to the crusaders’ naval forces and the peaceful

54. Ibid. “. . . tamen consensus noster deprimeret atque deijciet. Quippe, ut audient Hungari, Rasciani, Valachi, Albani, Graecique omnes pacatam atque concordem Italiam esse, invictis animis Turcorum arma sustinebunt.”

55. Ibid., 259. “Age igitur, rex inclyte; tibi, Calistoque summon pontifici haec laus servata est, qua religionem Christianum undique conculcatam, ac ferme deletam in pristinam gloriam restituatis.”

56. Ibid. “Nam vetus ille oriens, qui nobis olim varae fidei lumen infudit, nunc ab Occidente lucem ac salute expectat.”

57. Ibid. “Legimus Christianos imperatores et pontifices maximos ab Hispania missos saepe Catholicae fidei magnifice ac salubriter consuluisse, Theodosius, Damasus, atque alios, aetas nostra sub Calisto tertio divinitus dato pontifice, ac sub Alphonso rege sapientissimo atque incomparabili utroque Hispano, Orientalia regna rursus ad Christum verum, et singularem Deum reditura esse confidit.”

58. Ibid. “. . . initium dedit, quae cunctas Italiae lires unico pacis arbitramento sedavit.”

conclusion of the Piccinino affair won Piccolomini his cardinalate—Piccolomini continued to expand the themes of Alfonso as Spanish *imperator*, peacemaker in Italy and the Mediterranean, and supplanter of Frederick III in *De Europa*. Written between 1457 and 1458, Piccolomini dedicated the text to Cardinal Antonio Cerdá y Lloscos (1390–1459), whose election to bishop and cardinal had been sponsored by Alfonso.⁵⁹ Although the purpose of the work was ostensibly to detail the events in Europe which had taken place under the reign of Frederick III, the text dealt extensively with Alfonso's virtues, conquests, and great deeds.⁶⁰ Piccolomini's chapter on Siena consisted almost entirely of an account of Alfonso's peace-keeping activities in northern Italy and an account of the Jacopo Piccinino affair that sympathetically represented pro-Alfonsine conspirators.

Piccolomini described Piccinino's campaign in vague and generalized terms in *De Europa*, saving his characteristic passionate rhetoric for an indictment of his native city's cruelty towards supporters of Alfonso, many of whom were pro-Piccinino conspirators:

But while this peace released the Sienese from external conflict, it implicated them more and more in internal conflict. For friends of the King, as if they had been the cause of the war or fomented the zeal of Piccinino, were either killed or exiled. Many perceived that there would be great danger in Siena if they were to stay, and so went into exile voluntarily, while those who stayed who were suspected were treated with such severity that even the Florentines thought it was too much. These evils aren't over yet, and very little peace will be found in the city as long as new "conspiracies" are either dissimulated or invented. The blood of our citizens is strewn about the public square.⁶¹

Piccolomini characterized this violent behavior against Alfonso's supporters as unnatural and so abnormal that even Siena's long-time enemy Florence, known for its civil wars and strife, thought the violence too great. Piccolomini stressed that this violence culturally crippled Siena: he emphasized the lamentation of the Sienese citizenry upon the exile of humanists

59. Piccolomini, *Europa*, 49 n. 1.

60. *Ibid.*, *De Europa*, ed. Adrian van Heck (Vatican City, 2001), 4.

61. *Ibid.*, 221.7524–31, p. 225. "Sed ea pax externo Senenses solvit, interno magis ac magis implicuit. Nam regis amici, tamquam bellorum causa fuissent Piccininique studia fouissent, partim securi percussi sunt, partim relegati; multi cum sibi periculum in patria imminere cernerent, sponte in exilium abiire adeoque in eos, qui suspecti habiti sunt, severitas exercita est, ut etiam Florentinis videatur esse sevitum. Necdum malorum finis, quando in civitate parum pacata nove in dies machinationes aut finguntur aut inveniuntur, et sanguis civilis forum dispergit."

like Gregorio Lolli and Francesco Patrizi (the latter of whom fled south and became perhaps the most significant figure in political thought in the second half of the fifteenth century).⁶² Piccolomini concluded his lambasting of the Sienese for their out-of-character viciousness with a reminder of a grim portent that preceded the Piccinino affair: a pregnant pony appeared at the city's gates leading towards Rome, gave birth, and immediately died, "for it was a hermaphrodite and no sign of the female sex could be distinguished in it."⁶³

Piccolomini connected disorder in nature with disorder in politics, with one directly leading to the other, and used the Piccinino affair not to comment on internal Italian affairs but as proof of a larger disorder. Piccolomini argued that the culprits behind this subversion of nature and politics were the Ottomans, who introduced corrupting chaos into Christian society and culture.⁶⁴ Piccolomini described the fall of Constantinople as a religious desecration and a cultural dissolution: the Hagia Sophia's famous decorations were destroyed, churches were turned to brothels, and bones of saints were thrown to dogs.⁶⁵ Though Piccolomini grieved over the Muslims' actions, he reserved significant ire for the Eastern Christians. "It brings me shame to speak of the disgrace of the Christians," he wrote, censuring the Eastern Christians for their greed, their fearfulness, and their lack of confidence, blaming them in part for the city's fall.⁶⁶ Even greater disgrace, however, belonged to the Western Christians, from whom the Eastern Christians had requested aid, but "the ears of our princes were deaf (for shame!), their eyes blind, because they did not see that if [Constantinople] fell that the rest of the Christian religion would be ruined."⁶⁷ Piccolomini blamed the European princes' disinterest on "their occupation with private rivalries or desires, which caused them to so neglect the public good."⁶⁸

62. Ibid. 222.7536–40, p. 225.

63. Ibid., 222.7534–35. "Erat enim hermafroditus, quamvis feminei sexus nullum in eo vestigium cerneretur."

64. This was a common trope in earlier medieval crusading texts. See Robert of Rehm, *Historia Iberosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Burlington, 2005), 138–40. See also Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008).

65. Piccolomini, *De Europa*, 41, p. 81.

66. Ibid., 42.2120. See also *ibid.*, 37.2017, p. 78; 39.2070–2084, p. 80; 41.2116–2118, p. 81.

67. Ibid., 37.2018–20, p. 78. "Surde (pro pudor!) nostorum principum aures fuere ceci oculi qui cadente Grecia ruituram Christiane religionis reliquam partem non viderunt."

68. Ibid., 37.2021–22. "Quamvis privatis quemque aut odiis aut commoditatibus occupatum salutem publicam neglexisse magis crediderim."

Piccolomini castigated Europe's leaders throughout *De Europa* for their focus on their own personal desires over the safety of the *respublica Christiana*, with one exception: Alfonso. Piccolomini concluded *De Europa* with a chapter on Naples, which celebrated Alfonso's virtues and drew extensively from Facio's *Rerum gestarum*:

In war [Alfonso] is serious and harsh, but in peace he is merciful and tame. . . . However, he hates crimes and does not permit any subjects to act with impunity. He has restored peace and security to Naples, which for many centuries previous had been a 'den of thieves' (Luke 19:46), to such an extent that you can take whatever highway you want without fear of robbers.⁶⁹

De Europa's final lines show that Piccolomini esteemed Alfonso because he believed that the king could finally bring peace to a divided Italy just as he had done elsewhere, through conquest in battle and virtuous rule.

Alfonso is a true progeny of the Goths, from whose blood he derives his rule over Spain and from whom Alfonso, without a shadow of a doubt, finds his origin. It was characteristic of the Goths to win battles and subdue kingdoms. . . . And so it is the same in Aragon, Catalonia, Valentia, Sicily, and the part of Italy which is called "Greater Greece," which Alfonso has truly fought, pursued, won and conquered. He has become the master of peace-making in Italy and seems to have moderated and arbitrated his deeds similarly in Spain.⁷⁰

The benefits Alfonso brought to Italy were only possible precisely because Alfonso was a foreigner, a Gothic prince with a foothold on the Spanish and Italian sides of the Mediterranean.

69. Ibid., 273.9366–71. "In bello severus et asper, in pace Clemens et mansuetus . . . Scelera tamen odit nec impune subditos delinquere passus est. Regnum, quod multis antea seculis spelunca latronum fuerat, adeo pacatum securumque reddidit, ut quacumque iter habeas nullus predonum metus adsit." Piccolomini drew from Facio throughout *De Europa*, especially in his account of Alfonso's conflict with the Angevins. Ibid., *Europe*, pp. 20–22.

70. Ibid., *De Europa*, 275.9446–53, p. 275. "Vera Gothorum soboles, ex quibus derivatum esse regium Hispanie sanguinem, unde Alfonsi origo est, haudquaquam ambigunt. Illis et prelio vincere et regna sibi subiicere proprium fuit. . . . Quando et ipse Aragoniam, Cathaloniam, Valentiam, Siciliam, Alfonsus vero eam Italie partem, que olim Magna Grecia dicta est, pugnando, instando, vincendo sibi subiecit et, magister italic pacis factus, hispanicarum quoque rerum moderator et arbiter esse videtur."

VII. Piccolomini's 1457 Letter: Alfonso's *facultas* as a crusader king

Piccolomini thought a great deal about Europe and its disunity in 1457. In addition to the Ottoman advance which threatened the harmony of the *respublica Christiana*, German princes and bishops, spurred on by a papal bull which demanded that tithes be taken up across Germany to fund the crusade, began to draft a Pragmatic Sanction against Callixtus to resurrect the conciliar movement, which concerned Piccolomini both due to his German connections and his new position as camerlengo of the College of Cardinals.⁷¹ Time was running out. If a crusade was not mounted soon, the princes of Christendom threatened to tear the Church and the papacy apart from within.

Reflecting on these themes in April, 1457, a few months before composing *De Europa*, Piccolomini again called for Alfonso to crusade, framing his arguments through a description of the chaos in Germany and Eastern Europe, seen most visibly in the unjust punishment of László Hunyadi (1431–57) after his assassination of Ulrich of Celji (1406–56) in Belgrade. Piccolomini provided a more impartial account of Ulrich's assassination in his 1458 *De Europa*. There, Piccolomini recounted how Ulrich, count of Celji, encouraged his nephew, the young king of Hungary Ladislaus (1440–57), to return to Hungary after the king fled to Austria to escape the advancing Ottomans; Ulrich was motivated by political advancement, according to Piccolomini, as Ulrich's nemesis John Hunyadi, who ran the kingdom *in absentia* for Ladislaus, died in the Siege of Belgrade in 1456.⁷² While celebrating the death of Hunyadi, whom he hoped to replace as regent, Ulrich was murdered by László Hunyadi, John's oldest son.⁷³ Piccolomini noted that Ladislaus "did not doubt that his uncle had been killed rightfully" for his attempt to grab power.⁷⁴ Despite this, Ladislaus ordered László's execution before he himself died shortly afterwards from leukemia.⁷⁵

Contrasting *De Europa*, Piccolomini's 1457 letter criticized Ulrich and lamented László's execution. Piccolomini acknowledged László's guilt but

71. O'Brien, *The Commentaries*, 27. For Piccolomini as camerlengo, see Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recientoris Aevi*, vol. 2 (Regensburg, 1913), 59. Thanks to Salvador Miranda for the help on this reference. For Piccolomini's concerns with the concept of Europe in 1457 before *De Europa*, see Barbara Baldi, *Pio II e le trasformazioni dell'Europa Cristiana (1457–1464)*, (Milan, 2006), 29–30.

72. Piccolomini, *De Europa* 10.835–39, p. 47.

73. *Ibid.*, 10.839–844.

74. *Ibid.*, 10.845. "Nec dubitavit avunculum iure cesum fateri."

75. *Ibid.*, *Europa*, 61 n. 49.

saw his death as a massive loss for Christendom since, according to the letter, László “shattered the Muslims’ pride” during the Siege of Belgrade and served “the *respublica Christiana* no less in the Count’s murder than in his routing of the Muslims, for [both] were enemies of religion, the former domestic and the latter foreign.”⁷⁶ The term *respublica Christiana* recurred in Piccolomini’s other letters and became a crucial theme in humanist writings during and after his papacy: the proper state (in both the political and philosophical sense) of Christendom was one of order and unity.⁷⁷ Now, however, threats from within and beyond the *respublica*, like Ulrich and the Ottomans, threatened that Christian unity. The *respublica* had become so disordered that those who defended the Christian faith against these perils, like László, were executed by its leaders.

After Ulrich’s murder, many claimants descended upon Cilje, posturing themselves as rightful heirs to the countship in unsubtle attempts to establish footholds in Hungary to make a bid for kingship—many declared themselves “heirs.”⁷⁸ The turmoil in Hungary in the wake of Ulrich’s assassination encapsulated a horrible truth for the *respublica Christiana*: the lords of Hungary, the barrier between Europe and the Ottomans, lacked the ability, the *facultas* to mount a crusade and perhaps could not even withstand another attack from the Turks. Piccolomini was not optimistic about Hungary’s chances: “Of the preparations against the Turks in Hungary I will write nothing because I have nothing certain; still, our most holy Lord attempts to stir and urge the Germans and the Hungarians.”⁷⁹

Piccolomini saw László’s execution one of many portents of doom for the *respublica Christiana* in a year marked by ill omens in nature, including Haley’s Comet. Although Piccolomini decried the “larger part” of Europeans who spent 1456 in fear of “practitioners of the stars” prophesying doom, he acknowledged that “the comet which was seen

76. Ibid., *Epistolae familiares* (Leuven, 1483), Tiir; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano I.VI.210 also consulted. “Et hoc anno superbiam machumetis apud eundem locum confregit. Creditum est non minus filium profuisse reipublica Christiane in occisione comitis quam patrem in profligatione mahumetis. Cum mahumetes et comes hostes religionis essent ille externus iste domesticus.”

77. Piccolomini, *Reject Aeneas*, 6. See also James Hankins, *Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA, 2019), 472 n. 94.

78. Piccolomini, *Epistolae familiares*, Tiiv. “. . . alii ex testament heredes se dictantes. . . .”

79. Ibid., Tiiv–Tiir. “De apparatu contra turchos in hungaria cum nihil certi habeam nihil scribo sanctissimus tamen dominus noster et germanos et hungaros nunc litteris et nunc nunciis excitare atque urgere conatur.”

this year has abundantly satisfied itself.”⁸⁰ While Christendom won a decisive victory at Belgrade and halted the progress of Mehmet into Europe, Hungary suffered greatly as “the plague has run wild in many places, and wiped out a great part of the people, especially in Hungary. High grain prices this year have afflicted not only Italy but also Germany, Greece, and many Eastern regions.”⁸¹

Piccolomini saw that Christendom desperately needed an organizing force to heal and reorder the natural and political chaos afflicting it. That force was Alfonso. Piccolomini concluded his letter by declaring

Hope [of victory against the Turks] does not seem great to me, unless I should see Your Highness with your fleet in battle array, armed on the great stern of that noteworthy ship, give the sign of departure against the Turks. For although the rest of the world’s princes have the *voluntas* to invade Greece, they lack the *facultas*; for if the *voluntas* of Your Highness should be present, nothing will be lacking.⁸²

In language that directly paralleled Frederick’s 1455 obedience oration, Piccolomini again replaced Frederick with Alfonso as the guiding princely *voluntas* of the crusade movement. In contrast to the lacking *facultas* of the princes of eastern Europe, Alfonso’s overflowing *facultas* could reorder the *respublica Christiana* and especially the borderlands separating Christendom from the Ottoman threat. One sharp contrast with the use of *facultas* in the 1455 oration confirms this: while Piccolomini argued in the oration that the time was right for a crusade as the *respublica Christiana*, thanks to Frederick, possessed both the *facultas* and *vol-*

80. Ibid. “Cometes qui visus hoc anno est opinioni que de se fuit abunde satisfecit . . . Sed maiora sunt que astrorum periti vel vates timenda predicant.” The comet’s 1456 appearance alongside Mehmet’s Hellespont crossing set off a wave of European anxiety. Callixtus apocryphally ordered all Christians to add the line “Lord save us from the Devil, the Turks, and the Comet” at the end of every “Ave Maria.” See John Candee Dean, “The Story of Halley’s Comet,” *Popular Astronomy*, 16 (1908), 331–345, here 334.

81. Piccolomini, *Epistolae familiares*, Tiiv. “Pestis multis in locis debachata magnam populi partem et presertim in Hungaria delevit. Caritas annonae non Ytaliam modo sed Germaniam, Greciam, et orientis plurimas regiones afflixit.” Piccolomini also discussed the 1456 chaos in Siena, which he believed the comet and the Ottoman advance had caused: “Impletisque civitatibus seditiones excitavit: maxime apud senam urbem unde non parva civium pars exclusa est.”

82. Ibid., Tiiir. “Mihi non magna spes fuerit: nisi viderim celsitudinem tuam classe instructa in magne illius memoranda navis puppe armata; signum profectionis contra turchos dare. Nam reliquis orbis principibus etsi voluntas est: non adest facultas qua greciam invadere possint tue sublimitati si voluntas affuerit nihil deerit.”

untas to mobilize, by 1457 only Alfonso had the requisite *facultas* to actualize a crusade.⁸³

VIII. Piccolomini's *Commentaries*: The Afterlife of Alfonso and the Renaissance Crusade

After Alfonso's death and his own ascension to the papacy as Pius II in 1458, Piccolomini continued to develop *facultas* in his autobiographical *Commentaries*, written between 1462 and 1464. *Facultas* frequently appeared in the *Commentaries* whenever heads of state pursued or lacked the financial or moral strength to support a crusade. Phillip of Burgundy asserted the devotion of his "resources" and "body" to crusade after Piccolomini's oration at the Diet of Regensburg.⁸⁴ Ragusans at the Congress of Mantua promised to fight against the Ottomans "according to their capabilities."⁸⁵ Piccolomini punished the incestuous count of Armagnac by demanding that the count take up arms against the Ottomans "as soon as your faculties allow."⁸⁶ Piccolomini spurned Henry of Castile's embassy after concluding "they had no power to offer the pope anything for the defense of the faith."⁸⁷

While his exploration of *facultas* built on his earlier writings, Piccolomini's treatment of Alfonso was far more candid in the *Commentaries* than before. According to Piccolomini, Alfonso supported Piccinino not as a distraction from the crusade, nor as a preemptive political strike against Callixtus, but because Alfonso was annoyed with the Sienese for making peace with Milan and Florence without consulting him.⁸⁸ Piccolomini also questioned Alfonso's judgment, suggesting that the king's rivalry with Callixtus and his bitterness towards Siena's duplicity had prevented him even from civility in his reception of Siena's envoys.⁸⁹ Piccolomini criticized

83. Margaret Meserve identified a similar strain of thought in Neapolitan humanist crusade writings as early as Biondo Flavio's 1453 oration to Alfonso following Constantinople's fall. Although Flavio did not categorize Alfonso's ability as *facultas*, "Biondo intimates that there is an order to the world, and that virtuous kings are set on earth to preserve it." See Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 216.

84. Pius II, *Commentaries*, I.26.6, 1:130. Translation mine. "Cui rei neque facultates neque corpus meum negabo. . . ."

85. *Ibid.*, III.6.1, 2:24; cf. III.36.6, 2:160. Translation mine. ". . . pro suis facultatibus. . . ."

86. *Ibid.*, IV.21.6, 2:280. Translation mine. ". . . cum primum facultas aderit."

87. *Ibid.*, IV.22.1, 2:282–83. ". . . facultate nihil habuere quod pro tutela fidei . . . offerre pontifici valerent."

88. *Ibid.*, I.31.2, 1:151.

89. *Ibid.*, I.31.6–7, 1:155.

Alfonso for stalling the peace negotiations because of his distraction by Lucrezia d'Alagno, a married Neapolitan noblewoman and Pope Callixtus's niece-in-law.⁹⁰ Alfonso several times moved the location of the negotiations so he could be near Lucrezia.⁹¹ Piccolomini spoke harshly of the king's infatuation, incredulous that "a great king, lord of the noblest part of Spain . . . was at last brought low by love. He toiled for that woman like a slave! . . . Though wise in everything else, in regard to this—and to hunting—he was stark mad."⁹²

Although Alfonso never fulfilled his promise to crusade, Piccolomini defended Alfonso's commitment to the crusading movement and peace in the *respublica Christiana* in the *Commentaries's* account of his death. Piccolomini made a *récit justificatif* for Alfonso's life in his description of the king's death: after Alfonso's final sickness "kept him lingering forty days between hope of life and fear of death," the king named his illegitimate son Ferrante as his heir, ensuring a peaceful transition of power in Naples after his death, left 60,000 ducats to the crusade and donated money to other holy causes, and received the sacraments before "the king died in sanctity."⁹³ Alfonso rightly aligned his priorities after his forty-day illness to the fulfillment of his princely duties before death, "like a good Christian."⁹⁴

This justification of Alfonso's actions rhetorically strengthened Piccolomini's own papal power. After his papal election, Piccolomini conditionally supported Ferrante's right to the Neapolitan throne, a plan which backfired when the Angevins challenged Ferrante's claim and allied with Jacopo Piccinino in a bloody war which undermined the authority of both Ferrante and the pope at the start of their reigns.⁹⁵ Piccolomini was still dealing from the fallout of this unrest as he composed the *Commentaries*. Piccolomini used the *Commentaries* to place the blame for the tumultuous first years of his papacy squarely on Callixtus. When Alfonso died, Callixtus declared that rightful control over the Neapolitan kingdom reverted to the papacy, intending to place a nephew on Alfonso's vacant throne in vio-

90. Ibid., I.31.7, 1:155.

91. Ibid., I.31.8, 1:157.

92. Pius II, *Commentaries*, I.31.9, 1:157. "Mira vis amoris: rex magnus . . . ad extremum victus amore quasi captivus mulierculae serviebat. . . . Verum Alfonsus nihil ea divinius inveniri posse iudicavit, in ceteris rebus sapiens, in hoc et in venando apprime demens."

93. Ibid., I.35.4, 1:175. "Et lento morbo correptus quadraginta dies inter spem vitae et mortis metum assumpsit. . . . Religiosus principis obitus fuit. . . ." Ryder estimated fifty days between Alfonso's final illness and his death. See Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 424, 430.

94. Ibid. ". . . nam Christiano more. . . ."

95. O'Brien, *The Commentaries*, 105–07.

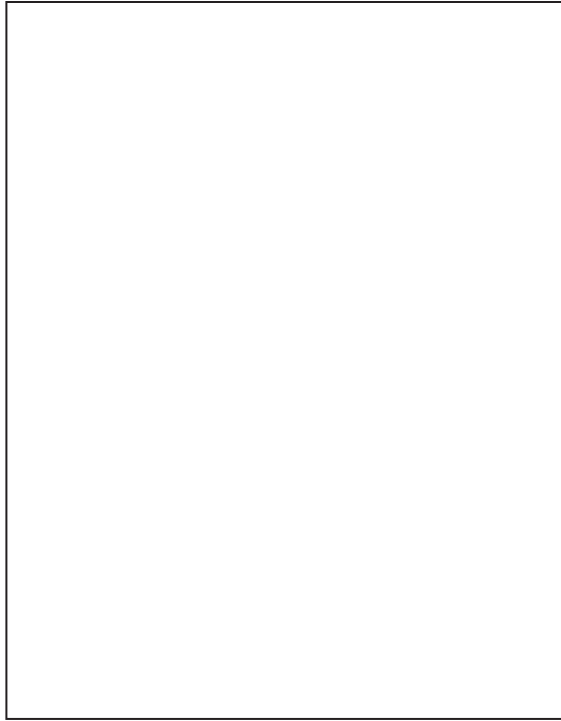


FIGURE 2. Pinturicchio. Pius II at Ancona awaiting the arrival of the crusaders, Piccolomini Library, Siena Cathedral. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pinturicchio_-_No._10_-_Pope_Pius_II_Arrives_in_Ancona_-_WGA17807.jpg

lation of Eugenius IV's and Nicholas V's recognition of Alfonso as rightful king of Naples.⁹⁶ Contrasting Alfonso's death, Piccolomini granted Callixtus's death little dignity: "As Callixtus gloated over the death of his enemy the king, imagining that the way now lay open for him to realize all his plans, he himself fell sick."⁹⁷ Piccolomini took pride that he had prophesied Callixtus's death: when he heard that Francesco Sforza supported the Trastámara claim to Naples, Piccolomini cried "[this] message will be the death of [Callixtus]!"⁹⁸ Callixtus died days later. If Alfonso's death was one

96. Pius II, *Commentaries.*, I.35.4–5, 1:175.

97. Ibid. "Dum Callistus inimico rege mortuo nimis alto feretur animo, et iam sibi plana omnia censeat, ipse quoque intra dies quadraginta morbo captus et extremo confectus senio fati fungitur."

98. Ibid., I.35.5, 1:177. "At hoc," inquit Aeneas, 'nuntio Callisto necem affers!'"

of pious redemption, Callixtus's death was a cautionary tale about jeopardizing political peace for private ambition.⁹⁹ As Piccolomini lamented, "How pointless are these human machinations!"¹⁰⁰

As Italian conflicts flared up during Piccolomini's papacy, princely interest in the crusade continued to wane. Piccolomini attempted to find a suitable princely replacement for Alfonso and eventually settled on Philip, Duke of Burgundy, but largely tried to position himself as the head of the crusade movement.¹⁰¹ However, when Piccolomini died in 1464 in Ancona, just as Venetian ships arrived to sail him east, any hope for a crusade collapsed.

Piccolomini's reasons for nominating Alfonso to lead the crusade are still ambiguous. However, while Piccolomini's celebrations of Alfonso in the 1450s and beyond may read as humanist brown-nosing, Piccolomini knew, even before his papacy, that the crusade would be his legacy. It does not seem likely that Piccolomini, who readily flaunted his distaste for Callixtus and even his dissatisfaction with Frederick III, would task Alfonso with a mission so near to his heart simply for political advancement. Piccolomini's adoption of Neapolitan humanism's associations of Alfonso with imperial rhetoric and his development of Alfonso as a Spanish peace-maker in Europe should push historians to continue to study more deeply how much hope Quattrocento Renaissance humanists placed in King Alfonso and his successors.

99. Compare Francis-Noël Thomas, "Piccolomini among the Illustrious," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 51/52 (2006–07), 211–23, here 215.

100. Pius II, *Commentaries*, I.35.5, 1:175. "Sed quid humana cogitatione vanius?" Piccolomini explored the relationship between Alfonso and Callixtus, as well as Callixtus's delight at Alfonso's death, in II.4.3–6, 1:221–23.

101. O'Brien, *The Commentaries*, 194.

The Effectiveness of an Anonymous Pen: The Experience of the Jesuit Polemicist Francesco Antonio Zaccaria

SIMONA NEGRUZZO*

For Ugo

The figure of the Jesuit Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (1714–1795) is exemplary for considering the style that the controversy acquired in the early modern period, when he abandoned the strictly theological–doctrinal debate in an anti-Protestant function and also expanded to the legal, historical, and literary in defense of the rights of the Church and of the papacy. This essay highlights and analyzes, in particular, the widespread eighteenth-century custom of anonymous writings. Authors did not want to escape censorship as much as to draw more attention to the contents and leave the writer the freedom of greater aggression of language and more effective apologetics.

Keywords: Francesco Antonio Zaccaria S.J., (1714–1795), Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1675–1750), Catholic Education, Italian eloquence, Anonymous literature, Apologetics, Jesuits

1. The recent international success of the novel *My Brilliant Friend* by Elena Ferrante (New York, Europe Editions, 2012) has shown that a good book does not need an author. If one looks back on the intellectual history of the world, this truth finds other confirmations. Without wanting to disturb the sacredness of the Old Testament's writings, the epic stories of the medieval *Chansons de geste*, or the exotic mystique of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, just consider the fact that some masterpieces of modern thought, such as Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) or Cesare Beccaria's treatise *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764) went to the presses anonymously, only later recovering their now authoritative literary authorship. At the end of the eighteenth century

*Professor Dr. Negruzzo teaches in the Dipartimento Storia Culture Civiltà [DiSCi] of the Università di Bologna. Her email address is: simona.negruzzo@unibo.it.

in Britain and Ireland, it seems that almost eighty percent of the published novels appeared anonymously.¹

At that time, the anonymity of writing was necessary to safeguard against censorship and related criminal consequences. It was in 1537 when King Francis I of France first imposed on authors and printers the obligation of legal deposit, and as the intent to control was all too clear, authors began to hide their names or to camouflage themselves, and were not very inclined, especially when disputes were initiated, to sign what could have caused them suffering, imprisonment, exile, or death by burning at the stake. In the modern era, anonymity has become a form of protection that allows an author to hide, because the word—pronounced or written is the same—does not enjoy freedom.² As long as the writing is under surveillance, this process is quantitatively relevant and lively in its methods. Moreover, since the Ancient Regime ignored the idea of intellectual property, which only became a subject of interest during the late Enlightenment, the anonymity of such writings brought about multiplied success to the works, and to the objectives that were intended to be pursued in hiding, mostly through fiercely aggressive forms of controversy. And nobody would have dreamed of decrying plagiarism or claiming anything, except to assert proudly the authorship of the work, once it had achieved its goal or had found warm welcome in the right circles.

2. Not infrequently, anonymity constituted a means of debut on the literary scene. It gave security to those of young age and to those with little experience. Sometimes it revealed talents that would bear fruit after some time. Publishing without a name often meant “making a name for yourself.”

A particularly exemplary case is the Venetian Jesuit Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (1714-95),³ who, not yet thirty years old, began to manifest his

1. James Raven, “The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1830,” in: *Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Robert J. Griffin (New York, 2003), 145; John Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature* (London, 2007). For Italy, see Lodovica Braida, *L'autore assente. L'anonimato nell'editoria italiana del Settecento* (Rome–Bari, 2019).

2. Bruno Neveu, *L'Erreur et son juge. Remarques sur les censures doctrinales à l'époque moderne* (Naples, 1993); Bodo Plachta, *Damnatur, Toleratur, Admittitur. Studien und Dokumente zur literarischen Zensur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1994); Church, *Censorship and Culture in early modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge, UK, 2001).

3. Francesco Antonio Zaccaria was born in Venice on March 27, 1714, into a family of civil condition, even if the slanders claimed that he was born poor (among the slanderers, see [Giovanni Bernardino Capriata] *I lupi smascherati nella confutazione, e traduzione del libro intitolato: Monita secreta Societatis Jesu. In virtù de quali giunsero i gesuiti, all'orrido, ed esegrabile*

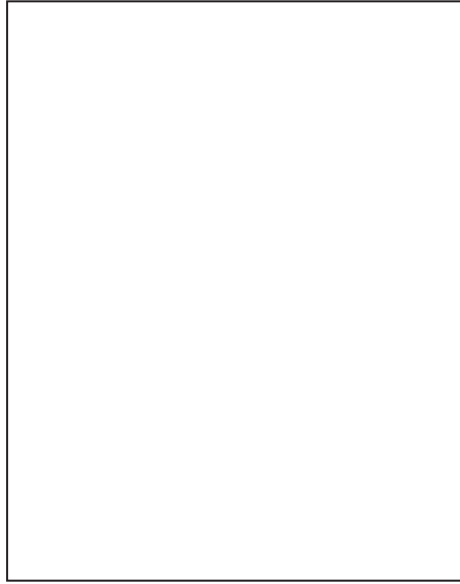


FIGURE 1. Portrait of Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, by anonymous author, of the second half of 18th century, preserved in the University Library of Bologna which authorizes its reproduction.

good intellectual dispositions anonymously, initiating a controversy against the best-known man of letters of his time, Lodovico Antonio Muratori.

Zaccaria entered the Jesuit Order in the province of Austria on October 17, 1731. He completed his novitiate in Vienna and had started teaching rhetoric in Gorizia, while at the same time he was dedicating himself to preaching in the Marian congregations and translating from French, although still left in manuscript form, the voluminous *The Roman History* by the confreres François Catrou and Pierre-Julien Rouillé. In 1737 he was sent to Rome for theology studies, which he concluded in 1740, when he

assassinio di sua sagra reale maestà fedelissima Don Giuseppe I. re di Portogallo ec. ec. ec. Con un'appendice di documenti vari, ed inediti [. . .] (Ortignano: Nell'Officina di Tancredi, e Francescantonio padre e figlio Zaccheri de Strozzagriffi, 1760), 15). His father, Tancredi (1678–1773), who was originally from Casentino, practiced the legal profession and, as an “intervener,” acted as a prosecutor in the Venetian courts on behalf of various locales on the Terraferma and some of the patrician families (Grimaldi, Priuli, Donà, etc.), had married Teresa Ferretti in 1713. The baptismal godfather of little Francesco Antonio was the brother of Cardinal Pietro Priuli, Francesco.

was ordained priest by the bishop of Pesaro, Filippo Spada, in the chapel of his palace on October 30, 1740. Appreciated for his good cultural skills, he was transferred from the province of Austria to the Roman province.

In 1740 Muratori, under the pseudonym Antonio Lampridio, published the first draft (*De Superstitione vitanda*)⁴ of one of his most well-known writings: *Della regolata divotion de' Cristiani* (1747).⁵ The chosen battle name, Antonio Lampridio, behind which everyone knew Muratori was hiding, was the anagram of his arcadian name: *Lamindo Pritanio*. And with this he had signed the *De Ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio*, which appeared in Paris in 1714 due to censorship, initiating the discourse on the rationalization of the Christian cult. As is well known, in his work Muratori contested in particular the “vow of blood” which the viceroy had pronounced in Palermo in an affiliated public ceremony on behalf of the Palermitans; that is, the vow that they would wholly defend, even to the point of bloodshed, the cause of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, out of gratitude to the Madonna, who had protected them during an epidemic.⁶

The opposition against Muratori was immediately numerous.⁷ Those who contested his views noted that his cultured reasoning smacked of a Jansenism that criticized the naive popular faith of the Palermitans. Above all, due to the lawfulness of the vow, the discourse easily slipped on the doctrinal question of the original holiness of the Virgin Mary, as if the erudite Modenese wanted to justify heretics against the infallibility of the Church.

4. See Antonii Lampridii, *De Superstitione vitanda, sive Censura voti sanguinarii in honorem Immaculatae Conceptionis Deiparae emissi, a Lamindo Pritanio antea oppugnati, atque a Candido Parthenotimo theologo Siculo incassum vindicati* [. . .] (Mediolani: Prostant Venales-Venetii: Apud Simonem Occhi sub signo Italiae, 1740 [17422]).

5. See Lamindo Pritanio [Lodovico Antonio Muratori], *Della regolata divozion de' Cristiani. Trattato* (Venezia: Nella Stamperia di Giambatista Albrizzi q. Gir., 1747 [17482]). See also Anna Burlini Calapaj, *Devozioni e “regolata divozione” nell’opera di Lodovico Antonio Muratori. Contributo alla storia della liturgia* (Rome, 1997); Paolo Petrucci, *La “regolata” religione. Studi su Ludovico Antonio Muratori e il Settecento religioso italiano* (Assisi, 2010).

6. See Julien Stricher, *Le Vœu du sang en faveur de l’Immaculée Conception. Histoire et bilan théologique d’une controverse*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1959).

7. Among the writings that were opposed to him, see Vespasiano Maria Trigona, *Lettera di Pier Antonio Saguas ad Antonio Lampridi, in cui si dimostra, che il suo libro intitolato: De Superstitione vitanda, seu Censura voti sanguinarii, &c. troppo si opponga alle leggi del buon gusto, già con plauso stabilite da Lamindo Pritanio* (Palermo: Nella nuova Stamperia di Francesco Valenza, 1741 [Napoli, Per il Muzio, 17422]); Fratrìs Ignatìi Como, *Dissertatio theologica in vindiciis certitudinis Immaculatae Conceptionis Sanctae Mariae Virginis adversus Antonii Lampridii animadversiones in opusculo De Superstitione vitanda* [. . .] (Panormi: Typis Angeli Felicella, 1742).

Among the many anti-Muratorian pamphlets of the time, some signed by members of the Society of Jesus, the first writing of the young Venetian Jesuit appeared anonymously in Palermo.⁸ Several years later Zaccaria himself gave an account of how things went, revealing the names of the protagonists hidden by anonymity and claiming the authorship of his texts, while prudently downsizing the facts.

Father Francesco Burgio, a Jesuit from Buccheri,⁹ was among the first to defend the “bloody vow” (*voto sanguinario*) defined by Muratori in 1714. His 1729 writing, under the pseudonym of “Candido Partenotimo,” vigorously contested the positions of Muratori,¹⁰ thus provoking a new intervention on the subject by the learned Modenese. It was, in fact, in reply to the Sicilian Jesuit that the treatise *De Superstitione vitanda* was born, which had remained for a long time in manuscript form, only reaching the press in 1740 due to the interest of the Dominican Daniele Concina. But the new writing, rather than placating the controversies, rekindled them, and other texts appeared against Muratori.¹¹ It was then that Francesco Antonio Zaccaria tried his hand with the material and, as his first literary attempt, published three letters contesting Antonio Lampridio’s *Superstitione Vitanda*; however, as he later claimed, it was not he who sent the text to print; he had read the text as an opinion to the Palermitan confrere Alessandro Santocanale, whom he had assisted in 1722, when he had preached in the cathedral in Modena, where they would be together again in 1748.¹² The fact is that, in 1741, after passing through the hands of Santocanale and Burgio, the

8. See [Francesco Antonio Zaccaria], *Lettere al Signor Antonio Lampridio intorno al suo libro nuovamente pubblicato: De Superstitione vitanda, &c.* (Palermo: Nella nuova Stamperia di Francesco Valenza, per Antonino Cortese, 1741).

9. See Augustin de Backer, Auguste Carayon, and Aloys de Backer, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Nouvelle édition par Carlos Sommervogel, II (Bruxelles-Paris, 1898), 395–97; Girolamo Imbruglia, “Pignatelli, Giuseppe,” in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XV (Roma, 1972), 410–11.

10. See [Francesco Burgio], *De Pietate in Deiparam amplificanda dissertatio duplex in qua duplex exponitur, & vindicatur votum pro tuenda ejusdem Deiparæ Immacolata Conceptione susceptum. Auctore Candido Parthenotimo* [. . .] (Panormi: Typis Angeli Felicella, 1741).

11. For the anti-Muratorian pamphlets on this occasion, see Gian-Francesco Soli Muratori, *Vita del proposto Lodovico Antonio Muratori, già bibliotecario del Serenissimo Sig. Duca di Modena* (Venezia: Per Giambatista Pasquali, 1756), 115–16; *Diari della città di Palermo dal secolo XVI al secolo XIX, pubblicati sui manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale, preceduti da una introduzione e corredati di note*, ed. Gioacchino Di Marzo, X (Palermo, 1872), 50–53.

12. See *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi muratoriani. Modena, 1972*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1972–79), 1: *L. A. Muratori e la cultura contemporanea* (Florence, 1975), 237.

three letters were anonymously “printed by a zealous man in honor of the Virgin” in Palermo.¹³

3. Reasoned and full of citations from the two Muratorian works, the letters, consisting of fifty printed pages, ended in urging the author’s repentance and his reconciliation with the Church. Lastly, there was a warning not to disobey the constitutions of the Church and not to treat him (Lampridio, i.e., Muratori, “Man of such wisdom”) or the questions of the Virgin Mary and her cult with an attitude of censorship and with “excessive freedom.”¹⁴

Due to the interest of Giovanni de Luca, a young friar from the Veneto who was the author of a dissertation on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin,¹⁵ the letters of Zaccaria were returned to be printed anonymously in Lucca, although still with the false editorial indication of Palermo.¹⁶ In addition to some minor variations, they included in the appendix a *Lettera all’E.mo, e R.mo Sig. Cardinale N.N.*,¹⁷ who is known to be Father Santocanale; this letter had first appeared *in folio* in Rome, anonymously and without editorial indications, and in Palermo the previous year.¹⁸

Later the Immaculist polemic continued, especially in Palermo, with dozens of pamphlets. Muratori responded in 1743, signing this time as Ferdinando Valdesio. Under this name, seventeen letters appeared as a cumulative response to the protesters.¹⁹ The sixth and seventh were dedicated to

13. [Francesco Antonio Zaccaria], *Storia letteraria d’Italia divisa in tre libri, il primo, e secondo de’ quali trattano de’ migliori libri usciti in Italia dal settembre 1748 fino al settembre 1749. Contiene il terzo importanti notizie di scuole introdotte, di musei, di osservazioni matematiche, di nuovi ritrovati, di scoperte anticaglie, di uomini illustri trapassati, e delle gesta loro, V: Dal settembre 1751 al marzo 1752* (Venezia: Nella Stamperia Poletti, 1753), 432.

14. [Zaccaria], *Lettere al Signor Antonio Lampridio*, 51.

15. See Giovanni De Luca, *De Immaculata B. Virginis conceptione dissertatio* (Neapoli: Ex Typographia Januarii, & Vincentii Mutio, 1739).

16. See [Francesco Antonio Zaccaria], *Lettere al Signor Antonio Lampridio intorno al suo libro nuovamente pubblicato: De Superstitione vitanda, &c.* (Palermo: Appresso Antonino Cortese, 1742.)

17. See [Zaccaria], *Lettere al Signor Antonio Lampridio* (1742), 49–94.

18. See [Alessandro Santocanale], *Lettera all’Eminentiss. Signor Cardinale N.N., in cui si dimostra, con quanta ragione si debba attribuire alla concezione della Santiss. Vergine il titolo d’Immacolata [...]* (Palermo: Nella Stamperia di Francesco Valenza, 17412). About the Roman edition, see G.M. [Gaetano Melzi], *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani o come che sia aventi relazione all’Italia*, I (Milan, 1848), 82.

19. See [Lodovico Antonio Muratori], *Ferdinandi Valdesii Epistolae, sive Appendix ad librum Antonii Lampridii De Superstitione vitanda, ubi votum sanguinarium recte oppugnatum; male propugnatum ostenditur* (Mediolani: Prostant venales Venetiis, apud Simonem Occhi, sub signo Italiae, 1743).

the writing of Father Zaccaria, and the others were addressed to De Luca (I–V), the Jesuits Melchiorre de Lorenzo (VIII), Vespasiano Maria Trigona (IX–X), Burgio (XI–XIII), Santocanale (XIV), the canon of the Palermo cathedral Lorenzo Migliaccio (XV), the Augustinian Bonaventura Attardi (XVI), and the Jesuit Giuseppe Ignazio Milanese (XVII).²⁰

The impulsive Zaccaria would have immediately rebutted, so much so that he had promptly prepared three other controversial letters, although—as stated later, without explaining anything—“for other reasons the printing was then suspended.”²¹ One could hypothesize that from Rome, an attempt was made to calm the controversy in consideration of the fact that Muratori, in order to calm the Jesuits, had just published the first volume of *Cristianesimo felice* [*Happy Christianity*], in which he defended the Society of Jesus in an exalting and moved apologia, representing the Paraguayan missions as a successful representation of early Christianity.²²

However, no other authors remained. The anti-Muratorian dispute over the vow of blood continued for some time even after the death of the illustrious Modenese provost of the Pomposa church and was not always expressed with due academic respect. Zaccaria himself complained, recalling a text by the Portuguese jurist Dionisio Bernardes de Moraes, which Muratori’s grandson also recalled with indignation in his uncle’s biography.²³

The controversy over the vow of blood had dissolved, prudently stopped by Muratori himself, who no longer returned to the subject, devoting him-

20. See the presentation in the Florentine *Novelle Letterarie*, 4 (1743), n. 7 (Feb. 15), 110–12, also reproduced in Emanuello Maria Giraldez Vesino, *Dialoghi critici e apologetici* [. . .] *intorno al preteso eroico zelo di alcuni antagonisti del celebratissimo Lodovico Antonio Muratori, fu bibliotecario del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Modena* (Venezia: Nella Stamperia di Giambattista Albrizzi q. Girol., 1757), 162–166.

21. [Zaccaria], *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, V, 434.

22. See Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Il Cristianesimo felice nelle missioni de' Padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguai*, 2 vols. (Venezia: Presso Giambattista Pasquali, 1743–49).

23. See [Zaccaria], *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, V, 435, where, referring to the book by Dionisio Bernardes de Moraes, *Coruscationes dogmaticas, universo orbi Terrae pro recta sacramenti poenitentiae administratione refulgentes, in varios distributas radios, quibus noxia praxis detegendi complices destruitur, atque variae propositiones tum Morini, tum Muratorii, tum aliorum dissipantur* [. . .] (Ulyssipona: Typis Michaelis Rodrigues, 1748), he defined the author “subject by adventure more apt to unduly scramble such a great man, as still in my opinion at this point from the prejudices drawn out of the right path, than to dispute as a moderate, and learned theologians.” Gian Francesco Soli Muratori defined Bernardes de Moraes’ book “the most infamous, which has ever been published against Muratori [. . .] composed with too much hatred and liveliness [. . .] and chock full of injuries, slanders, contumelias, and villainies” (Soli Muratori, *Vita del proposto Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, 142–43; also see 118).

self to other studies, mainly historical. But the theological debate survived, fused and confused with questions of international politics due to the pressures of Spain, while some late booklets of contestation still appeared.²⁴

4. For Zaccaria the anti-Muratorian confrontation, although officially conducted through anonymity which scholars took care to reveal, constituted an exceptional literary debut. His career, which developed brilliantly, continued more or less serenely, although still crossing with the famous Muratori, of whom he became the successor in directing the Estense Library in Modena.

Zaccaria lived for some time in Pistoia (1745) expanding the field of his preaching in central Italy, starting with the Marches. He continued to explore archives and libraries in the cities where he went for ministry and devoted himself to historical and theological research, remaining in contact with numerous scholars of his time, both Italian and foreign, Catholic and Protestant, including Angelo Maria Querini, Giuseppe Garampi, Francesco Gori, Joannes Stilting, Scipione Maffei, Domenico Schiavo, Johann Salomo Semler, and Jean-François Séguier, among others. Then he went to Milan, where he took his final vows as a Jesuit on August 15, 1748.

He continued writing, sometimes anonymously or resorting to a pseudonym (Domenico Tabacco), and even more often in controversy with contemporary authors.

He contributed to the work of the Bollandist Society with scholarly communications.

In 1750, in Venice, he began, once again in anonymous form, the publication of the *Storia letteraria*, through which he intended to transfer to Italy the experiment of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*.²⁵ He therefore promised to make a volume appear every year with a review of books printed in Italy, ultimately producing fourteen volumes. After the suppression of the Society

24. Marco Iacovella, "«Fabbricatori di ciarle». La disputa sul 'voto sanguinario' attraverso il carteggio muratoriano (1740–1743)," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 49 (2013), 175–300.

25. The first volume of the work, which appeared anonymously, had a second edition in the same year. The author, however, revealed his name only in the preface of the second volume, responding to those who had criticized the initiative and inaugurating that series of controversies, apologies, and retractions that would have marked the development of the work, also worrying the religious superiors of Zaccaria. See Alfred R. Desautels, *Les Mémoires de Trévoux et le mouvement des idées au XVIII^e siècle, 1701–1734* (Rome, 1956); and Robert J. Favre, Claude Labrosse, and Pierre Rézat, *Bilan et perspectives de recherche sur les Mémoires de Trévoux*, in: *Les Jésuites au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1976), 237–56.

of Jesus, his successor in Modena, Girolamo Tiraboschi, treasured this lesson and continued the literary experiment with the successful *Nuovo Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia*, that appeared from 1773 to 1790. He thus made an important contribution both to current book production and to the historiographic reconstruction of the literary movement of his time and of the authors' biographies. The initial collaborators were the confreres Leonardo Ximenes, mathematician and astronomer; Domenico Troili, naturalist and astronomer; and Gioacchino Gabardi, man of letters. To these, others were later added, such as Giambattista Roberti, Giuseppe Ignazio Crollanza, Camillo Barbieri, Stanislao Bardetti, Giovanni Buongiuochi, Giuseppe Zauli, and Jacopo Belgrado, among others. The work immediately sparked controversy. Zaccaria was at the center of a network of erudite literary, historical, and theological disputes, with well-known writers of the religious orders more hostile to the Society of Jesus, as well as with lesser-known authors injured by the roughness of Zaccaria's criticism. Jesuit superiors were apprehensive about the continuous literary disputes triggered by the *Storia*, which adversaries called "an inexorable and terrible tribunal."²⁶ In fact, the Father General of the Jesuits, Father Ignazio Visconti, was ready to ask for the cessation of the work, although he was prevented from doing so by Francesco III of Modena, to whom the publication had been dedicated from the fourth volume onwards, as a greater guarantee to the author.

While Zaccaria refused the invitation of Cardinal Querini to take over the direction of the library he established in Brescia (1752), he took it upon himself to correspond on the Italian production of several French, German, and Dutch periodicals, including the *Journal étranger*, the *Journal encyclopédique*, and the *Italienische Bibliothek*. Francesco III Duke of Modena wanted him to succeed Muratori in the position of prefect of the Estense Library (1756).²⁷ In his new office, he took care to enlarge the building and expand its collections with many foreign books.

Due to the fame achieved, various academies joined in, including the academy of the Catenati in Macerata (1751), the Colombaria in Florence and the academy of ecclesiastical history in Lucca (1753), the Etruscan

26. Eusebio Eraniste [pseudonym of Giovanni Vincenzo Patuzzi], *Lettere teologico-morali in continuazione della difesa della storia del probabilismo e rigorismo ec. del P. Daniello Concina*, III (Trento [but Venezia, Simone Occhi,] 1753), LIV. Zaccaria replied to the *Lettere* with one of the volumes of the *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VIII.2: *Difesa della Storia letteraria d'Italia, e del suo autore contro le Lettere teologico-morali di certo P. Eusebio Eraniste ed altre Lettere d'un Mascherato Rambaldo Norimene* (Modena: A spese Remondini, 1755).

27. See Enrico Rosa, "Tre gesuiti successori del Muratori nella Biblioteca Estense di Modena," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 89 (1938), II, 225–36 and 341–50.

academy in Cortona and then the academies of Livorno, Crema, Reggio Emilia, Fermo and Busseto (1754), Palermo and Pesaro (1755), Mantova (1756), Crati (1757), Rovigo (1758), Capodistria (1760), those of Umbra in Foligno (1761), of the Pescatori Cratilidi in Cosenza and those of the Immobili in Alexandria (1762). He was also welcomed by the Roman Arcadia (1762), where he took the name Claristo-Sycionio.²⁸

He committed himself to the conflict against Jansenism by reprinting works of various moralists, both Jesuits and non-Jesuits, with additions and integrations, and by promoting new works, such as Alfonso de Liguori's *Teologia morale*, which he published with his preface.²⁹ His doctrinal positions brought him many enemies and much criticism.

Because of anonymity, several polemical writings were wrongly or rightly assigned to the fatherhood of Zacharias, creating difficulties for him and embarrassment for the Society of Jesus. A delicate dispute started from the court of Naples in 1763 motivated by a bad review of *Le Antichità di Ercolano Esposte* that appeared in the Milanese *Frusta Letteraria* and was attributed to him. The unhappiness of Charles of Bourbon, former king of Naples (1734–59) and now of Spain (1759–88) and the protests of Bernardo Tanucci reached, through the Neapolitan ambassador to the Holy See, Cardinal Domenico Orsini, up to the Jesuit superior general Lorenzo Ricci. Father Zaccaria was never a stranger to harsh criticism; on this occasion it came from Giuseppe Baretto, the true editor of the Milanese newspaper, even if he signed with the pseudonym of Aristarco Scannabue. The lively Jesuit also worked to signal the monumental publication of the Herculaneum Academy in positive terms. But everything was in vain. In fact, to satisfy the King of Spain and his powerful Neapolitan minister, Father Lorenzo Ricci, for “reverence due to the sovereigns,” reluctantly and temporarily suspended him from his active and passive voice, imposed eight days of spiritual exercises and hurried to explain prudently the Jesuit writer's estrangement from the facts charged to him.³⁰

28. See *Voti quinquennali celebrati dagli Arcadi nel Bosco Parrasio ad onore della santità di Nostro Signore Papa Pio VI*, ([Roma]: Nella Stamperia Salomoni [1780]), 35.

29. See Hermann Busenbaum, *Theologia moralis nunc pluribus partibus aucta a R.P.D. Alphonso de Ligorio* [. . .] *adjuncta in calce operis*, [. . .] *perutili instructione ad praxim confessoriorum*. [. . .] *Accedit etiam R.P. Francisci Antonii Zachariae* [. . .] *dissertatio prolegomena de casuistica theologiae originibus, locis atque prestantia*. Editio quarta accuratius a mendis expurgata, novisque doctrinis [. . .] ab auctore ipso nunc primum locupletata, 3 vols. (Romae: Sumptibus Remondinianis, 1760).

30. Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, *Epp. NN*. 20a, pp. 182–86. Giuseppe Baretto, threatened with the confiscation of the work and legal consequences by Bernardo

During his tenure in Modena, Zaccaria found himself at the center of anti-Jesuit tensions. An investigation into his work took place between 1764 and 1765. The cultural gaps and the lively and apologetic publishing activity brought him opposition on several fronts: not only with anti-Jesuits inside the court, with particular reference to Pellegrino Niccolò Loschi, but also with the Roman Curia circles, which were eager for a greater diplomatic balance. His work *Anti-Febronio, o sia Apologia polemico-storica del primato del Papa* (1767) was very unwelcome in the court and was prohibited in the Este territories.³¹ It offered the Duke, also under Austrian pressure, a reason for removing him from the office of librarian. In April 1768, therefore, replaced in the library by his brother Giovanni Granelli, Zaccaria was recalled to Rome and was appointed as librarian in the Casa del Gesù, while Clement XIII provided him with a substantial pension. In Rome he resumed his work against the jurisdictionalism of Johann Nikolaus von Hotheim, publishing, in four tomes, the anonymous *Antifebronius vindicatus* (1771–72).³²

The subsequent suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773) left Zaccaria without means—principally without books—and he was obliged not to leave Rome after being briefly imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo. Cardinal Mario Compagnoni Marefoschi made his library available to him, thus allowing him to continue his studies and to print other works. Only with the advent of Pius VI was the order of restriction canceled, the pension he already enjoyed increased, and he was granted the jubilation of teaching ecclesiastical history at the Sapienza University, a course which had just started; he was also granted permission to recover his personal library from Bologna, where he had deposited the manuscripts on which he had been working. Out of gratitude, Zaccaria accompanied the Pope's pastoral initiatives with his studies on the jubilee, the pontifical primacy, and liturgical rites.

Tanucci, who put pressure on the Venetian government, had to write two dense letters of justifications in December 1763. As a repair, a few months later he had particularly flattering words printed for Charles of Bourbon and his son Ferdinand IV, presenting with extraordinary enthusiasm the first volume of the *Antiquities of Herculaneum* dedicated to paintings (*Frusta Letteraria*, February 1, 1764, no. 9, pp. 125–27). On the story, see Giuseppe Baretta, *Scritti scelti inediti o rari di Giuseppe Baretta, con nuove memorie della sua vita*, ed. Pietro Custodi, I (Milan, 1822), 97–81.

31. See Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronio* [. . .] *o sia Apologia polemico-storica del primato del papa consecrata alla santità di N.S. papa Clemente XIII contro la dannata opera di Giustino Febronio, dello Stato della Chiesa, e della legittima podestà del Romano Pontefice*, 2 vols. (Pesaro: Dalla Stamperia Amatina, 1767).

32. [Francesco Antonio Zaccaria], *Antifebronius vindicatus seu Suprema Romani Pontificis potestas adversus Justinum Febronium ejusque vindicem Theodorum a Palude iterum adserta, & confirmata*, 4 vols. (Cæsena: Apud Gregorium Blasinium sub signo Palladis, 1771–72).

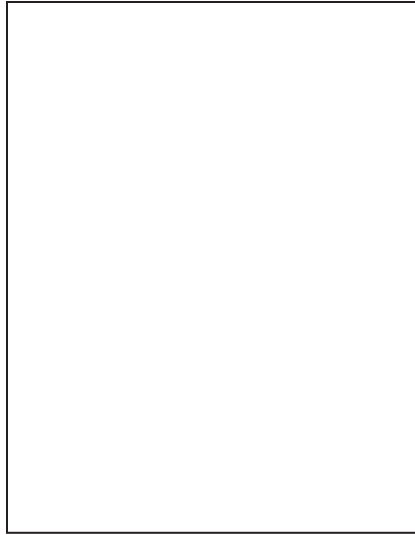


FIGURE 2. Frontispiece of the work of Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronio o sia Apologia polemico-storica del Primato del Papa. Parte prima polemica premettesi una istruttiva introduzione (...)*, In Pesaro, dalla stamperia Amatina, 1767 (digitized copy of the one kept in the National Library of Florence and available online).

Francesco Antonio Zaccaria died in Rome on October 10, 1795, and was buried in the Church of the Apollinare (the text of his tombstone was composed by the rector of the college, Father Giovanni Castiglione). He was a prolific author, and several of his writings remained unpublished, including *Commentario della sua propria vita*, among others. He also left behind an extensive collection of his correspondence over the years with the major intellectuals of the eighteenth century.³³

33. The best biographical profile is that of Luigi Cuccagni, "Elogio storico, o sia breve storia della vita dell'abate Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, già individuo della soppressa Compagnia di Gesù," *Supplemento al Giornale Ecclesiastico di Roma*, 8 (1796), 193–352 (also Roma: Presso Giovanni Zempel, 1796); a list of Zaccaria's works is on pp. 142–58 of the volume, but see also Backer, Carayon, and de Backer, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, VIII, 1381–435; IX, 1900, 1911. See also Hugo Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae theologos exhibens aetate, natione, disciplinis distinctos*, V.1: *Theologiae catholicae aetas recens* (Innsbruck, 1911³), 484–98; Donato Scioscioli, *La vita e le opere di Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, erudito del secolo XVIII. Studio biografico e critico* (Brescia, 1925); Enrico Rosa, "Gli scritti e il carteggio di F.A. Zaccaria in un archivio della Guipuzcoa," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 80 (1929), IV, 118–30; Id., "La vita e le opere di Francesco Antonio Zaccaria," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 81 (1930), I, 339–51; Id., "Nuovi documenti sulla vita e le opere di F.A. Zaccaria," *La Civiltà*

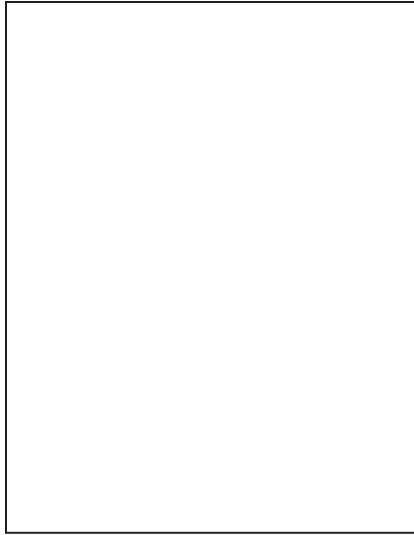


FIGURE 3. Frontispiece of the work of Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, *Anti-Febronio o sia Apologia polemico-storica del Primato del Papa. Parte seconda storica o sia Storia del primato del papa ne' primo otto secoli della Chiesa. (...)*, In Pesaro, dalla stamperia Amatina, 1767 (digitized copy of the one kept in the State Library of the National Monument of S. Scolastica of Subiaco and available online).



For Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, his youthful confrontation with the great Muratori was a precious opportunity for his debut, as it was said then, in the Republic of Letters. But it was also a good training ground to master the technique of anonymous writing or pseudepigraphy, to which he later resorted several times with his sharp pen, to accompany that will of merciless censorship and the strong polemical taste of his personality, enhanced by Jesuit education and by the Society's commitment to his defense.

Cattolica, 81 (1930), I, 509–17; Id., “Pubblicazioni e tribolazioni del P. F.A. Zaccaria,” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 81 (1930), III, 27–40, 121–30; Pedro de Leturia, “Il concetto di nazione italiana nel grande antigiansenista Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (1714–1795) secondo fonti dell'Archivio di Loyola,” in: *Nuove ricerche storiche sul giansenismo. Studi presentati nella Sezione di Storia Ecclesiastica del Congresso Internazionale per il IV centenario della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 13–17 ottobre 1953* (Rome, 1954), 231–57; Mario Zanfredini, “Zaccaria, Francesco Antonio,” in: *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, Charles E. O'Neill, Joaquín M. Domínguez, eds., 4 vols. (Rome, 2001), IV, 4063–64; and Simona Negruzzo, “Zaccaria, Francesco Antonio,” in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 100 (Rome, 2020), 321–23.

As in the case of the anti-Muratorian debate of Zaccaria's juvenile years, as presented above, the absence of a signature in his work cannot be justified as the result of a fear of censorship, since it supported a major traditional theological line, nor can it be explained as the result of a need to escape the retaliation of an adversary, who was known to be a gentle and tolerant man, who also lacked strong political support capable of creating harassment for his opponents. It is easier, on the contrary, to imagine that the initial anonymity (later revealed by intellectual friends or by the journalists of the time) served to focus the reader's attention on the written message and not on the author's good or bad reputation, to intrigue the reader through the lack of knowledge of the true author, which also meant non-knowledge of the party to which the author belonged, leaving all to be discovered in the turning of the pages. The pseudonymous literary market functioned well. The topic treated by the anonymous author—obvious, logical, and consolidated—was therefore so strong and convincing in itself that it did not need either the embellished academic qualifications of the unknown author or his good reputation (if already consolidated). It is rather like saying *vox populi, vox Dei*.

Funding the Mission: Jesuit Networks, Outsider Access, and “The Origins of Marquette College” Revisited

H. RICHARD FRIMAN*

This article explores the impact of external and internal challenges facing private donor networks for funding Jesuit overseas missions. Revisiting Garraghan’s influential study of “The Origins of Marquette College,” the article reveals understudied sources of network disruption that facilitated outsider access to the Belgian Jesuit funding network for the Missouri Mission and how the outsider’s subsequent missteps enabled the network’s recovery. The article adds to the growing literature on Jesuit finances and overseas missions by calling attention to the challenges created by divisions within networks over funding priorities and practices.

Keywords: Jesuit financial networks, overseas missions, John Martin Henni, Missouri Mission

On January 12, 1849, Bishop John Martin Henni of Milwaukee wrote his friend and supporter Father Joseph Ferdinand Mueller at the Ludwig-Missionsverein in Munich with surprising news.¹ At a meeting in December, a wealthy Antwerp donor long supportive of Jesuit causes, Guillaume-Joseph De Boey, had pledged 75,000 francs (\$15,000) with a down payment of 15,000 francs (\$3,000) to establish a Jesuit college in Henni’s Wisconsin diocese.² This seminal event in the origins of what

*H. Richard Friman is Professor of Political Science and Eliot Fitch Chair for International Studies at Marquette University. His email address is: h.r.friman@marquette.edu. He would like to thank colleagues in and outside of Marquette for their comments and suggestions, the Jesuit Archives and Research Center (JARC) in St. Louis, the Archdiocese of Milwaukee Archives (AMA), and especially the anonymous reviewers.

1. John Martin Henni to Joseph Ferdinand Mueller, January 12, 1849. Translated from the German by Peter Leo Johnson from letters originally reprinted in the St. Francis Seminary journal *The Salesianum*. Below as *Salesianum*. The collection is available at <https://www.archmil.org/ArchdioceseofMilwaukee/history/MC-017-Henni-Letters.pdf>.

2. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., “Marquette University in the Making,” *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* 2, no. 4 (1920), 417–46, here 424, 426, 437–38, 445; Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, online vol. 2 (Chicago, 1938 republished 1983–84),

would become Marquette College in 1881, later Marquette University,³ was more than a fundraising success.⁴ The donation also represented a disruption to the Belgian Jesuit funding network for the Missouri Mission.

For decades Belgian Jesuits had worked to cultivate a private donor network for overseas missions. By the late 1830s they faced challenges from larger, rival fundraising institutions such as the Rome-backed Society for the Propagation of the Faith. By the 1840s with the Missouri Vice-Province overextended and in increasing financial disarray, Jesuit leadership turned to restricting access to donors by the very overseas missions the network had been established to support. This article explores the sources of the breakdown in the network that facilitated Henni's access to one of its major donors in 1848. Scholarship on Jesuit financing of overseas missions through private donor networks has emphasized external challenges from governments, the Church, rival networks, and public backlash.⁵ This article calls attention to additional challenges posed by internal network fissures.

Chapter 37 (here 352–54; also the source for the article's subtitle quotation). See note 6 below on the citation format used for the Garraghan volumes.

3. Raphael N. Hamilton, *The Story of Marquette University: An Object Lesson in the Development of Catholic Higher Education* (Milwaukee, 1953), 3–5; Thomas J. Jablonsky, *Milwaukee's Jesuit University: Marquette 1881–1981* (Milwaukee, 2007), 17–18, 22–25.

4. The U.S. dollar value of the pledge is based on a rough 5:1 exchange rate used by Garraghan, *The Jesuits* (Cb30), 91–92. See also, David M. Brumbach, "Peter John De Smet, S.J. Fundraiser and Promoter of Missions" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington State University, 1992), 36 n. 26). Jablonsky places the dollar value of the pledge at \$16,000 suggesting a more nuanced 4.6875:1 exchange rate. Using these rates the 1848 pledge in 2020 dollars would be roughly equivalent to \$491,000 and \$524,000 respectively.

5. Fred Vermote, "Finances of the Missions," in: *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Leiden, 2018), 367–400. See also, Edward John Hickey, "The Society for the Propagation of the Faith: Its Foundation, Organization and Success (1822–1922)," (Doctoral Dissertation, The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, Vol III, 1922); Theodore Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis and London, 1942); Benjamin J. Blied, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics, 1830–1860* (Milwaukee, 1944); Dauril Alden, *The Making of An Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540–1750* (Stanford, 1996); Jan De Maeyer, Sofie Leplae, and Joachim Schmiedl, *Religious Institutes in Western Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Historiography, Research and Legal Position* (Leuven, 2004); Dame Olwen Hufton, "Faith, Hope and Money: the Jesuits and the Genesis of Fundraising for Education, 1550–1650," *Historical Research*, 81, no. 214 (November, 2008), 585–609; Luke Clossey, *Salvation and the Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York, 2008); Maarten Van Dijck, Jan De Maeyer, Jeffery Tyssens, and Jimmy Koppen, eds., *The Economics of Providence: Management, Finances and Patrimony of Religious Orders and Congregations in Europe, 1773–c 1930 / L'économie de la providence : la gestion, les finances et la patrimoine des ordres et congrégations religieuses en Europe, 1773–vers 1930* (Leuven, 2012); and additional sources referenced below.

Building on the path-breaking historical work of Gilbert J. Garraghan,⁶ the article's first section reviews the origins of the Belgian funding network for the Missouri Mission. The section also introduces the importance of De Boey's place in the network, and discusses the restrictions by the 1840s faced by representatives of the Missouri Vice-Province in accessing major donors. The second section turns to Henni, his European fundraising experiences prior to 1848, and his path as an outsider into the network. Here the article reveals why and how the Belgian network fractured. The external shock of the 1848 revolutions in Europe and the dislocation of the Swiss Jesuits increased network tensions. Faced with leadership failures in responding to the dislocation, Antwerp Jesuits provided Henni with access. The third section turns to how the funding network adjusted to the shock of the donation. Here the article reveals how missteps by Henni in 1849 created opportunities for Jesuits in Belgium and the Missouri Vice-Province to reassert influence over the donation process through the use of intermediaries. The article's final section briefly turns to the implications of the case study for the broader literature on Jesuit funding networks for overseas missions.

The Belgian Funding Network

Belgian donors were an essential source of funding for the Jesuit mission established in the Missouri Territory in 1823.⁷ Initially the donor network consisted of contributions by family members and other supporters of the young Belgians recruited as candidates for the Jesuit novitiate in the United States. The network increased in reach and importance as the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Father Jan Roothaan, granted the Missouri Mission independent status from the umbrella of the Maryland Mission in 1831 and approved the creation of the Missouri Vice-Province in 1840.⁸ Early

6. See Garraghan's "Marquette University in the Making" and his multivolume work *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*. The latter is cited below by the online volume numbers available at <http://jesuitarchives.org/virtuallygarraghan/>. Chapter numbers are included for vol. 2 due to page numbers restarting mid-volume in the online version.

7. This article explores only a portion of the mission's history. For a focus on Central Missouri, see John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton, 2016), 63–103.

8. Superior General from 1829 to 1853. Garraghan's dates on status vary, see *The Jesuits* 1, 314–15, 338, 490. On Roothaan's emphasis on overseas missions, see Klaus Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten (1814–1983)*, Band I: (1814–1872) (Münster, 2013), 36, 38–41; John T. McGreevy, "Restored Jesuits: Notes toward a Global History," in: *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova (Washington, DC, 2016), 131–46, here 136–38; McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World*, 14–15.

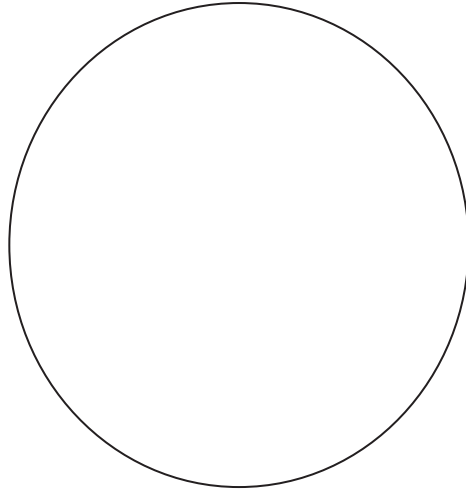


FIGURE 1. Engraving of Jean-Philippe Roothaan (1785–1853) by D. Desvachez. Public Domain.

Belgian recruits to the United States included Pierre-Jean De Smet, James Van de Velde, and John Anthony Elet who would all play critical roles in the Vice-Province as discussed below.⁹ Fundraising trips back to Europe by these Jesuits, replete with stories of work among the Indians in Missouri and points west and the need for more resources and staffing, expanded the reach of the financial networks. During the late 1830s what David Brumbach describes as “ecclesiastical authorities” in Rome sought to bring Belgian donor networks into a centralized pool of fundraising for overseas missions under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Still, the independent Belgian networks persisted.¹⁰ By the 1840s, funding dynamics changed as access to the networks tightened. Missouri Jesuits seeking access to Belgian donors required permission from Roothaan as well as the Belgian Provincial Father Charles Franckeville.¹¹ Tracing these fundraising efforts

9. On the recruiting efforts of Father Charles Nerinckx in 1816 and 1820, see Garaghan, *The Jesuits*, 14–15, 17–19, 131, 504; Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831–1859): Catholic Revival, Society and Politics in 19th Century Europe* (Leuven, 2001), 192–94; Marc Lindeijer, Jo Luyten, and Kristien Suenens, “The Quick Downfall and Slow Rise of the Jesuit Order in the Low Countries,” in: *The Survival of the Jesuits in the Low Countries, 1773–1850*, ed. Leo Kenis and Marc Lindeijer (Leuven, 2019), 28–29.

10. Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 25, 29.

11. Franckeville served as Provincial from 1839 to 1845, and again from 1848 to 1854.

FIGURE 2. Father Charles Franckeville, S.J., courtesy of KADOC-KU Leuven, Audiovisueel archief Vlaamse provincie van de Sociëteit van Jezus.

offers insights into network structure and helps to set the context that Henni faced in 1848.

The Origins of the Network

Garraghan describes how Louis DuBourg, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, laid the initial groundwork for the Missouri Mission.¹² DuBourg began with appeals in Europe and Maryland for Jesuit staffing and by cobbling together Indian mission funding from the U.S. government and donations from east-coast Catholic congregations.¹³ In 1823 DuBourg donated his farm in Florissant, Missouri to the Jesuits to use as the initial base for their operations. Faced with an outstanding mortgage and lacking funds to acquire and thus transfer full title to the property, DuBourg successfully appealed to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for financial assistance in 1824 to pay off the mortgage and complete

12. Garraghan, *The Jesuits*1, 35. See also Annabelle M. Melville, *Louis William DuBourg: Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, Bishop of Montauban, and Archbishop of Besançon, 1766–1833*, 2 vols, II: *Bishop in Two Worlds, 1818–1833* (Chicago, 1986), 623–43.

13. Garraghan, *The Jesuits*1, 44–72, 154–57.

the donation.¹⁴ Established in 1823 in Lyon, France, the Society was the outgrowth of an idea DuBourg first proposed in 1815 for establishing a “society for financing Catholic Foreign Missions.”¹⁵ Although the Society would occasionally provide support over the next two decades,¹⁶ the Missouri Mission relied more on expanding its own donor network.¹⁷

Garraghan points to “M. Pierre Jean De Nef, director of St. Joseph’s College, Turnout in Belgium” as a primary figure providing support to the mission. De Nef had amassed considerable wealth and influence in the textile and wine trades and helped to fund the passage of DuBourg’s first waves of Belgian recruits to the United States.¹⁸ De Nef expanded his recruitment efforts in Belgium on behalf of the mission during the 1830s, sending contingents to the United States in 1832, 1834, and 1837.¹⁹ By the early 1830s, De Nef also had established an “informal missionary aid society” in Belgium consisting of some thirty people including Guillaume-Joseph De Boey.²⁰ Among this society’s efforts, De Nef along with De Boey established a stock speculation company in 1832 to raise funds.²¹ De Nef continued to provide financial support to the Missouri Jesuits until his death in 1844.²²

On arrival in Missouri, Belgian recruits wrote to De Nef about the mission’s needs.²³ By the 1830s this role in appeals had fallen primarily to

14. *Ibid.*, 107, 140–41, 143–44, 367.

15. *Ibid.*, 367. See also Melville, *Louis William DuBourg*, 582–84.

16. Society funding included \$1,000 in 1832, \$6,000 in 1843, and \$11,200 in 1846 (with roughly eighty percent of the 1846 support intended for western Indian missions). Smaller amounts came from other aid societies in Austria and Bavaria. *Ibid.*, 369–70, 467–68.

17. For early requests and support, see *Ibid.*, 65, 210. Schatz notes Roothaan’s impact on the overseas missions as including an emphasis on tighter linkages with home provinces / countries both to retain identity and to facilitate financial support from European Catholics. Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 39–40.

18. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 17–19, 338; Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 20; Eugène Laveille, *The Life of Father De Smet S.J. (1801–1873)*, trans. Marian Lindsay (Chicago, 1981; reprint of 1915 original), 63–64; Lindeijer, Luyten, and Suenens, “The Quick Downfall,” 29.

19. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 345, 347, 358.

20. Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 20. On De Boey’s support for religious causes in Belgium, donations to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Missouri Mission, see Garraghan, “Marquette University in the Making,” 424–25; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 353–55.

21. Laveille, *The Life of Father De Smet*, 64; Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 373. Garraghan notes stock speculation and handling the financial affairs of wealthy clients as the sources of De Boey’s wealth, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 353–54.

22. Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 28–29.

23. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 338–42.



FIGURE 3. Pierre-Jean De Smet. Library of Congress description: “Rev. Father Pierre Jean De Smet (1801–1873) Catholic missionary to Indian Territory.” Mathew Brady—Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Brady-Handy Photograph Collection. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cwpbh.03561>. CALL NUMBER: LC-BH824-5343 <P&P>[P&P]

Pierre-Jean De Smet. Born into a wealthy, influential Catholic family in Termonde (Dendermonde), De Smet arrived in Maryland in 1821 and after studies at Georgetown joined the Missouri Mission in 1823.²⁴ Although involved initially in Indian mission work, in 1830 De Smet was appointed as procurator for St. Louis College.²⁵ Transferred by DuBourg to the Jesuits in 1827, the college by 1829 had acquired enough land and local support to facilitate its initial foundation and subsequent state charter as a university in 1832, but by the 1830s was struggling financially.²⁶ De Smet served for two years as procurator before petitioning to return to Europe for health reasons. Granted a deferment of his final vows, De Smet

24. Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 2–3, 6, 12

25. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 298, 341–42. Scholarship on De Smet is extensive, particularly that focusing on his Indian mission work. For example, see also John J. Killoren, “*Come, Black Robe*”: *De Smet and the Indian Tragedy* (Norman, OK, and London, 1994); Robert C. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West* (Norman, OK, and London, 1995); and George Bishop, *Black Robe and Tomahawk: The Life and Travels of Fr. Pierre-Jean De Smet, SJ (1801–1873)* (Leominster, Herefordshire, 2003).

26. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 284–89.

spent his time in Belgium garnering support for the Missouri Mission and petitioning for a return.²⁷

While in Belgium, De Smet worked with De Nef to recruit new candidates, fund their travel, and expand the network of financial support. By the time he was prepared to return to the United States in November 1834, De Smet had collected the sum of 42,592 francs (over \$8,500) and boxes of “vestments, altar furniture, books, paintings and scientific instruments.”²⁸ Illness during the voyage forced him to depart the ship in England and return to Belgium. Even though he left the Jesuit order for health reasons, De Smet continued to work with De Nef raising funds on behalf of the Missouri Mission.²⁹ In August 1837, acting on behalf of the Trustees of St. Louis University, De Smet negotiated loans totaling 125,000 francs (\$25,000) from Jesuit supporters in Ghysseghem (Gijzegem).³⁰ During this period De Smet also began what would become a long relationship with De Boey. An admirer of De Smet’s mission work, De Boey contributed 10,000 florins (\$4,000) to the construction of the St. Louis University chapel in 1836. In September 1837, De Boey also asked De Smet for the best means of sending future financial support and provided seven boxes of gifts to take back with him to the university.³¹ That same year De Boey also financed the trip of one of his nephews, Guillaume Crabeels, to Missouri as one of De Nef’s latest class of recruits.³²

27. *Ibid.*, 350–52. Carriker posits that he was sent to Europe for the express purpose of fundraising. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 14.

28. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 353–55. Carriker places the figure at “nearly sixty thousand francs (eleven thousand dollars) from fifty prominent Catholic families in northern Europe.” Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 15.

29. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 356–58; Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 23; Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 16.

30. Garraghan (*The Jesuits* 1, 358) identifies the donors as “Baroness de Ghysseghem née the Countess de Bobiano [sic], and her daughter Elizabeth” from De Smet’s hometown of Termonde. The more likely donor was “Baroness Elisabeth Marie Le Candèle née Countess de Robiano” who was a well-known supporter of the Jesuits. See Lindeijer, Luyten, and Suenens, “The Quick Downfall,” 23–24; see also Kristien Suenens, *Humble Women, Powerful Nuns: A Female Struggle for Autonomy in a Men’s Church* (Leuven, 2020), 48, 50.

31. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 373–74. On the rate of 2.5 florins to a dollar, see Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 36 n. 26.

32. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 358. Crabeels placed the date as 1835. On the family connection with De Boey, see Edouard Terwecoren, “L’Affaire de Buck,” *Collection Précès de Historiques: Mélanges Littéraires et Scientifiques*, vol. 13 (Bruxelles, 1864), 298–380, here 343.

Network Access Tightens

During the 1840s, the financial strains on the now Missouri Vice-Province increased with the costs of the Indian missions in Oregon and operations in Missouri including the drain of university expansion.³³ Yet the avenues for Belgian support had become more complicated. Beginning in 1838, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith faced a challenge in its collection and routing of funds for overseas Catholic missions. The Society's success had prompted the rise of similar organizations. Although Belgian bishops had been participating in the Society since 1825, concerns that the funds they collected were not going to Belgian overseas missions led to a temporary separation.³⁴ Austria-Hungary established the separate Leopoldinen-Stiftung in Vienna in 1829 to support overseas missions serving German-speaking communities.³⁵ In 1838, King Ludwig of Bavaria backed the formation of the Ludwig-Missionsverein out of concerns that funds collected by dioceses in Bavaria beginning in 1836 and sent to the Society for distribution were serving French interests more than those of overseas German missions.³⁶ The Bavarian defection and risks that even more funds collected outside of France would bypass the Society for the Propagation of the Faith prompted the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome in January 1839 to call for an end to independent fundraising organizations.³⁷

Although such a push threatened the De Nef fundraising network, an ongoing issue was the collection and distribution of funds already being routed through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.³⁸ These included funds collected through Belgian churches as well as by the Association of St. Xavier. Established in "about 1836" in North Brabant, the

33. On the Oregon missions, see Garraghan, *The Jesuits*2(Cb24-25), 236-441.

34. Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, 65; Hickey, "The Society for the Propagation of the Faith," 110-11.

35. Hickey, "The Society for the Propagation of the Faith," 40-41; Garraghan, *The Jesuits*1, 370, 467-68; Blied, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics*, 19-29.

36. Father Frederick Rese, vicar general of Cincinnati and later Bishop of Detroit, was instrumental in the foundation of both the Austrian and Bavarian organizations. See Peter Leo Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier: A Life of John Martin Henni, Archbishop of Milwaukee* (Madison, WI, 1959), 91; Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, 47-61; Hickey, "The Society for the Propagation of the Faith," 42-43, 110-11; Blied, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics*, 29-34; Garraghan, *The Jesuits*1, 370.

37. Hickey, "The Society for the Propagation of the Faith," 94, 98-99; Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, 55-56; Brumbach, "Peter John De Smet," 25.

38. For concerns raised by De Smet's brother, see Brumbach, "Peter John De Smet," 25-26.

Netherlands, to collect “funds for the Belgian Jesuits of western America,” this association had been folded into the Society for the Propagation of the Faith with the proviso that funds “collected would continue to be applied to the Jesuit Mission of Missouri.”³⁹ According to Society for the Propagation of the Faith officials, Roothaan “personally distributed all monies allocated by Lyon to the Society of Jesus.”⁴⁰ Yet this still raised broader questions as to the extent to which funds received by Lyon intended by the donors for the Jesuits were so allocated. For example, in practice the funds collected in the Netherlands were provided initially to “the Missouri procurator in Belgium” who used the funds to cover travel costs of novices and “delivered [any remaining] to the procurator of the vice-province in St. Louis.”⁴¹ The scale of the funding delivered in this manner was limited, averaging up to “about four thousand florins or sixteen hundred dollars annually.”⁴² By the early 1840s, the funding appeared to have dried up entirely.⁴³

In this context, representatives from the Missouri Vice-Province arrived in Belgium seeking financial assistance. In November 1841, Father James Van de Velde traveled to Rome as procurator representing the Vice-Province at the Jesuit triennial congregation.⁴⁴ In this capacity and as rector of St. Louis University Van de Velde had written earlier to Roothaan describing financial needs made all the more difficult by annual debt service costs of approximately \$3,200 including interest on the 1837 Ghyseghem loans.⁴⁵ Prior to the congregation meeting, Van de Velde traveled to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon seeking approval to fundraise in Belgium. He also requested and received permission from Roothaan to solicit funds in Belgium though “subject to the Belgian provincial’s approval.”⁴⁶ Franckeville initially approved Van de Velde’s request “but he subsequently withdrew his consent.”⁴⁷ As a result, Van de

39. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 499–500. Recruits from North Brabant were also serving in the Missouri Vice-Province, comprising part of the sixteen Dutch and forty-two Belgian Jesuits there by the mid-1840s. Lindeijer, Luyten, and Suenens, “The Quick Downfall,” 29.

40. *Ibid.*, 500.

41. *Ibid.* The Missouri Vice-Province had petitioned Roothaan in 1841 for “a procurator or financial agent of the Missouri Vice-Province to hold office for three years to be stationed in Belgium.” *Ibid.*, 498.

42. *Ibid.*, 500.

43. *Ibid.*

44. For details on the triennial meetings of representatives of Jesuit provinces and vice-provinces, see *Ibid.*, 497

45. *Ibid.*, 498–99.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Garraghan writes that Franckeville must have had “excellent reasons” for this shift but offers no indication as to what these might have been. *Ibid.*, 500–1.



FIGURE 4. Lithograph image of James Oliver Van de Velde, bishop of Chicago (1849–53), then of Natchez (1853–55). Unknown author. Created: circa 1853 date QS:P,+1853-00-00T00:00:00Z/9,P1480,Q5727902–1855. Preserved in St. Mary Basilica Archives, Natchez, Mississippi. Public Domain.

Velde spent December 1841 through July 1842 engaged in fundraising efforts with uneven success.⁴⁸ Franckeville eventually did provide some assistance but with restrictions. The most prominent example occurred in 1842 when Franckeville brokered a loan from De Boey to the Missouri Vice-Province for 100,000 francs (\$20,000), at five percent annual interest, to help with the construction costs of a Jesuit church for St. Louis.⁴⁹ The details were “negotiated personally by Franckeville, Van de Velde not meeting De Boey until all the details had been satisfactory arranged.”⁵⁰ Although addressing a fundraising need, the De Boey loan was one more debt obligation the Vice-Province could not afford.

48. *Ibid.*, 499–501.

49. St. Francis Xavier, also known as “College Church,” was the “first Jesuit church in St. Louis.” Initially the property of the Vice-Province, it was transferred, along with its debts, to the University of St. Louis in 1850. *Ibid.*, 501 (quote), 503.

50. *Ibid.*, 500. Although constrained in seeking financial contributions, Van De Velde was able to obtain “donations of a considerable quantity of church goods” (469, 501).

Van de Velde's experience in Belgium stands in marked contrast to De Smet's the following year. His health improved, De Smet had successfully petitioned to rejoin the Society of Jesus in 1837 and from 1840 to 1842 took on a leading role in the growth of the Missouri Vice-Province's Indian missions.⁵¹ The popularity in Europe of his reports and publications on these experiences combined with his extensive ties with De Nef's network created a more receptive environment.⁵² In the spring of 1843, De Smet acting "on behalf of the vice-province" returned to Belgium seeking a further loan of \$10,000.⁵³ Aided by a letter from the Missouri Vice-Provincial to Roothaan requesting that De Smet be granted access to potential donors in England and Belgium, and with permission from Franckeville, De Smet was successful. By the time he departed Antwerp for home in January 1844, he had collected money and material worth between 125,000 and 140,000 francs including a loan of 70,000 francs (\$14,000) in Belgium.⁵⁴

In September 1843, Van de Velde became Vice-Provincial of the Missouri Vice-Province and was charged by Roothaan to provide a full accounting of its debt and interest obligations.⁵⁵ With this information, he appealed again to Roothaan for assistance. Among the issues he discovered was that while contributions to the Jesuit missions from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had resumed, Roothaan had allocated 32,000 francs (\$6,400) to the Missouri Vice-Province with none of these funds earmarked for operations in St. Louis.⁵⁶ Instead, Roothaan had used 12,000 francs (\$2,400) to cover partially the outstanding debt service on the Ghyselhem loans and distributed the remaining funds based on his sense of the other needs of the Vice-Province.⁵⁷ In 1846, challenges increased when the Society for the Propagation of the Faith changed its policies and restricted the funds allocated to Vice-Province for use only in the western Indian missions. This shift prompted a further protest by Van de Velde to Roothaan, including renewed calls for Belgian church networks to establish a separate

51. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 31, 64.

52. *Ibid.*, 66–67; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch21)*, 104.

53. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 501.

54. *Ibid.*, 501–3; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch24)*, 292; Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 67; Bishop, *Black Robe and Tomahawk*, 102; Killoren, "Come, Black Robe," 79–81. None of the authors mentions specific donors by name.

55. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 501.

56. *Ibid.*, 507–8. In 1844 and 1845, the Society also allocated 40,000 francs (\$8,000) to the western Indian missions. Roothaan placed these funds in an account in London. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch25)*, 351–52, 436.

57. On the allocations, see Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 508.

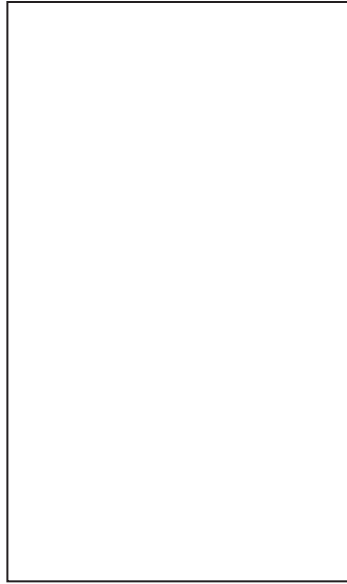


FIGURE 5. Father John Anthony Elet, S.J., courtesy of the Jesuit Archives & Research Center, St. Louis, Missouri.

funding society along the lines of the Leopoldinen-Stiftung.⁵⁸ Opposed to such a step, Roothaan intervened in 1847 and the funding restrictions were dropped.⁵⁹ Roothaan continued to determine the distribution of funds from Lyon and again used a portion to cover the Missouri Vice-Province's debt service including on the De Boey loan.⁶⁰

In 1847, now handling financial responsibilities at St. Louis University, De Smet returned to Europe as part of a new fundraising effort with Father John Elet.⁶¹ Elet had joined the Missouri Mission in 1823, served as president of St. Xavier College in Cincinnati since 1840, and was sent to Europe in 1847 as representative of the Missouri Vice-Province to the

58. He also pointed out that contributions to Lyon in 1845 from churches in Belgium (177,688 francs) and North Brabant (36,873 francs) were much more than that provided to the Missouri Vice-Province. *Ibid.*, 510.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, 500, 507; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 351. Van de Velde also appealed to De Smet to approach De Boey "to remit the debt, at least in his will" to ease the burden but without success. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 501, 503-4.

61. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 111, 113; Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 511-12.

conference of procurators in Rome.⁶² As discussed in detail below, during this trip Elet came face to face with the political upheavals of 1848 and resulting displacement of the Swiss Jesuits.⁶³ Elet and De Smet continued fundraising efforts until April 1848.⁶⁴ Once again De Smet was successful albeit less so than his earlier trips, “collecting about 30,000 francs [\$6,000] in donations.”⁶⁵ Upon his return to the United States, Elet began duties as the new Vice-Provincial of the Missouri Vice-Province replacing Van de Velde who had been appointed Bishop of Chicago.⁶⁶

The financial challenges Elet returned to were considerable. Van de Velde had managed to address some during his tenure but more remained. The debt obligations of the church in St. Louis as carried by the Missouri Vice-Province to Belgian donors totaled almost \$40,000 by 1849 including the earlier \$20,000 loan from De Boey.⁶⁷ By contrast, the situation of St. Louis University was less tenuous. Financially separate from the Vice-Province, the university under pressure from Roothaan had taken out a loan locally in May 1849 and used the proceeds to pay off the 1837 Ghysegheem loans.⁶⁸ By early 1849 Elet had appointed De Smet as procurator and Assistant Vice-Provincial of the Missouri Vice-Province to help address financial issues.⁶⁹ Since part of the answer would lie in easing the debt burden, Elet appealed to Roothaan to allow the Missouri Vice-Province to transfer the church and its debt obligations to the university but without success.⁷⁰ In short, by the late 1840s the Vice-Province was desperately in need of financial assistance and having little success in obtaining relief.

62. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 513–14.

63. *Ibid.*, 525. On the political dynamics of 1848 and ramifications for the Jesuits, see Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 400–52; Marc Lerner, *A Laboratory of Liberty: The Transformation of Political Culture in Republican Switzerland, 1750–1848* (Leiden, 2012), 270–85, 290–93; Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 58–61, 100–14.

64. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 511–12; 526–29; Laveille, *The Life of Father De Smet*, 206.

65. Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 84; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2 (Ch30)*, 92; Kiloren, “Come, Black Robe,” 96–98.

66. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 513–18.

67. *Ibid.*, 542.

68. *Ibid.*, 541; Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 121. Roothaan had instructed Van de Velde to pay off the loan “as soon as possible.” The reasons for haste were not clear. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch34)*, 243.

69. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet*, 121–22; Brumbach, “Peter John De Smet,” 85–86.

70. The transfer was eventually approved and completed in 1850. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 543.

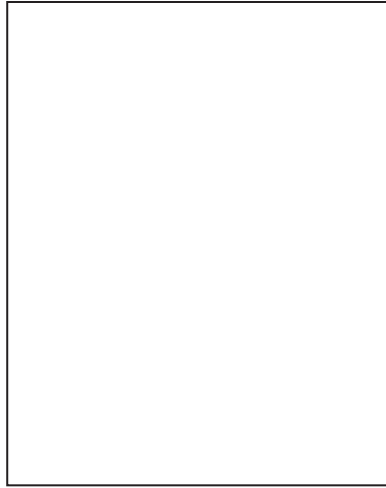


FIGURE 6. Bishop John Martin Henni. Photograph/Image courtesy of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee Archives.

Accessing the Network

Compared to the Vice-Province representatives, Henni, neither Jesuit nor Belgian, was an atypical prospect for fundraising success in Antwerp in 1848. Born in Switzerland, Henni studied in Lucerne in 1824 and then Rome in 1826 for his clerical training. Henni selected the Sapienza University in Rome over Jesuit-run alternatives reflecting in part, as Johnson writes, “the current [Swiss] bias” against “Jesuitism.”⁷¹ While in Rome, Henni met Father Frederick Rese, famous for his missionary work in Africa and the United States, who was seeking, among other efforts, financial support and recruits for the Cincinnati Catholic diocese. Inspired by Rese, Henni left Rome to join the diocese in 1828. Long interested in the priesthood, he was ordained in 1829 and soon began efforts on behalf of the Cincinnati diocese’s German-speaking Catholics.⁷² Although these efforts would include fundraising in Europe during the 1830s, Henni did not seek support in Belgium. A brief review of this experience helps to set the context for what followed in 1848.

71. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 9–15. On the Jesuit alternatives, see also Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 96–98; and Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 229.

72. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 20–29.

Fundraising Prior to 1848

In the summer of 1835, the Cincinnati diocese sent Henni on a fundraising trip to Europe. Although he appealed to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon and Pope Gregory XVI in Rome, both demurred citing a lack of funds. With a letter of support from the Pope, Henni was more successful in visits to the Leopoldinen-Stiftung in Vienna and with bishops in Bavaria.⁷³ After returning to the United States in the fall of 1836, Henni resumed his work. Continued success resulted in his “appointment as vicar-general of the Cincinnati diocese” in 1838.⁷⁴ During his time in Europe, Henni did not seek assistance from the Belgian funding networks or other European Jesuit support. The Jesuit presence in the Cincinnati diocese would increase in 1839 when Cincinnati Bishop John Purcell sought assistance from Roothaan concerning the Seminary of St. Francis Xavier (The Athenaeum). This request resulted in deliberations between the diocese and the Missouri Vice-Province, leading to a transfer of control in 1840 and Elet becoming the new rector of St. Xavier College.⁷⁵ Although this would place Elet and Henni together in Cincinnati for the next few years, Thomas Jablonsky writes that “this experience soured Elet on the man.”⁷⁶

In 1843, bishops meeting at the Fifth Provincial Council in Baltimore nominated Henni to lead the newly established Catholic diocese in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. With the appointment approved by Rome, Bishop Henni arrived in the city in May 1844.⁷⁷ Henni again faced the challenge of meeting the needs of a growing population of German-speaking Catholics and a diocese in financial distress.⁷⁸ As in the past, he appealed to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Leopoldinen-Stiftung, and supporters in Bavaria writing them all for assistance.⁷⁹ While in Cincinnati Henni had advocated for the idea of a German-language seminary to train priests as a longer-term solution to meeting the needs of the

73. *Ibid.*, 41–44. While in Bavaria, Henni had increased his success by publishing a book based “on his insights on America and dedicates it to the Archbishop of Munich” (43).

74. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 49–51.

75. Purcell had unsuccessfully appealed to the English Jesuits in 1838 before turning to Roothaan. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2*(Cb33), 157–71; Garraghan, *The Jesuits3*, 481–82.

76. Jablonsky (*Milwaukee’s Jesuit University*, 17) offers no details on what happened, only that this time helps to explain Elet’s later concerns over Henni’s support for the Jesuits.

77. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 56–57

78. *Ibid.*, 69–70.

79. He was dissuaded from making these appeals in person by a letter from the Ludwig-Missionsverein. *Ibid.*, 75–76.

diocese's immigrant population.⁸⁰ He continued to pursue this interest in his new diocese. Over the next four years even as financial pressures continued, Henni remained committed to the idea.⁸¹ Henni's letter campaigns seeking broad support for the diocese generated some success with donations including 15,000 francs (\$3,000) from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and 8,000 florins (\$3,200) from the Ludwig-Missionsverein.⁸² In early 1848, Henni traveled to Europe to enhance his appeals by fundraising in person.

The Path to Belgium

There was no indication that Henni planned to visit Belgium in 1848. According to a story in the *Daily Wisconsin* printed prior to his departure for Europe, Henni's destinations were "Ireland, England, France, Switzerland, Germany and England."⁸³ He arrived in England on March 7, 1848 and then continued on through France to Rome shortly thereafter before arriving in Switzerland by the summer of 1848.⁸⁴ Over the next fourteen months, he traveled extensively including visits to Lyon and Munich.⁸⁵ In the fall of 1848, Henni wrote his friend Mueller at the Ludwig-Missionsverein providing updates on meetings and intended destinations. These letters trace a path from Switzerland to Belgium: beginning in late October with a report from St. Gall, Switzerland and followed by descriptions of meetings with bishops in Strasburg and Cologne reached by way of Metz and Trevis (Trier), a brief stay with the Redemptorists in Lüttich (Liege), and then on to the Jesuits in Brussels.⁸⁶ On December 10, 1848, Henni wrote Mueller from Brussels complaining that "Here I am with the Jesuits. With the collecting I am anything but pleased. I am a poor Beggar, do you think so?"⁸⁷ Henni noted further that should Mueller care to write

80. *Ibid.*, 51–55.

81. *Ibid.*, 88. In letters to Mueller (April 23, 1845; August 7, 1846) and to Anselm Lothar von Gebattel, Archbishop of Munich-Freising (April 24, 1845), Henni appealed for financial support for a new church and seminary. See letters in *Salesianum*.

82. Henni to Mueller, April 23, 1845, and Henni to Gebattel, October 14, 1845, in *Salesianum*.

83. Martin Marty, *Der Johann Martin Henni, Erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee* (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago, 1868), 184, for no mention of Belgium during the trip, see also 196.

84. *Ibid.*, 187–89; Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 88–89.

85. See Henni letters in *Salesianum*. On the absence of visits to the Leopoldinen-Stiftung, see Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 92.

86. See Henni to Mueller, October 26, 1848 (from St. Gall); "end of October" (Strasburg); December 10 (Brussels), in *Salesianum*.

87. Henni to Mueller, December 10, 1848, in *Salesianum*.

he could be reached care of Father P. [Paul] Hessels, the Jesuit Rector of the “College of Notre Dame (Rue de l’Empereur), Anvers, Belgique, where I shall go soon.”⁸⁸

Understanding Henni’s access to the Belgian funding network requires additional background on the Jesuit response to Swiss refugee issue. In late 1847, the Swiss Provincial, Father Anthony Minoux, had managed to get his charges out of Switzerland, but their exodus was haphazard and future uncertain. By the mid-1840s, the Jesuit presence in the Swiss Confederation had become a flashpoint in the political contestation between conservatives and liberals, divided largely along Catholic and Protestant lines, over cantonal and federal authority.⁸⁹ Radical liberal backlash and calls for Jesuit expulsion intensified in 1845 as seven Catholic cantons established their own association, the Sonderbund, in the name of protecting “cantonal agency, community sovereignty, and control over religious practices.”⁹⁰ In November 1846 as risks of expulsion increased, Roothaan had authorized Minoux to take whatever steps he deemed necessary to protect his charges. Minoux’s planning was thrown into disarray in November 1847 with the onset of the Sonderbund War, the defeat of the Catholic cantons, and the association’s collapse shortly thereafter. The Swiss Jesuits fled.⁹¹ By early 1848, Minoux, newly based in Strasburg, was exploring avenues for European resettlement for the Swiss Jesuits. With little success as political upheaval spread in Europe, Minoux shifted his sights to America.⁹²

Minoux’s preference was to keep the Swiss refugees together, ideally in a separate scholasticate under his control that would be able to house them all while also allowing for their return to Europe should conditions improve.⁹³ Minoux broached the idea of resettlement with Roothaan and the Belgian Provincial Franckeville, but, as he later explained, since “no one could offer me anything better” as far as “permanency anywhere in Europe” he focused his efforts on America.⁹⁴ The outreach to Franckeville can be interpreted in at least two ways. As discussed below, it likely

88. *Ibid.*

89. Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 100–05; Lerner, *A Laboratory of Liberty*, 270–77.

90. Lerner, *A Laboratory of Liberty*, 290–99 (quote 291).

91. *Ibid.*, 300–14; Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 108–12; See also, Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 524–25.

92. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 524–25; Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 111–12.

93. Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 421–23; Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 527–28, 531.

94. Minoux’s description of events as appearing in Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 527.

reflected Minoux's interest in the Missouri Vice-Province as a possible location. A second interpretation is that the outreach was an appeal to Franckeville for help to relocate possibly in Belgium.⁹⁵ As Schatz writes, Franckeville had "reacted dismissively to his [Minoux's] first request" of a possible resettlement in Belgium, leaving Minoux no choice but to look abroad to America.⁹⁶ Franckeville's position appeared to change in late May 1848 as the refugees were preparing to leave for America. According to Minoux, Franckeville came to him and offered to "keep the entire party" in the Belgian Province.⁹⁷ Yet the offer was too little too late. An advance Swiss contingent had left Antwerp in April, and Minoux, with assistance from Father Hessels in procuring an agent, had already booked passage for a larger group of over forty more refugees. Perhaps if the offer from Franckeville had come "fifteen days sooner" rather than "four days before" departure things might have worked out differently, Minoux later wrote, but such was not the case.⁹⁸

Elet had become aware of the Swiss Jesuit displacement in late 1847 and wrote to Minoux offering to resettle *some* of the personnel in the Missouri Vice-Province. Yet the planning and details that followed were anything but clear. On January 22, 1848, Minoux replied to Elet with an apology for not answering earlier. Minoux explained that he had been "expecting certain and definite direction from Rome on the subject of America in general and my province in particular" but in having received no reply had gone ahead and sent a first wave of "fathers, coadjutor-brothers and scholastics" on to Lyon. He further expressed his hope that Elet would be able to work out the details of the next steps of their journey with the Provincial of Lyon.⁹⁹ Elet had already met this first wave of Swiss Jesuits during his visit to the offices of the Society for the Propagation of

95. Both areas had been part of the Vice-Province of Switzerland, Lower and Upper Germany established in 1821 (which became a Province in 1826) until Belgian independence from the Kingdom of the United Netherlands and the creation of a separate Belgian Jesuit Province in 1832. Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 51–54. On this history and the influence of Swiss Jesuits in Belgium during the 1820s, and the return of displaced Dutch Jesuits from Switzerland in the 1830s, see Lindeijer, Luyten, and Suenens, "The Quick Downfall," 26, 32–34.

96. Schatz, *Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten*, 112.

97. Minoux's recounting of events in Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 527. For a claim that the Belgian Jesuits "were most willing to receive" forty-five displaced Swiss Jesuits in 1848, see Lindeijer, Luyten, and Suenens, "The Quick Downfall," 45.

98. From Minoux's standpoint, the passage had already been paid for and it was too late to recoup the funds. Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 1, 527, 529.

99. *Ibid.*, 525.

the Faith in early-January 1848, but was not fully prepared for what followed.¹⁰⁰ By March 1848, Elet and De Smet were back in Belgium having completed their fundraising efforts and were preparing to leave Antwerp to return home. Here Elet received a second letter from Minoux dated March 20, 1848, noting his plans for a second, larger wave of Swiss Jesuits.¹⁰¹ Elet and De Smet left Antwerp on April 3, 1848, accompanied by a small party from the initial group of refugees.¹⁰² Meanwhile, Minoux instructed the larger group to assemble in Antwerp in preparation for a late May departure to America. Although no details had been confirmed as to what would happen on their arrival, Minoux wrote to Elet from Antwerp on May 16, 1848, that this contingent would soon be on its way.¹⁰³ Weather delayed the departure until early June.

After seeing his charges off, Minoux left Belgium. In July 1848, with the status of the Swiss refugees still in flux, Minoux and Henni met in Munich.¹⁰⁴ Similar to Elet, Henni had become aware of the plight of the Swiss refugees during his travels and also saw in them the prospect of addressing critical personnel needs of his diocese. Minoux entered the meeting aware that the advance group of refugees in the Missouri Vice-Province had not been able to lay any groundwork for establishing an independent scholasticate. Although the larger group of Swiss refugees arrived in New York on July 19, news of the disarray that greeted them would not reach Minoux for several weeks.¹⁰⁵ Exactly what Henni and Minoux discussed in their meeting is not entirely clear. In a July 29, 1848 letter to Elet, Minoux mentioned that Henni had “‘offered me his hospital as a residence and place of shelter for my children. Is this agreeable to you?’”¹⁰⁶

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Ibid.* This group, including Fathers Frederick Hubner and Joseph Brunner, had left Antwerp with Elet and De Smet on April 3, 1848, and arrived in St. Louis on June 11.

103. Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 421; Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 529.

104. Garraghan offers no date or location. Johnson citing Garraghan states that the meeting took place in Munich. Travel itineraries along with dates of correspondence and the hospital offer noted below suggest July. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 352; Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 93

105. The larger group arrived only to find that no one had been made aware in time that they were coming. Moreover, there no instructions waiting from the Missouri Vice-Province, aside from an invitation to come immediately, or from the advance group. Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 422–23; Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 525, 530–31.

106. Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 423; Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 532. Garraghan does not mention any reply on the hospital offer and turns to a September 5, 1848 letter from Minoux to Elet inquiring about the status of his original plan that the first wave Jesuits were supposed to propose about establishing “a scholasticate under my charge, say in Chicago or

The hospital, St. John's Infirmary, was a recent undertaking, with Henni having only purchased the building in January 1848 and opened services with limited staff in May.¹⁰⁷ Roothaan later described the 1848 interaction between Minoux and Henni differently. In a letter to Elet dated January 27, 1849, Roothaan recounted the news he had just received from Minoux about the De Boey donation. He made no mention of the Henni hospital offer and instead wrote that "Even before Father Minoux had sent off his subjects to America, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee had asked him for men with whom to start a college in Milwaukee. The plan, however, could not be put into execution because the Bishop was without sufficient funds."¹⁰⁸

Although this post hoc recounting has become the basis of the conventional history, there is little supporting evidence. Minoux made no mention of such a proposal from Henni in his correspondence with Elet during 1848, nor did Henni in his letters to Mueller. It is likely that Henni raised the possibility of the Swiss Jesuits fulfilling his longtime goal of a German-language seminary during his meeting with Minoux. Similarly, Minoux likely recounted his frustrations to Henni concerning the events in Antwerp, the fate of the Swiss refugees in the Missouri Vice-Province, and his desire for an independent scholasticate. Yet five months would pass before Henni turned to Belgium seeking assistance. The delay suggests that Minoux had offered no encouragement for such a trip and that Henni did not anticipate Jesuit support.

The Path to De Boey

Johnson writes that "Henni was introduced to M. de Boey through the Jesuits in Antwerp."¹⁰⁹ He cites the pages of Garraghan's discussions of De Boey's assistance to the Belgian Jesuits, the Missouri Mission, and his long relationship with De Smet.¹¹⁰ Yet, none of these references offer a direct connection that would lead to an introduction. For example, De Boey's last support for the Missouri Vice-Province was the 1842 loan brokered by

Milwaukee." Garraghan notes further that Roothaan had written to Minoux in August supporting the position that Elet and Father Ignatius Brocard of the Maryland Province had taken emphasizing basic placement of the refugees and reluctance for a separate scholasticate. Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 533.

107. On the origins of the hospital, see Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 101-2; Marty, *Der Johann Martin Henni*, 204.

108. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2*(Cb37), 356.

109. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 94.

110. *Ibid.*, 212 note 48 (citing Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 372; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2* (Cb37), 353-55.

FIGURE 7. Father Paul Hessels, S.J., courtesy of KADOC-KU Leuven, Audiovisueel archief Vlaamse provincie van de Sociëteit van Jezus.

Franckeville that Elet was still struggling to service. Elet and De Smet had also left Antwerp in April 1848 with no evidence of their having met with or received any support from De Boey. Finally, there is no record of any relationship between Henni and De Smet at this time, let alone one that would lead to an introduction to De Boey.¹¹¹ Johnson also cites two letters between Henni and Mueller, the first dated December 10, 1848, already discussed above, and the second dated February 9, 1849. In both, the only content of potential relevance is a brief mention that Henni could be reached care of Father Hessels in Antwerp.¹¹²

Hessels was the critical conduit. As discussed in the next section, he also figured prominently as an intermediary in subsequent disputes over the donation in 1849. Few details are available on the relationship between

111. The Henni Papers in the AMA collection contain no correspondence with De Smet for this period. The Missouri Province Archive (Record Group 9, Smetiana) at JARC only contains a small number of entries involving Henni and De Smet beginning in 1852. For their interaction in the early 1850s, see Garraghan, "Marquette University," 439–40; Garraghan, *The Jesuits* 2 (Cb37), 375–76, 379–80, 385.

112. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 212 note 48 (Henni to Mueller December 10, 1848 and February 9, 1849); see also *Salesianum*. The ramifications of the second letter are discussed below.

Hessels and De Boey. Hessels would note years later that during the 1840s he had often approached De Boey, as he had others, to support Jesuit causes in Antwerp. De Boey also became his “penitent” and Hessels was at his side when he died in 1850.¹¹³ In December 1848, Henni stayed with Hessels during his fundraising trip to Antwerp and, having no prior connections, relied on his host’s knowledge of the city’s donors. As noted above, Hessels had worked with Minoux to arrange passage for the Swiss refugees to flee through Antwerp. He also was well aware of the failure of the Belgian Provincial to act in time to prevent the diaspora and the shortcomings of Missouri Vice-Province in meeting their needs on arrival, and would have certainly shared these experiences with his guest. Henni undoubtedly expressed his sympathies over the refugees’ plight, described the needs of his diocese along with his dream of a German-language scholasticate, and mentioned the possible roles that the displaced Jesuits could play if only he had the resources. De Boey with his long support of the Missouri Vice-Province was a logical person for Henni to meet if only for a discussion of shared interests and concerns. Hessels made the introduction and Henni left Antwerp with an unprecedented gift, rather than a loan, for a nonexistent college in a state where neither the donor nor the Belgian Jesuits had any prior connection.

The Network Reacts

Back in Cologne by January 12, 1849, Henni wrote to Mueller sharing his good fortune. He noted his intent to purchase land for the college with the initial 15,000 francs (\$3,000) he had received from De Boey and to travel to Strasburg to meet with Minoux “to get some members of his province to start the college.”¹¹⁴ Henni conveyed little sense of understanding the ramifications of what had just happened in Antwerp or any inkling of how to engage with the Jesuit organizational structure linking Europe to the Missouri Vice-Province. For Henni the donation was a gift to establish a college with few if any strings attached. As he noted to Mueller, “the only condition is that two holy Masses have to be said every week for the future.”¹¹⁵

113. See Hessels’s testimony during 1860s criminal and civil trials contesting the handling of the De Boey estate, in Gustave Lemaire, *L’Affaire De Buck: Interposition de personne au profit de l’ordre des Jésuites, Comte-Rendu Exact et Complet extrait des documents officiels* (Bruxelles, 1868), 12, 23, 160. For a summary and broader analysis of the politicization of the trials, see Kristien Suenens, “Het Proces-De Buck (1864–1868). Een erfenisproces als inzet van het klerikaal-liberale conflict in België,” *Trajecta*, 14 (2005), 1: 3–24.

114. Henni to Mueller, January 12, 1849, in *Salesianum*.

115. *Ibid.*

Adding Intermediaries in Missouri

From the outset, Henni began to lose control over the donation process. Mueller immediately notified Minoux of the donation and Henni's desire to meet. Minoux, in turn, wrote to Elet and Roothaan. On January 18, 1849, Minoux shared with Elet the preemptive message he had sent to Henni, dissuading the bishop from pursuing a meeting. Since Wisconsin was in the territory of the Missouri Vice-Province, Minoux had noted, any direct discussions with Henni would be "useless" and that all future deliberations over the proposed college were to be through Elet.¹¹⁶ Henni's reaction was muted. On January 24, 1849, he wrote to Mueller briefly noting the response and expressing the hope that Minoux would at least advocate for the Milwaukee project.¹¹⁷ With progress towards a college seemingly out of his hands for the moment, Henni continued his European fundraising efforts before returning to the United States in April and, following meetings, to Milwaukee in May 1849.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, Minoux in his letter to Elet had also expressed his interest in the proposed college as a possible solution for the displaced Swiss Jesuits.¹¹⁹ Roothaan having heard from Minoux about the donation also wrote to Elet on January 27, 1849, with the same message, and in stronger terms called on Elet to place "no obstacle in the way" of the Swiss Jesuits obtaining the college in Milwaukee.¹²⁰ Initially, Elet was less than supportive. His reply to Minoux on March 1, 1849, sought to dissuade interest in the project by raising concerns over the veracity of Henni's support for the Jesuits, noting the poor socioeconomic conditions in Wisconsin, and by offering alternatives, including colleges and schools already under the Vice-Province's administration in Bardstown and Louisville, Kentucky.¹²¹ In his reply to Roothaan on March 16, 1849, Elet was much more conciliatory. He noted his support for the Swiss Jesuits and the alternatives he had shared with Minoux, but stressed that he would move the Wisconsin project forward as directed.¹²²

116. Minoux to Elet, January 18, 1849, in Garraghan, *The Jesuits2*(Cb37), 353.

117. Henni to Mueller, January 24, 1849, in *Salesianum*.

118. Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 94–95. In his February 9, 1849 letter to Mueller (*Salesianum*), Henni wrote that he could be reached in Lyon, Paris, and, by end of March, care of Hessels in, Antwerp. This suggests either a return visit possibly to work out donation details or simply an Antwerp port departure. Garraghan makes no mention of a March 1849 visit.

119. See Minoux to Elet, January 18, 1849, in Garraghan, *The Jesuits2*(Cb37), 353.

120. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2*(Cb37), 356–57.

121. *Ibid.*, 355–56.

122. *Ibid.*, 353, 355–58.

After meeting with Henni in Milwaukee in June 1849, Elet came away with a more positive take on the project. In a July 15, 1849 letter to Minoux he shared his enthusiasm and approval. However, noting that the proposed role for the Swiss Jesuits was only based on a verbal arrangement with Henni, he also encouraged Minoux to dispatch representatives to Wisconsin to work out the details of the college "in writing."¹²³ On August 18, 1849, with Minoux's support, Elet sent a delegation of Swiss Jesuits, Fathers Joseph Brunner, Frederick Hubner, and Anthony Anderledy, to Milwaukee with guidelines for discussing the new college.¹²⁴ Yet when they arrived, rather than addressing these guidelines Henni expressed his desire that the Jesuits begin groundwork for the college immediately. With details still to be addressed concerning the operation and ownership of the college, and illness affecting Huber and Brunner, no agreement was reached and progress stalled.¹²⁵

Adding Intermediaries in Belgium

The absence of agreement, let alone one approved by De Boey, Minoux, or Roothaan,¹²⁶ had not prevented Henni from moving forward. On August 5, he purchased a house and eight adjoining lots that he mentioned during Elet's visit as an initial location for the college.¹²⁷ Henni had completed part of the transaction in July with a down payment of \$2775.70 drawn against De Boey's 15,000 franc note.¹²⁸ In a letter dated July 27, 1849, Henni's financial agent in New York acknowledged receipt on July 19 of the draft as well as the bill of exchange for 15,000 francs on the De Boey account in Antwerp, and expressed the intent to honor a likely second draft once it arrived. The letter also noted that they had sent an inquiry to Antwerp as to

123. *Ibid.*, 358–60. The date of the site visit is noted as July in Garraghan "Marquette University," 428; and June in Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 358–59; and Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 95.

124. Garraghan, "Marquette University," 428–29; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 361–62.

125. Garraghan, "Marquette University," 429–30; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 361–64; Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 95.

126. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 362–63.

127. Garraghan, "Marquette University," 435; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 368; Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier*, 95.

128. The payment was to Joshua Hathaway, the local agent for the New York and Wisconsin Land Company. On the transaction see, Letter from New York (sender's name is unclear in handwriting) to Henni, July 27, 1849, AMA, MC 15, Henni, John Martin, Papers, 1831–1883, Box 1, File 12, Correspondence Calendared Letters, 1844–1879, #346. On Hathaway, see James Smith Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee: Milwaukee under the Charter 1847–1853*, Volume III (Milwaukee, 1884), 336, 359–60, 430.

the process for accessing the remaining 60,000 francs (\$12,000) and would notify Henni once they received a reply but did not expect an answer until early September.¹²⁹ Since the first request for payment had used up much of the original note,¹³⁰ the second draft and the inquiry to Antwerp concerning the remainder of the donation prompted a backlash.

Hessels wrote Henni expressing De Boey's displeasure with the repeated requests for funding including cashing the initial annuity before its maturity and especially before an agreement had been reached on the final details of the college.¹³¹ Anderledy described what followed in a September 17, 1849 letter to Minoux. Uncertain as to how to respond, Henni had acted on Hessel's advice to draft a letter to De Boey with his recollection of the details of the donation and turned to Anderledy for assistance.¹³² These details were specifics that the Swiss Jesuits had been requesting from Henni since their arrival. That Hessels had requested such a step also suggests that the Belgian Jesuits were seeking to clarify what Henni understood regarding the arrangement with De Boey. The details as recounted by Henni and drafted by Anderledy included provisions for Masses, a college church or chapel, and, most important, the college's administration and control. The latter specified "That the college shall *belong* to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, the administration of it to be therefore in the hands of the Fathers of said Society [emphasis added]."¹³³ Yet as later revealed by Franckeville, this language on ownership was incorrect since "nothing to this effect was stipulated when the Bishop was in the country [Belgium]."¹³⁴ According to Franckeville, De Boey's desire was that the college would "provide a foundation for Masses in rather large numbers," while the Jesuits were looking to place the Swiss refugees. An administrative role would serve this purpose, he noted, more than the additional pressures of ownership.¹³⁵ Having already risked alienating De Boey,

129. New York to Henni, July 27, 1849.

130. Depending on conversion rates discussed above, the first claim of \$2,775.70 would have been the equivalent of between 13,011 and 15,000 francs.

131. See Anderledy to Minoux, September 17, 1849, in Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 362–65.

132. *Ibid.*, 363.

133. *Ibid.*, 363.

134. Franckeville to Brunner, October 12, 1849, in Garraghan, *The Jesuits2*, 369; Garraghan, "Marquette University," 435.

135. *Ibid.* Franckeville's description of what was agreed to while Henni was in Belgium raises more questions than it answers. Either Hessels provided the information from the December meeting, Franckeville was there, or there was a follow-up meeting in late March (see note 118 above). Regardless, if such information existed, it had not been shared with Roothaan, Minoux, or Elet.

at least according to Hessels, Henni agreed to Anderledy's draft with the more restrictive language.¹³⁶

With this draft in hand, Franckeville stepped in to formalize the final contract. In addition to the provisions noted above, the contract specified De Boey's commitment to pay "the sum total of 75,000 francs in annuities of fifteen thousand francs each year to wit, 15,000 in 1849, 15,000 in 1850, 15,000 in 1851, 15,000 in 1852, 15,000 in 1853, notice to be given thirty days in advance and no allowance to be made for the cost of exchange or other costs."¹³⁷ Henni had already received and exceeded the 1849 annuity and after hearing of De Boey's displeasure with his financial transactions did not question this schedule. Henni signed the contract on September 16, 1849, and wrote to De Boey thanking him and apologizing again for the financial misunderstanding.¹³⁸ Yet even with these details sorted, the college project faced more delays. As conditions improved in Europe, Minoux began to withdraw the Swiss Jesuits back home beginning in late 1849 and into 1850, and with their departure Roothaan withdrew his support for the college.¹³⁹

Epilogue

De Boey died on February 27, 1850, with the donation incomplete. On April 19, 1850, Franckeville notified Henni of De Boey's death and that he had been verbally entrusted by the estate to work with Elet to complete the donation. Franckeville listed 45,000 francs (\$9,000) as the outstanding amount and suggested that this might be disbursed along the lines of the original contract at 15,000 francs per year though he would be working out the exact details with Elet.¹⁴⁰ The reference to 45,000 francs is plausible given Henni's two prior transactions that exceeded the initial annuity as discussed above. But some of these funds would disappear in the final transmission to Henni.

136. Anderledy's letter to Minoux also noted that Henni had wanted but did not include language concerning the reversion of the college to him, should the Jesuits be driven out of the country. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 363–64.

137. Franckeville to Brunner, October 12, 1849, in Garraghan, "Marquette University," 435; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 369.

138. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 368–70.

139. Garraghan, "Marquette University," 436–37; Garraghan, *The Jesuits1*, 538–41; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Cb37)*, 370–71.

140. Franckeville to Henni, April 19, 1850, AMA, MC 15, Henni, John Martin, papers, 1831–1883, Box 4, File 1, #41 (original in French); typed English translation is available in Box 4, File 8.

According to Garraghan, Henni received the remainder of the donation in December 1850 routed through the Belgian Province and Missouri Vice-Province. On August 7, 1850, Father John B. Druyts, President of St. Louis University, wrote Bishop Van de Velde in Chicago with instructions to complete the transaction by transferring the “money or as much of it as remained uncollected (\$7,533) to Henni as ‘full payment’ of the De Boey ‘legacy.’”¹⁴¹ On December 12, “Henni signed a receipt for the money ‘being the balance (in full) of the grant made by Monsieur Chevalier G J De Boey of Antwerp in behalf of the Marquette College at Milwaukee in the State of Wisconsin.’”¹⁴² This payment was less than the amount promised by Franckeville in April. Without any recourse, Henni made no mention of the shortfall. That same month he used the funds to purchase land better suited for the college than the property he had purchased in 1849.¹⁴³

With the Swiss Jesuits no longer available for the college, Henni turned to the Missouri Vice-Province in renewed deliberations. By 1856, negotiations between Henni and Elet’s successor as Vice-Provincial, Father William Stack Murphy, had resulted in an expanded Jesuit presence in Milwaukee at St. Gall’s church and the creation of a “deed of trust” for the college property. In 1864 even though the college was not yet established, the Wisconsin legislature approved its incorporation by the Jesuits. After further deliberations, Henni turned over the deed to the Jesuits in 1868. Additional delays would hinder progress until Marquette College finally opened in 1881.¹⁴⁴

Conclusion

Although typically framed as a fundraising success, the De Boey donation to Bishop Henni was also a disruptive shock to the Belgian Jesuit funding network for overseas missions. Fractures over the handling of the Swiss refugee issue enabled outsider access to a Belgian private donor net-

141. Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 437; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 373.

142. *Ibid.*

143. Garraghan notes the land cost \$11,000, or roughly \$3,500 more than what Henni received in December. The financial picture is confused further by Henni’s claims during deliberations with the Vice-Province in 1856 that he still retained \$5,000 of the De Boey donation. Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 385–86; see also Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 445; Jablonsky, *Milwaukee’s Jesuit University*, 22.

144. Although Roothaan continued to resist the project until his death in 1853, his successor, Father Peter Beckx, reflecting on changing conditions in the Vice-Province and Henni’s offers of property for a church as well as the college, was more supportive. Garraghan, “Marquette University,” 438–46; Garraghan, *The Jesuits2(Ch37)*, 372–88.

work that had taken decades to build. Jesuit leadership reacted to the disruption with surprise followed by efforts to reassert control. Financial missteps by Henni in 1849 soured his relationship with De Boey and created opportunities for Jesuits in Missouri and Belgium to install intermediaries in the donation process. These intermediaries formalized more restrictive terms for the donation in line with network priorities and shaped the path and extent of its final disbursement.

Revisiting the donation offers a window into understudied aspects of the role of private donor networks in supporting the overseas missions of the Society of Jesus. Scholarship on Jesuit finances has emphasized the importance of private donors for the missions and the challenges in building and maintaining support networks. Finding potential donors and navigating their stipulations were challenges that often paled in the face of greater threats posed by anti-Jesuit backlash, the complexity of nationalistic agendas interwoven in private and public patronage, pressures from Rome, and competition from rival fundraising networks.¹⁴⁵ This article calls attention to ways in which divisions within networks over funding priorities and practices created additional challenges.

Although committed to supporting overseas missions, the Jesuit Superior General, Belgian Provincial, other Belgian Jesuits, Missouri Vice-Provincial and other Missouri Jesuits had different expectations at times as to mission priorities and what such support ideally entailed. Financial shortfalls in the Vice-Province exacerbated these differences and requests for additional financial assistance were met with increased resistance and restrictions on accessing private Belgian donors. The external shock of the 1848 revolutions in Europe and the dislocation of the Swiss Jesuits increased these tensions further. Along with suggesting potential opportunities, the dislocation added to financial needs of the Missouri Vice-Province and brought the Swiss Provincial and his representatives in as new Jesuit actors seeking support from the Belgian funding network affecting its deliberations with unexpected results.

These findings suggest the need for further research revisiting the financing of Jesuit overseas missions through private donor networks, and exploring the challenges posed by tensions within the formal and informal hierarchies linking Jesuit leadership in Europe to operations abroad. The transformations of overseas missions in America into Vice-Provinces and

145. On the renewed interest in early modern mission financing and issues of private donors, see the literature overview in Vermote, "Finances of the Missions."

Provinces as operations expanded during the nineteenth century also increased funding needs, appeals for European and local support, and tensions over mission priorities. The article's focus on the external and internal challenges faced by the Belgian funding network offers a starting point for inquiry into the extent to which similar patterns affected English, French, and other private donor networks behind Jesuit missions in America. Appeals to the Jesuit networks for educational assistance figure prominently in this article and also merit further exploration as points of network tension due to the centrality of education to mission, extensive financial needs, and outsider appeals for Jesuit support. Further study has the potential to reveal network successes and failures and expand the reach of Jesuit historiography on the funding of overseas missions.

An Investigation into the *Histoire de la mission de Pékin, 1924–1932*

HSIN-FANG WU*

*In 1924, the Propaganda Fide launched an investigation into a book entitled *Histoire de la mission de Pékin* published under the name of A. Thomas. “Thomas” was rumored to be a pseudonym of Jean-Marie-Vincent Planchet, a French Lazarist living in Beijing with a reputation for taking anti-Jesuit stances. The investigation lasted for nearly a decade, finally ending in 1932 when the Propaganda Fide concluded that Planchet was the book author because of his supposed confession and ordered him to leave China. This paper studies the process of this investigation, which evolved from a debate over the book’s authorship into an examination of a whole host of issues, including indigenization and the French Religious Protectorate, that impacted China’s Catholic communities from the 1920s to the early 1930s.*

Keywords: Jean-Marie-Vincent Planchet, Anti-Jesuit, Celso Costantini, French Religious Protectorate, Indigenization

In November 1923, in Rome, an unexpected package was delivered to the desk of Willem Marinus van Rossum, prefect of the Propaganda Fide. Its contents were a book titled *Histoire de la mission de Pékin, depuis les origines jusqu’à l’arrivée des Lazaristes* (hereafter abbreviated ‘*Histoire*’) with the author listed as A. Thomas. The book was accompanied by a letter from Scheut Superior General Joseph Rutten.¹ In the letter, Rutten, who had spent two decades in China and was familiar with missionary politics there, claimed that the *Histoire* was regrettable and an unprovoked attack on the

*Dr. Wu is assistant professor in the Graduate Institute of Religious Studies at the National Chengchi University in Taiwan (email: hfwu@nccu.edu.tw). The author would like to thank Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, Albert Wu, Xueying Wang, Yifu Liu, Li-Chuan Tai, and Ryan Holroyd, who tirelessly suffered through many drafts of the paper and pushed the analysis further. Many thanks go to the audience at the 2019 summer workshop held by the USF Ricci Institute, the anonymous reviewers, and the editor-in-chief of the *Catholic Historic Review*, who made valuable suggestions that broadened and sharpened the paper.

1. Letter from Rutten to van Rossum, November 5, 1923, Vatican City, Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide (hereafter referred to as APF), Nova Serie (hereafter referred to as N.S.), vol. 807, pp. 482–83.

Society of Jesus. He found that in the book, the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were described as the rebels against the papal decrees related to the Chinese rites.² They had intercepted the pontifical bulls and oppressed their opponents and other missionaries in China. Moreover, they had covered up these crimes by distorting the history of the China mission. In the next letters, Rutten claimed that the author was not Thomas, but Jean-Marie-Vincent Planchet, a French Lazarist priest living in Beijing with a reputation for taking anti-Jesuit stances. Rutten worried that once Planchet's authorship was publicly known, it would provoke a storm of protest from the Jesuits and have a lethal effect on the First Plenary Council, a nationwide meeting of Catholic leadership to be held in Shanghai from May 15 to June 12, 1924.³ The Propaganda Fide quickly began an investigation and concluded the case before the opening of the council.⁴ The *Histoire* was removed from circulation in China due to its anti-Jesuit narratives and its violation of canon law requiring an imprimatur for any ecclesiastical historical writing. Planchet was not, however, held accountable for its authorship. He was merely identified by the investigation as a collaborator who had shared his notes with Thomas. The case seemed to be settled, but in 1927, the investigation was resumed due to the unexpected publication of a second volume of the *Histoire* two years earlier. This time, the investigation concluded that Planchet was the author, based on his private confession, and ordered him to leave China in 1932.

Since the investigation, historians and librarians have generally agreed that Planchet was the *Histoire's* author, and that "Thomas" was a pseudonym he adopted to escape the Catholic Church's publishing regulations. However, this article discusses other possibilities of authorship based on the reports submitted to the Propaganda Fide by missionaries of different religious orders and by Celso Costantini, the first apostolic delegate to China. These reports, which are preserved in the Propaganda Fide Historical Archives and Vatican Apostolic Archives, not only present a multi-faceted picture of the authorship debate, but also provide a window into the world in which the *Histoire* was produced, circulated, and read in the 1920s and 1930s.⁵

2. For a general survey and scholarship of the Chinese Rites Controversy, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume 1: 635–1800 (Leiden, 2001), 680–88.

3. Van Rossum's Reply to Rutten, N. 3785–23, December 10, 1923; Rutten's Reply to van Rossum, December 17, 1923; and Rutten's Reply to van Rossum, December 20, 1923; APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 484, 505–06, and 507–08, respectively.

4. Letter from van Rossum, N. 1341–24, April 14, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 602–05.

5. The related documents are in the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (hereafter referred to as AAV), Archivio della nunziatura apostolica in Cina, 1922–1933 (hereafter referred to as

During these decades, the China mission faced both external and internal crises.⁶ Widespread anti-Christian movements fueled by rising Chinese nationalism and the political turmoil that continued even after the unification of China in 1928 created uncertainties for the mission. Friction between missionaries of different orders over preaching strategies and jurisdictions reached an unprecedented height. The Vatican's struggles with the French Religious Protectorate, through which the French authorities and missionaries claimed their guarding role for all Catholics in China, cast a shadow over the papal commitment to the training of native clergy and the creation of an indigenous church in China. In this context, the investigation of the *Histoire* went beyond its original goal of identifying the author. It revealed a more sophisticated political and religious situation in China with which the Catholic Church was coping. By examining the publication of the *Histoire* and the investigation's reports, this article showcases a microcosm of the power struggles among the missionaries of different orders, as well as the representatives of France and the Vatican, over the historical interpretation of the mission and its ecclesiastical hierarchy.

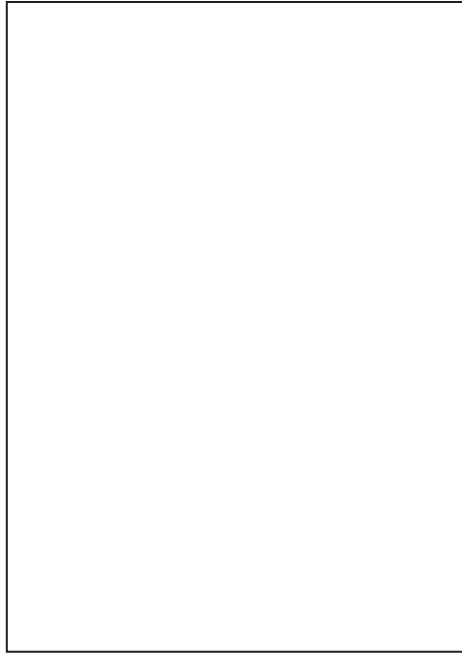
The Book

The two-volume *Histoire* was printed in 1923 and 1925 with the author given as "A. Thomas."⁷ The first volume, priced at 15 francs, was published by Louis-Michaud, a Parisian publisher whose main publishing interest was poetry anthologies. In the second volume, however, the pub-

Arch.Nunz.cina). Most of the documents used in this paper can be both found in the APF and AAV, which have identical copies with some exceptions. In the footnotes, the two numbers will be supplied with annotations if needed.

6. For a quick reference to recent scholarship on the key issues that the Catholic Church faced in the 1920s and early 1930s, such as indigenization, the French Religious Protectorate, and the relations with the Nationalist government and the Chinese Communist Party, see Rolf Gerhard Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume Two: *1800 to the Present* (Leiden, 2010), 669–781. For the thematic studies on the French Religious Protectorate and indigenization debates that this article particularly deals with, see Ernest Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (Oxford, 2013); Albert Monshan Wu, "The Quest for an 'Indigenous Church': German Missionaries, Chinese Christians, and the Indigenization Debates of the 1920s," *The American Historical Review*, 122, no. 1 (2017), 85–114.

7. Two book reviews on the *Histoire* published in 1923 praised its informative content. "Notes bibliographiques," *La Croix*, 6 (November 15, 1923); "Review by A. Houtin," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 89 (1924), 270–71. The historian Kenneth Latourette cited the *Histoire*, particularly the part about the Chinese Rites Controversy, in his momentous book, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York, 1929), chapters 7–8. It is worth noting that these three references did not identify Planchet as the book author.



Title page of the *Histoire de la mission de Pékin*, 1923 version. Image courtesy of the author.

lisher's name was not found. One line at the bottom of the second volume's title page draws readers' attention. It reads, "Privately printed. This work is not for sale."⁸

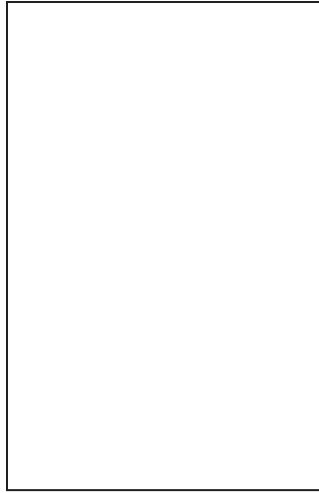
The first volume consists of six sections: an introduction to China and Chinese religions; the Franciscan mission in Beijing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the Jesuit mission and the establishment of the episcopacy in Beijing (1601–90); the questions of the Chinese rites (1690–1722); the persecutions of Christians from the death of the Kangxi emperor to the suppression of the Jesuit mission (1723–73); and the period from the Jesuit suppression to the arrival of the Lazarists (1773–85). The second volume titled *Histoire de la mission de Pékin: depuis l'arrivée des Lazarists jusqu'à la révolte des boxeurs* continues the story to the end of the

8. The address of Louis-Michaud was 168, Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris. The two volumes were printed at the same printing shop, Imprimerie de la Presse Française, at 10, Faubourg Montmartre, Paris.

nineteenth century. It is divided into four time periods: the period from the arrival of the Lazarists in Beijing to the closure of the former Jesuit churches (1785–1838); the period from the arrival of Lazarist Joseph-Martial Mouly, who was appointed as the apostolic administrator of Beijing in 1846 and the first vicar apostolic of Northern Zhili in 1856, to the persecutions in the 1850s (1835–56); the period from the division of the Beijing diocese into three vicariates apostolic to Mouly's death (1856–69); and the period from the nomination of Lazarist Louis-Gabriel Delaplace as the vicar apostolic to the Boxer Uprising (1870–1900).

In the preface to the first volume, Thomas stated his reasons for writing a book on the Beijing mission. Most of the earlier works on the topic were either unavailable or out of date at his time. Those works that had survived overemphasized Jesuits' evangelization in the seventeenth century and downplayed the roles of other Catholic missions to China including, for instance, the Franciscan mission in the thirteenth century, which had gained thousands of converts and even built a flourishing archbishopric in Beijing. Thomas believed that "history is a severe teacher; it must not degenerate into an apology. And only the divine truth is immaculate; every human being, every human work, even the holiest one has its stains. Therefore, it is still a service to the Church to expound impartially the virtues and faults of its best workers: the only legitimate and valid explanation of long periods with lack of success and with cruel setback."⁹ He thus argued that knowledge of the unsuccessful experiences and rivalries among missionaries in China that had been rarely mentioned in the previous writings, in particular those during the Chinese Rites Controversy, could benefit readers and the Church. By collecting a number of unedited and unpublished church documents, as well as the latest research by other scholars, he claimed to present a more balanced and complete picture of the mission. However, these church sources made the Church suspicious about his identity. Since 1742, the Church had forbidden further discussion of the Chinese Rites Controversy, and the related documents had not been circulated outside the Church. How could he have had access to these internal documents? His identity was under suspicion, resulting in an investigation that lasted nearly a decade.

9. A. Thomas, *Histoire de la mission de Pékin: depuis les origines jusqu'à l'arrivée des Lazaristes* (Paris: 1923), I, 6. The book was translated into English by Hippolyte Henk de Cuijpers and revised by John E. Rybolt, C.M., 3 vols. (2019). It is available at: http://works.bepress.com/john_rybolt/111/



Joseph Rutten, missionary and Superior General of the *Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae*, 1920–1930. Image courtesy of the CICM.

Rutten's Alarm

Rutten was a Belgian Scheut missionary, devoting himself to the Inner Mongolian mission from 1901 to 1920. While he returned to Europe in 1920 for his new appointment as the Scheut superior general, he still kept his eye on China and continued fundraising for the Scheut medical mission there. When he came across the *Histoire*, the book's anti-Jesuit narratives reminded him of the inter-order conflicts that had obstructed the development of the China mission during his time as a missionary.

The inter-order conflicts can be traced back to the seventeenth century when the China mission was entangled in theological debates over the Chinese rites and competitions over spheres of influence among nations and religious orders. These issues continued fermenting in Rome and partially led to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. When the papal bull suppressing the Jesuit order was announced in China in 1775, the French Jesuit properties and posts in Beijing were transferred to the French Lazarists.¹⁰ The Society of Jesus was restored in 1814, but the

10. About the property conflicts following the Jesuit China mission's suppression, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Jesuit Survival and Restoration in China," in: *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, eds. Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright (Leiden, 2014), 245–60.

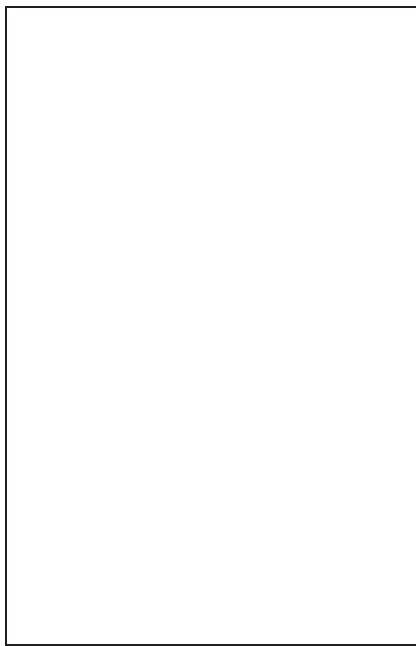
China mission was not resumed until the arrival of three French Jesuits in Shanghai in 1842.¹¹ In hopes of returning to Beijing, the Jesuits contacted Mouly, who administered the Beijing mission at the time. Mouly did not view the Jesuits' plan positively, and urged them to stay instead in Shanghai for the benefit of the Church. The Jesuits agreed.

In 1856, a transcription error related to missionary jurisdiction brought the inter-order conflicts to a head. That year, the Propaganda Fide reorganized the China mission into apostolic vicariates under its direct control. The former Beijing diocese was divided into three vicariates: Northern, Southwestern, and Southeastern Zhili. The French Jesuits took charge of the last vicariate, while the French Lazarists administered the first two. When copies of the decree were sent to the Jesuits and Lazarists, a transcription error was made relating to the assignment of Southwestern Zhili. In Mouly's copy of the decree, Southwestern Zhili was to be administered by the Lazarists. In the copy given to the Jesuits, it was to be administered by the Jesuits. The Propaganda Fide quickly recognized the error in the Jesuit copy and sent a corrected copy. Although the Jesuits were in no way responsible for this transcription error, it had a toxic effect on their relationship with the Lazarists. In the Lazarist accounts, the error was viewed as evidence of the Jesuits' unabated scheming to return to Beijing. This suspicion on the part of the Lazarists paved the way for lingering distrust toward the Jesuits into the early twentieth century.¹²

Rutten was familiar with this. His experience with the China mission, along with his love for the Church and maybe unspoken worries about the ongoing Scheut China mission, prompted him to take action. In his letter to van Rossum, prefect of the Propaganda Fide, dated November 5, 1923, he argued that Thomas was merely a proofreader and that the real author was a French Lazarist priest living in Beijing. Rather than digging into the authorship issue, his letter put the emphasis on the potential danger the book posed to the China mission. He agreed with the book's methodology that human mistakes should be identified. However, he pointed out that

11. For the latest and exhaustive research on the restored Jesuit missions in China, see David Strong, S.J., *A Call to Mission: A History of Jesuits in China, 1842–1954*, 2 vols. (Ade-laide, 2018).

12. For Thomas's description about the division of the Beijing diocese, see Thomas, *Histoire*, II, 331–46. This transcription error was first presented through original correspondences among the Lazarists, the Jesuits, and the Propaganda Fide, in Lazarist Gabriel Perboyre, *Mémoires de la congrégation de la mission*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1863–68), VIII, 1078–116. For the Jesuit version of the transcription error, see Jesuit Auguste Colombel, *Histoire de la mission de Kiang-nan*, 5 vols. (Zi-ka-wei, 1894–1905), III, 554–58.



Archbishop Celso Costantini. Société des Auxiliaires des Missions (SAM) China Photograph Collection, Whitworth University Library, Spokane. <https://digitalcommons.whitworth.edu/album05/3/>

the issues broached in the book, in particular the Chinese Rites Controversy, were historical questions that had been resolved by the papal decrees. Nowadays, all missionaries in China, including the Jesuits, strictly observed papal instructions without dissent. In Rutten's view, the book's author simply exploited these historical issues to encourage readers' distrust of the Jesuits instead of attempting to establish the truth.

Making the situation worse, the untimely publication of the *Histoire* in 1923 posed a threat to the upcoming Plenary Council in 1924. The council, headed by Costantini, was intended to promote the indigenization of clergy and foster the cooperation among religious orders that had been outlined in Pope Benedict XV's 1919 encyclical, *Maximum illud*.¹³ During

13. For the survey of the council, see Paul Jiyou Wang, *Le Premier Concile Plénier Chinois (1924): droit canonique missionnaire forgé en Chine* (Paris, 2010). For Costantini's contribution in the council, see the special issue titled "Cardinal Celso Costantini and the Chinese Catholic Church" of *Tripod*, 28, no. 148 (2008); Liu Guopeng [刘国鹏], *Gang Hengyi yu*

his preparation for the council, Costantini had toured vicariates and prefectures across China, collecting questions and information. Rutten heard that Costantini frequently praised the Jesuits in public for their missionary success, which somewhat led to a rumor that the new apostolic delegate would favor the Jesuits in the council, particularly in one of the urgent issues to be discussed: the establishment of a Catholic university.

The proposal for establishing a Catholic university was first raised in 1912 by two Catholic intellectuals, Ma Xiangbo, an ex-Jesuit and founder of Aurora University in Shanghai, and Ying Lianzhi, a Manchu educator and publisher, who had submitted a joint petition to Pope Pius X requesting a Catholic university in China.¹⁴ In their proposal, the two intellectuals lamented that Catholic missionaries had rejected an invitation from the Qing court to teach at the Imperial University of Peking. They had failed to take advantage of the opportunity to teach elite Chinese students and thus gain influence over Chinese politics and society. As the Republic of China, which had been established in 1912, was desperate for a greater number of competent civil servants for the new regime, the Catholic Church, Ma and Ying argued, should take advantage of this new opportunity and begin participating more in higher education. Their petition did not bring about any immediate change. In 1917, Ying again raised the issue in a harsher tone.¹⁵ He admired the former Jesuits in the Ming and Qing dynasties who had proven that their scientific apostolate had won them the respect of the mandarins and literati and ushered in a prosperous era for the China mission. However, the current missionaries, in particular the French Lazarists in Beijing, were engrossed in inter-order competitions and had failed to learn from history. They were afraid that praising or adopting the former Jesuit strategy would undermine their dominant position in China. Rutten shared Ma's and Ying's view and was aware that the inter-order friction continued at the expense of the mission's development into the 1920s.

Zhongguo tianzhujiao de bendihua [刚恒毅与中国天主教的本地化] [Celso Costantini and the Indigenization of the Catholic Church in China] (Beijing, 2011), 101–69. My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for the reference.

14. Ma Xiangbo [馬相伯] and Yi Lianzhi [英斂之], “Shang jiaozong qiu wei Zhongguo xingxue shu” [上教宗求為中國興學書] [A Petition to the Pope Regarding Establishing Schools in China], in *Ma Xiangbo ji* [馬相伯集] [The Work of Ma Xiangbo], ed. Zhu Weizheng (Shanghai, 1996), 115–17.

15. Ying Lianzhi, “Quanxue zuian” [勸學罪言] [Exhortation to Study] and “Fu youren bo ‘quanxue zuian’ shu” [覆友人駁勸學罪言書] [A Reply to a Friend's Opposition to “Exhortation to Study”], in *Ying Lianzhi ji* [英斂之集] [The Work of Ying Lianzhi], ed. Zhou Pingping, 2 vols. (Guilin, 2013), II, 581–603.

Rutten's letter was enough to cause van Rossum to become concerned, so he wrote a reply demanding that Rutten disclose the name of the purported author.¹⁶ Rutten's second letter, dated December 17, 1923, claimed Planchet as the author.¹⁷ Three days later, he wrote another letter providing more evidence to support this claim.¹⁸ From his reading of the book and analysis of the sources, he inferred that the author must be a French priest and a missionary who had lived in China. He also must have close relationships with Christian families in Beijing and must have conducted historical research. The author was also obviously familiar with the Chinese Romanization system used by the Lazarists. Most critically, according to Rutten, the author held an anti-Jesuit stance. Not many people had all of these characteristics. Rutten concluded that Planchet was the strongest candidate.

Born in Jonzieux, France, in 1870, Jean-Marie-Vincent Planchet entered a Lazarist seminary in Paris in 1889 and joined the China mission in 1893.¹⁹ Before his return to France in 1932, he mainly stayed in Beijing, serving as the Beijing vicariate's procurator and editing two Lazarist-run publications: a monthly periodical, *Le bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, and a yearbook, *Les missions de Chine et du Japon*. Planchet was also a prolific researcher of missionary history in China. However, his work, particularly regarding the history of the former Jesuit mission, was filled with animosity toward the Jesuits. He criticized the former Jesuits for their ineffective scientific apostolate and poor number of conversions, which were an embarrassment to the Jesuits, Chinese Catholics, and some of his Lazarist confreres as well.²⁰

To prove Planchet's authorship, Rutten identified the similarities between passages in the *Histoire* and those in other works published under Planchet's name. Some of Planchet's sentences were reproduced verbatim in the *Histoire* without any reference to their origin, and others were slightly rewritten. Furthermore, Rutten noticed the similar antagonism

16. Letter from van Rossum to Rutten, N. 3785–23, December 10, 1923, p. 484.

17. Rutten's Reply to van Rossum, December 17, 1923, pp. 505–06.

18. Rutten's Reply to van Rossum, December 20, 1923, pp. 507–08.

19. For a short biography of Planchet, see Lazarist J. Van den Brandt, *Les Lazaristes en Chine, 1697–1935: notes biographiques* (Pei-p'ing, 1936), 120. For the images of Planchet and other Lazarists in China, see the St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive, an exhaustive database of images collected and maintained by John E. Rybolt (<https://vincentianpersons.cdm.depaul.edu>).

20. For example, Ma Xiangbo complained that almost every issue of *Le bulletin* included an article that criticized the former Jesuits. Ma Xiangbo, "Shu Li xiansheng xingji hou" [書利先生行蹟後] ["Postscript to 'The Biography of Matteo Ricci'"], in *Ma Xiangbo ji*, 222–25, here 224–25.



Jean-Marie Planchet, procurator of the Beijing vicariate. Image courtesy of DePaul University's Vincentian Sources.

against the Jesuits in the *Histoire* and the works published under Planchet's name, although the tone of the former was much harsher than the latter. For example, the tour of Cardinal Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, the papal legate to China whose primary task had been to deal with the Chinese Rites Controversy in 1705–10, appeared both in the *Histoire* and in the latest issue of *Les missions de Chine et du Japon* published in 1923.²¹ Rutten found both versions portrayed the unfortunate cardinal as a victim who had been persecuted by the Jesuits during his tour. In *Les missions de Chine et du Japon*, published in China with imprimatur, Planchet had only implicitly criticized the Jesuits, while in the *Histoire*, published in Paris without imprimatur, Planchet, hiding under the name of Thomas, made direct accusations against the Jesuits. Rutten concluded that should van Rossum read the problematic passages in relation to each other, he would reach the same conclusion.

21. Planchet, ed., *Les Missions de Chine et du Japon*, 5 (1923), 541–48. Thomas, *Histoire*, I, 177–87.

Under Investigation

Rutten's three letters successfully prompted the Propaganda Fide to take action. In January, 1924, van Rossum notified Lazarist Superior General François Verdier, and demanded detailed information on the *Histoire*.²² Verdier forwarded the letter to Stanislas-François Jarlin, vicar apostolic of Northern Zhili, and François-Xavier Desrumaux, Lazarist provincial of North China, and asked that an investigation be opened into the origins of the book.²³ Before the Lazarists completed the internal investigation, Jesuit Superior General Włodimir Ledóchowski had taken action and sent van Rossum a letter of protest on February 25.²⁴

Ledóchowski considered the *Histoire* evidence of a resurgent antagonism that had been expressed in the China section of the nine-volume *Mémoires de la congrégation de la mission* (hereafter abbreviated *Mémoires*), compiled by Lazarist Gabriel Perboyre from 1863 to 1868. In the early 1870s, the Jesuits had filed detailed reports with the Propaganda Fide to accuse the *Mémoires* of defaming the Jesuits and violating the papal prohibition on further discussions over the Chinese rites. In 1872, the Propaganda Fide passed judgment and demanded Lazarist Superior General Jean-Baptiste Étienne issue a circular to his congregation ordering that all copies of the *Mémoires* be completely abolished and suppressed.²⁵ For Ledóchowski, the *Histoire* was nothing but a summary of the *Mémoires*. He thus attached Étienne's circular in his letter as a reminder of the hostility with which the earlier Jesuits had struggled and overcome.

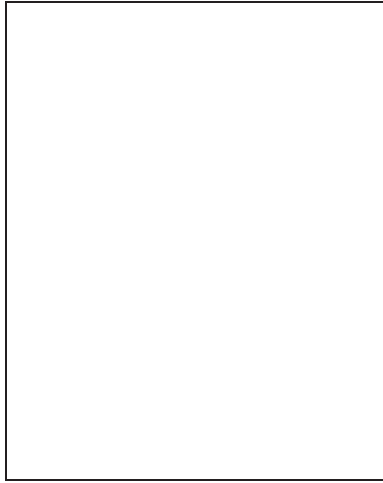
Ledóchowski went on to present the authorship issue through two investigative reports completed by Joseph de la Servière, a Jesuit historian based in Shanghai, and Jean-Baptiste Debeauvais, the superior of the Jesuit Southeast-

22. Letter from van Rossum to Verdier, N. 13–24, January 7, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 510–11.

23. Verdier's Reply to van Rossum, January 15, 1924; Letter from Verdier to Jarlin, January 15, 1924; and Letter from Verdier to Desrumaux, January 15, 1924; APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 534, 535, and 536, respectively.

24. Letter from Ledóchowski to van Rossum, February 25, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 573–76.

25. The *Mémoires* was never put on general sale. It was privately printed and only circulated among the Lazarists. For a brief introduction to the *Mémoires* affair, see John E. Rybolt, *The Vincentians: A General History of the Congregation of the Mission*, 6 vols. (New York, 2014), IV, 126–29. In 1911–12, a revision of the China section in the *Mémoires* was published in Paris, titled *La congrégation de la mission en Chine, nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et continuée*, 3 vols.



Wlodimir Ledóchowski, S.J., Superior-General of the Society of Jesus. Wikipedia. Public Domain.

ern Zhili mission.²⁶ Just as Rutten had pointed out in his letters, the two Jesuit consultants identified the striking similarities between the text of the *Histoire* and Planchet's earlier articles. One of Planchet's articles in the 1914 issue of *Le bulletin Catholique de Pékin* had received harsh criticism from the Jesuits and Chinese Catholics for its caustic portrayal of the former Jesuit mission. Jarlin had had to withdraw the entire issue to bring peace back to the China mission. That article, however, was republished verbatim in the *Histoire* without any reference to the original publication. Given the textual similarities, de la Servière and Debeauvais agreed that Planchet was the author of the *Histoire* hiding under the name of Thomas. However, de la Servière's attitude was somewhat contradictory. In the second part of his report, he admitted he was inclined to consider Planchet "a victim of a breach of trust" instead of an author or publisher of the *Histoire* before there was clear evidence. However, he did know one thing for sure. When the *Histoire* was sold at the Beitang (North Church) in Beijing, as far as he knew, Planchet never raised the slightest protest against the book, while Planchet's colleagues there did.

With these supporting reports, Ledóchowski concluded that the *Histoire* met all the requirements for prohibition set by canon law.²⁷ It violated

26. Report from J. de la Servière, January, 1924; and Report from J. B. Debeauvais, January, 1924; APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 579–81 and 582–85 respectively.

27. "Dignus est proscriptiois S. Officii liber. . .," APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 584–85.

the papal decrees prohibiting further discussion of the Chinese rites. Its anti-Jesuit narratives perpetuated existing divisions among religious orders, destroyed Chinese Catholics' confidence in missionaries, and caused a scandal for the Church. Therefore, he urged van Rossum to remove the *Histoire* from circulation immediately. And if necessary, the book should be banned.

One month after Ledóchowski submitted his complaints, Verdier handed his report to van Rossum on March 28.²⁸ However, Verdier had reached a different conclusion, in that he believed Thomas was a real person. He submitted three letters that were purportedly correspondence between Planchet and Thomas as evidence that Planchet had only been indirectly involved in the composition of the book.²⁹ Based on the contents of these three letters, it appeared that Planchet and Thomas entered into correspondence beginning on July 1, 1921. Planchet had received a letter from Thomas, expressing his interest in writing a history of the China mission with a focus on the Chinese Rites Controversy. He admired Planchet's previous writing on this topic and wished to have Planchet's advice on his project, or even to collaborate with him if that were possible. For reasons that are unclear from the contents of the letters, Planchet took eight months to reply. He wrote that he was very flattered and willing to offer his articles and extensive notes that he had compiled over time. He also admitted that, for a reason he did not disclose directly in his letter, his Lazarist superiors had removed his previous articles from circulation and prevented him from publishing a monograph on the subject. Given these circumstances, he was glad to know of Thomas's interest and was happy to permit Thomas to use his notes freely, making revisions and adding supplementary material as needed. Planchet attached just one condition to his offer of assistance. His name should not appear anywhere in Thomas's book; he had no intention of either receiving any credit from the work or of endorsing it in any way. One year later, in May, 1923, Thomas sent a reply. He began by apologizing for his reply's long delay because of poor communication between Europe and China. Having received the notes from Planchet, he had been working on his manuscript. He had incorporated Planchet's notes, and in some instances, had even reproduced them entirely. The book was close to completion, he claimed. He believed that it

28. Letter from Verdier to van Rossum, March 28, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 590–91.

29. Letter from Thomas to Planchet, July 1, 1921; Planchet's Reply to Thomas, February 11, 1922; and Thomas's Reply to Planchet, May 20, 1923; APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 592, 593, and 594, respectively.

would educate European readers on important issues related to China that also resonated with current European religious questions.

The three letters were presented by Planchet to his Lazarist superiors, Desrumaux and Joseph-Sylvain-Marius Fabrègues, coadjutor vicar apostolic of Northern Zhili, in the hope of justifying his decision to offer his notes to Thomas.³⁰ In the accompanying letters to his superiors, Planchet emphasized that his collecting historical documents associated with the past mission was not to derogate anyone but instead reflected a legitimate desire to remember the tradition and legacy of the mission. Furthermore, his historical research had earned him an international reputation. He had been accustomed to receiving requests for questions relating to the Catholic mission in China and the Far East in general. He had contributed to several publications, such as *Encycopaedia Sinica*, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, and *The Christian Occupation of China*. For him, Thomas's letter had been merely another request for assistance, and most of the materials he had shared with Thomas were already available in China and Europe, and not forbidden from distribution by the Church. Planchet successfully convinced his two Lazarist superiors, both of whom defended his minimal role in the composition of the *Histoire*. Desrumaux even guaranteed that no Lazarist in China had been aware of the book's publication before its appearance in a French bookshop, La Librairie Française, in Beijing.³¹

Besides the correspondence and reports mentioned above, Verdier offered another piece of strong evidence. This was a letter he received on March 27 from A. Simon, who disclosed that he had adopted the pseudonym of A. Thomas and took full responsibility for writing and publishing the *Histoire*.³² In the letter, Simon felt regret that the investigation over the *Histoire's* authorship had cast suspicion on Planchet, who, he claimed, had

30. Letter from Planchet to Desrumaux, March 4, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, p. 597. Letter from Planchet to Fabrègues, March 1, 1924, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 584–87. It is worth noting that in the letter to Fabrègues, Planchet gave voice to his negative opinion of the *Histoire*, which he did not consider to be sufficiently prepared given the delicate nature of the topic.

31. Desrumaux's Reply to Verdier, March 4, 1924; and Fabrègues's Reply to Verdier, March 4, 1924; APF, N.S., vol. 807, pp. 595–96 and 619 respectively. Desrumaux stated that he had carefully examined the original copies before his eyes and confirmed the authenticity of the letters. Both Desrumaux and Fabrègues did not mention whether or not the *Histoire* was sold at the Peking Lazarist Mission Press at the Beitang. For the survey of this French bookstore, see Chiang Lei, "Henri Vetch and His French Bookstore Peking," *Journal of Library and Information Studies*, 11, no. 2 (2013), 149–94.

32. Letter from Simon to Verdier, March 27, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, p. 598. In this letter, Simon left his address: 8, Avenue Percier, Paris.

only offered notes, documents of already published works, and indications of sources to be consulted. Simon's letter thus gave Verdier confidence that Planchet was not involved.

During the investigation, the Propaganda Fide also sought advice from Costantini, the new apostolic delegate to China. Costantini's reply to the Propaganda Fide stated that he agreed with Rutten and the Jesuits that the *Histoire* was a deplorable and inappropriate piece of work. However, he believed that Planchet had not shared any material that the Church had forbidden and did not believe that Planchet bore any responsibility for the publication of the book.³³ Because Fabrègues had purchased all the copies of the *Histoire* in Beijing to remove the book from circulation, there was no longer any public discussion of the matter. Therefore, in Costantini's view, it would be best for the Church to deal with the issue quietly.

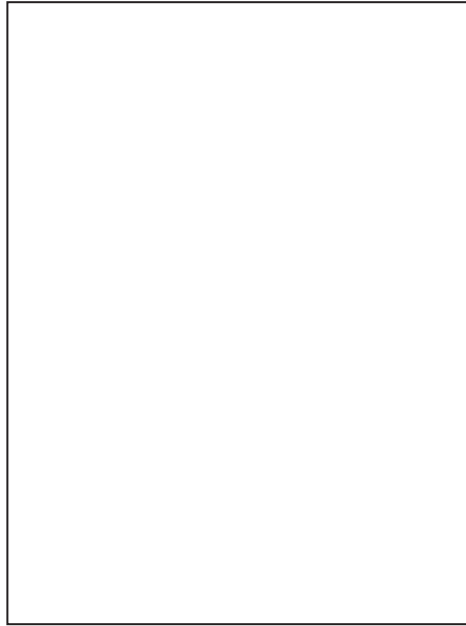
After examining these reports, van Rossum closed the case.³⁴ The correspondence between Planchet and Thomas/Simon together with Simon's letter that declared his sole authorship ultimately exonerated Planchet. Nevertheless, the *Histoire* continued to be banned from circulation because of its anti-Jesuit narratives and lack of imprimatur. The Lazarists also promised that there would not be a second volume published, despite the claim in the preface of the *Histoire* that one was forthcoming. However, this promise turned out to be one that the Lazarists did not have the power to keep. Just one year later, the second volume was released and stealthily made its way to China.

Investigation Resumed

The second volume of the *Histoire* once again listed A. Thomas as its author, and again, there was no imprimatur. The volume detailed the developments and achievements of the Lazarist Beijing mission from their arrival in 1785 to the end of the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, its criticism of the Jesuits was still apparent, particularly of the contemporary Jesuit propaganda that exaggerated the success of the early Jesuit mission

33. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 149–24, March 27, 1924, APF, N.S., vol. 807, p. 612.

34. Letter from van Rossum, N. 1341–24, April 14, 1924, pp. 602–05. Costantini mentioned an anecdote in the aftermath of the investigation. When Planchet returned to Europe for his regular retreat in 1925, some missionaries interpreted his leave as the recall due to the publication of the *Histoire*. Letters from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 450–27, February 9, 1927, APF, N.S., vol. 900a, pp. 604–09, here p. 609 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 581–86).



Title page of the *Histoire de la mission de Pékin*, 1926 version. The title page indicated as author “A. Thomas” but this was deleted in the scanning. Image courtesy of the author.

and distorted sources to justify their return.³⁵ The text admitted that the former Jesuits had earned imperial favor thanks to their scientific service at court. However, the favor never led to mass conversions in China, and the Jesuits were actually treated as mere technicians and entertainers. The former Jesuits’ scientific apostolate had minimal merit and only diverted the missionaries’ attention away from proselytization. The current Jesuits, however, failed to recognize the truth. They bragged about this short-lived success to justify their return and even turned it against missionaries of other orders who did not follow the former Jesuits’ approach.

One of the *Histoire*’s targets was Joseph de la Servière, a prolific Jesuit historian who had been consulted during the investigation of the first volume of the *Histoire*. The book indicated that de la Servière was preoccupied with the pretense that the Jesuits’ return had been prompted by repeated requests from China. This claim relied on petitions made to Jesuit

35. Thomas, *Histoire*, II, 123–45.

Superior General Jan Roothaan and Pope Gregory XVI in the 1830s by Chinese Catholics, and de la Servièrè used it to prove that there had been a favorable situation for Christianity and the Jesuits in China in the 1830s.³⁶ The *Histoire* doubted the authenticity of these petitions, in particular the one sent to Pope Gregory XVI in 1833 with the signature of a Manchu prince, which expressed great interest in the Jesuits and promised to secure positions at court only for them.³⁷ In the *Histoire's* view, this was an unbelievably fantastic story. Christianity was still outlawed in China at the time of the Manchu prince's supposed petition, and persecutions had been increasing significantly. Long-standing opposition from the Qing court to the introduction of anything European had not abated either in the capital or the provinces. Neither court officials nor those in the provinces were allowed to associate with Europeans. The book thus concluded that the petition was a forgery and criticized de la Servièrè for failing to read between the lines of the sources.

The Church did not become aware of the second volume until 1927 when Eugene A. Beaucé, the superior of the Jesuit Nanjing mission, informed Costantini of the book's existence and claimed Planchet as the author.³⁸ In his reply to Beaucé, Costantini expressed his sympathy for the Jesuits' suffering from this anti-Jesuit polemic and promised that he would investigate the book's content and the circumstances of its publication.³⁹ Costantini now had a subtler understanding of the reality of China and the mission there. Since his arrival in China in 1922, he had struggled with resistance from some European missionaries, including the French Lazarists, who were suspicious of the papal indigenization directive and were in favor of the French Religious Protectorate in China. This experience prompted him to examine the latest volume of the *Histoire* within the broader context of the church policy instead of assuming it was merely a resurgence of the old anti-Jesuit polemics.

In his letter to the Propaganda Fide, Costantini reported that the second volume of the *Histoire* had been published in Paris and sold in the Peking Lazarist Mission Press at the Beitang. He maintained his stance that

36. Joseph de la Servièrè, *Histoire de la mission du Kiang-nan*, 2 vols. (Zi-ka-wei, 1914), I, 33–39, and “Appendix I and II.”

37. Thomas, *Histoire*, II, 119–21.

38. Letter from Beaucé to Costantini, August 24, 1927, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 26, p. 215.

39. Costantini's Reply to Beaucé, N. 444–27, September 1, 1927, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 26, p. 216.

Planchet was not the author of the *Histoire*.⁴⁰ However, one thing had raised his concern. Costantini had become aware of Planchet's over-attachment to the French Religious Protectorate and his opposition to the Church's indigenization. In the yearbook, *Les missions de Chine et du Japon, 1927*, for which Planchet served as the editor-in-chief, Costantini found that Planchet had failed to include two significant pontifical documents, *Rerum ecclesiae* and *Ab ipsis pontificatus primordiis*, both of which had been issued in 1926 by Pope Pius XI to reiterate papal commitment to the Church's indigenization. From Costantini's perspective, the omission was intentional, revealing Planchet's adverse spirit to those documents. In another monograph by Planchet about a newly-established Chinese prefecture, Xuanhuaufu, independent from the Lazarist-run vicariate of Beijing in 1926, Costantini discovered that "the rather bitter soul of the loss of the mission transpires between the lines."⁴¹ Furthermore, he found that Planchet, as the procurator of the Beijing vicariate, failed to send the annual allowance to this Chinese prefecture. After these revelations, Costantini was no longer certain that Planchet was merely the innocent notes-sharer he had portrayed himself as in 1924.

On January 28, 1928, the Propaganda Fide appointed Costantini as the head of a new investigation and particularly asked him to look into the book sale of the Peking Lazarist Mission Press.⁴² Van Rossum demanded that the Lazarists cooperate with Costantini, while he notified Ledóchowski that the Jesuits should refrain from responding to any accusation made in the second volume.⁴³ After a months-long investigation, Costantini reported the result to van Rossum.⁴⁴ He openly expressed his frustration with his communication with the three Lazarist superiors in China, Jarlin, Fabrègues, and Desrumaux.⁴⁵ None of them had a single word of

40. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 450-27, September 2, 1927, APF, N.S., vol. 900a, pp. 604-09 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 581-86).

41. Planchet, *Les Lazaristes à Suanhoafou, 1783-1927* (Pékin, 1927). Costantini had discussed this book with van Rossum. See Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 347-27, June 15, 1927, APF, N.S., vol. 900a, pp. 524-25, here 524.

42. Letter from van Rossum to Costantini, N. 3224-27, January 20, 1928, APF, N.S., vol. 900a, pp. 617-18 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 605-06).

43. "Letter from van Rossum to Verdier, N. 3224-27, January 21, 1928; and Letter from van Rossum to Ledóchowski, N. 3224-27, January 21, 1928; APF, N.S., vol. 900a, pp. 621-22 and 619-20 respectively. See Verdier's Reply to van Rossum, March 19, 1928; and Ledóchowski's Reply to van Rossum, January 22, 1928; APF, N.S., vol. 900b, pp. 135-38 and 31 respectively.

44. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 263-28, March 15, 1928, APF, N.S., vol. 900b, pp. 151-55 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 607-11).

45. Letters from Costantini to Fabrègues and Jarlin, N. 159-28, February 15, 1928, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 612-13. Jarlin's Reply to Costantini, February 17, 1928;

blame for the contents of the *Histoire*, and they denied the charge that the book had been publicly sold at the Beitang. However, Costantini obtained testimonies from two Lazarists, August-Pierre-Henri Maes and Jacques-André Fascia, both of whom testified that the *Histoire* had been sold.⁴⁶ Maes, director of the Peking Lazarist Mission Press, admitted that he had received a pack of the first volume of the *Histoire* from Planchet, who had acquired them from Thomas, and had then given some copies to Fascia. When the first volume was banned from circulation in 1924, Maes had immediately returned the remaining copies to Planchet. When the second volume was released, Planchet brought him another pack. This time, Maes kept the gift quiet and only recommended the latest volume to those whom he thought it would be of particular interest. Through Maes's testimony, Costantini began pondering Planchet's responsibility in the *Histoire*.⁴⁷ He concluded that Planchet had played a trick by using another writer to publish what he wanted to publish. Thomas had worked on the composition of the two dense volumes, Costantini believed, but the driving force behind the publication had been Planchet, who had supplied a copious and meticulous compilation of news, facts, and internal documents that Thomas would have been otherwise unable to obtain. Because of this misconduct and Planchet's attitude against the papal directive, Costantini urged van Rossum to take serious action: either to recall Planchet to Europe or to transfer him to another vicariate. At a minimum, he recommended that the Propaganda Fide should reproach Planchet for his wrongdoing through his Lazarist superiors. After submitting this report, Costantini continued to write the Propaganda Fide updates about Planchet's misconduct, in particular his business mismanagement.⁴⁸ Planchet had charged

Fabrègues's Reply to Costantini, February 19, 1928; and Desrumaux's Reply to Costantini, February 19, 1928; APF, N.S., vol. 900b, pp. 156–57, 158, and 159, respectively (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 614, 615, and 616).

46. Letter from Costantini to Fascia, February 21, 1928; and Fascia's Reply to Costantini, February 24, 1928; APF, N.S., vol. 900b, pp. 163 and 162 respectively (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, p. 617 and 618). Letter from Maes, March 9, 1928, APF, N.S., vol. 900b, p. 161.

47. Letter from Planchet to Fabrègues, March 3, 1928, APF, N.S., vol. 900b, p. 160. This letter was one of the attachments to Costantini's N. 263–28 letter. In it, Planchet denied his involvement in printing the second volume of the *Histoire*. He emphasized that the second volume had not been put on sale by his strong urging, and the author had consented to a considerable pecuniary sacrifice.

48. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 275–28, March 20, 1928, APF, N.S., vol. 900b, pp. 170–73. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 379–28, April 23, 1928; and Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 513–28, June 22, 1928; APF, N.S., vol. 902, pp. 382–83 and 389–90 respectively. Planchet's property business was not unusual in China. In fact, most of the foreign missionary orders ran similar businesses. The Church was even

interest on loans as high as twenty percent and had filed a number of lawsuits against those debtors who had failed to repay their loans on time—lawsuits that routinely made headlines in Chinese newspapers and gave the Church a reputation of usury.

Later that same year, the Propaganda Fide received a report that substantiated many of Costantini's allegations regarding the *Histoire* and Planchet. It was submitted by Antoine-Pierre-Jean Fourquet, a member of the Paris Foreign Mission Society and the apostolic visitor appointed by the Propaganda Fide in 1928 to investigate the Beijing vicariate.⁴⁹ In the report, Fourquet claimed that nine-tenths of the Lazarist interviewees he had met in Beijing had condemned the contents of the *Histoire* and had believed that Planchet was the real author, while A. Thomas was merely a pseudonym. They admired Planchet's austere piety and work ethic but were also annoyed at his antipathy toward the Jesuits, which had perpetuated divisions within the Church. Given that the same evidence collected proved Planchet's spirit of opposition to indigenization and his avaricious reputation in his administrative duties, Fourquet made the same suggestions as Costantini. He recommended that Planchet be recalled back to Europe or transferred to other vicariates in China.

Before the Propaganda Fide arrived at their verdict on Planchet's case, at the end of 1928, Costantini added a new charge to those already levelled against Planchet. He claimed that Planchet possessed "a certain anti-Chinese spirit."⁵⁰ This charge came from Costantini's examination of the recently released eighth issue of the yearbook, *Les missions de Chine et du Japon, 1929*. In the section entitled "Faits et documents," which consisted of papal decrees related to China and important events that had occurred that year, Costantini found that Planchet only reported news reflecting unrest and disorder in the nation and made no mention of the serious reforms and anti-communist campaigns carried out by the Nationalist government.

criticized as a "temple of merchants." Letter from a Chinese Catholic named Huo Mingzhi [霍明志] to Costantini (n.d.); and Letter from Huo Mingzhi to Costantini, December 29, 1929; AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 7, pp. 409 and 411 respectively.

49. Fourquet's visit was from November 6 to December 28, 1928. Fourquet, Rapport sur la visite apostolique du vicariat A. P. de Peking, December 21, 1928, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 182–235. For the *Histoire* affair, see *ibid.*, pp. 217–18. For Fourquet's interviews with individual Lazarists regarding Planchet, see *ibid.*, pp. 332–35.

50. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 1112–28, December 23, 1928, APF, N.S., vol. 1003a, pp. 17–20 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 701–04).

To be fair to Planchet, his descriptions were not far from truth. From 1926 to 1928, when Chiang Kai-shek launched the Northern Expedition in an attempt to unite the nation, China was in the grip of political and military turmoil. However, what disturbed Costantini was that, in the “Faits et documents” section, Planchet included a report from a Catholic nun, who described the persecution that occurred in Nanjing on March 25, 1927, and called for immediate reprisals from foreign powers against China. For Costantini, who had urged missionary orders of any nationality not to retaliate or seek indemnity for Christian victims, Planchet seemed to be doing the opposite. He was afraid that this report would generate distrust and aversion toward the Church among Chinese readers, and his efforts to negotiate with the Nationalist government to improve relations between China and the Vatican would fail. He thus ordered the problematic section removed from the issue in question. The measure was later ratified by the Propaganda Fide.⁵¹

In 1931, Costantini accused Planchet of once again letting his anti-Chinese spirit permeate through the latest issue of the same yearbook.⁵² Although it was subtler than the previous issues, the “Faits et documents” section was still full of massacres, bandits, civil unrest, political harassment, and legislative restrictions imposed by the Nationalist government on the Church. This grim picture was not inaccurate, Costantini reluctantly admitted. However, he argued that Planchet should exhibit a more sincere and apostolic spirit in his writing, emphasizing evangelical charity and progress during this turbulent period. More critically, he found that Planchet had included several unverified rumors in the issue, so that he had to have a review of that issue published in the *Collectanea commissionis synodalis*, the official bulletin of the apostolic delegation, to give the correct information.⁵³ One example was related to the Catholic University of Peking.⁵⁴ Citing an article published in the Jesuit-run periodical, *Les missions des Jésuites de France*, Planchet reported that the university “after an inspection provoked by some students was also reduced to the rank of secondary school. By dint of political procedures, money,

51. Van Rossum’s Reply to Costantini, N. 129–29, January 19, 1929, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, 712.

52. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 260–31, January 8, 1931, APF, N.S., vol. 1000, pp. 153–60 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 713–20).

53. Georges-Marie de Jonghe, “Quelques réflexions sur un livre,” *Collectanea commissionis synodalis*, 4, no. 1 (1931), 50–52.

54. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 281–31, January 17, 1931, APF, N.S., vol. 1000, pp. 258–59 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 721–23).

and changes in programs, it was able to regain its rank.”⁵⁵ George Barry O’Toole, the Benedictine rector of the university, was indignant at Planchet’s description. He lamented that the university was “mendaciously accused of having criminally bribed the Nanking government to obtain a revocation of a decree adverse to the university.” He immediately sent letters of protest to the superiors of the Jesuits and Lazarists in China to refute this baseless report and demand that both Planchet’s article and his source be retracted.⁵⁶

Van Rossum, having read Costantini’s most recent report and becoming somewhat tired of these scandals related to Planchet’s writings, finally passed judgment.⁵⁷ Planchet’s explanations to refute the claim that he was the author of the *Histoire* did not appear to be exhaustive or satisfactory. He failed to observe the publishing prescriptions on missionary matters issued by the First Plenary Council of 1924. Even after receiving warnings from Costantini, he persisted and even repeated slanderous and unverified news that caused conflicts between missionaries of different orders.⁵⁸ Because of all this, van Rossum ordered the problematic “Faits and documents” section of the ninth issue of the yearbook withdrawn from sale. Planchet was banned from engaging in any publishing activity in the future, but if Costantini deemed it appropriate, Planchet would be allowed to resume his yearbook editing work.

When Paul-Léon-Cornil Montaigne, coadjutor vicar apostolic of Beijing since 1930, learned of van Rossum’s decision, he immediately communicated it to Planchet and withdrew the yearbook in question from circulation.⁵⁹ However, Lazarist Superior General Verdier continued speaking

55. Planchet, ed., *Les Missions de Chine et du Japon*, 9 (1931), 698.

56. Letter from O’Toole to Jesuit Prosper Paris, vicar apostolic of Nanjing, January 13, 1931; and Letter from O’Toole to Lazarist Paul-Léon-Cornil Montaigne, coadjutor vicar apostolic of Beijing, January 14, 1931; AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 724 and 725 respectively. About O’Toole and the American Benedictines’ founding of the Catholic University of Peking, see Jerome Oetgen, *Mission to America: A History of Saint Vincent Archabbey, the First Benedictine Monastery in the United States* (Washington, DC, 2000), 283–300. My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for offering this reference.

57. Letter from van Rossum to Montaigne, N. 343–31, February 26, 1931, APF, N.S., vol. 1000, p. 272 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, p. 731). On March 10, 1931, the Propaganda Fide sent the same N. 343–31 letter to Costantini’s secretary, Verdier, and O’Toole, APF, N.S., vol. 1000, pp. 273–74, 275–76, and 277–78, respectively. See O’Toole’s Reply to van Rossum on April 8, 1931, APF, N.S., vol. 1003b, p. 268.

58. See the Decrees 694, 695, and 696, in: *Primum Concilium Sinense anno 1924: . . . acta, decreta et normae, vota, etc.* (Zi-ka-wei, 1929), 221–22.

59. Montaigne’s Reply to van Rossum, March 20, 1931, APF, N.S., vol. 1003b, p. 264.

in defense of Planchet.⁶⁰ With a copy of the letter he had received from Simon, who he claimed had visited his office in Paris and orally affirmed the sole authorship in front of him, Verdier strove to get the charges against Planchet for authoring the *Histoire* dropped. Again, his effort ended in vain.

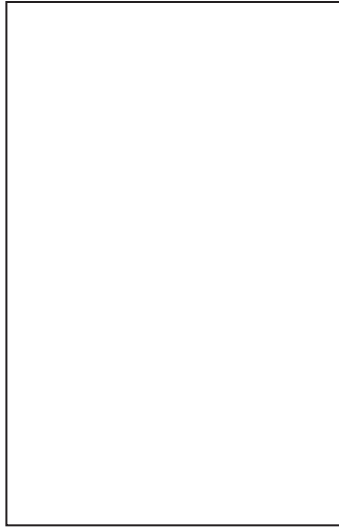
Planchet's Confession

It was not until 1932 that new evidence leaked and brought this case to an end. The evidence was from another investigation in which Costantini had been mired in 1928. This investigation was related to the career of Jean-Baptiste-Henri Garnier and his polemical writings. Garnier was a French secular missionary who had worked closely with the Lazarists in Beijing for more than twenty-five years. He opposed the papal indigenization directive and denigrated the Chinese people, including indigenous clergymen, for their cruelty and backwardness. Both of these positions were clearly elaborated in his book, *Le Christ en Chine*, published in 1928 in Paris.⁶¹ Costantini, as the implementer of the papal directive in China, found himself a major target of attack in the book. After an investigation, the Propaganda Fide finally ordered it withdrawn from circulation and demanded that Garnier return to Europe immediately. Garnier's return in 1929 did not stop his libelous activity, however. He completed a booklet entitled *Le diable en Chine* that repeated his thesis in *Le Christ en Chine*. The booklet, privately printed in Paris, managed to make its way to China and was widely read within missionary circles there. It was even republished, along with *Le Christ en Chine*, in *Le Journal de Pékin*, a French newspaper based in Beijing. Costantini also found that another two essays, "Etat de l'église Catholique en Chine envoyé au Cardinal Ceretti, April 17, 1931," and "Un péril mondial: le facisme Catholique exotique," attributed to Garnier, were circulating among the missionaries in Beijing. These essays defamed the indigenous clergy and the apostolic delegate in a similar manner.

In his report on Garnier's works to van Rossum, Costantini suspected that some Lazarist accomplice in Beijing had engaged in some cooperation

60. Letter from Verdier to van Rossum, March 16, 1931, APF, N.S., vol. 1003b, p. 260.

61. This book occasioned a heated debate among the missionaries. Some scholars have examined this case, see Liu, *Gang Hengyi yu Zhongguo tianzhujiào de bendihua*, 380–86; and Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, 238–39. In Garnier's book, another target of attack was Lazarist Vincent Lebbe, whose pioneering advocacy for indigenization contributed to the 1919 encyclical, *Maximum illud*.



Jean-Baptiste-Henri Garnier, French secular missionary. Image is within the public domain.

with Garnier. Planchet was of course the culprit he soon thought of.⁶² Costantini was suspicious not only because of the similarity of the polemics in their respective publications, but also because Garnier's works included detailed missionary information and documents available only in the Bibliotheca Beitang, which was managed by the Lazarists and not open to the public.⁶³ Also in the same report, Costantini presented new evidence concerning Planchet's involvement in the *Histoire*. Planchet had supposedly confessed that he was the *Histoire's* author during a private conversation with a missionary from the Beitang. Costantini seemed unsurprised at Planchet's confession. He did not give any details about his source, perhaps because his mind was preoccupied with Garnier's polemics against the papal directive and, more importantly, against himself.

62. Costantini suspected that "Un péril mondial: le facisme Catholique exotique" was written by Garnier, or Planchet, or their joint collaboration. See the Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 215-32, February 19, 1932, APF, N.S., vol. 1130, pp. 141-47, here 142 (alternatively, see the Letter from Costantini in AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 131-37, here 132).

63. In Fourquet's 1928 report, he considered the possibility that Planchet might abuse the bibliotheca's rich collection by using it to support his accusations against the Jesuits. For this reason, he urged the Propaganda Fide to appoint a professional curator to oversee the bibliotheca's management. See AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, p. 218.

On April 22, 1932, Costantini submitted a nine-page report to van Rossum, discussing the responsibilities of the various people related to the Garnier and Planchet affairs, in particular the administration in the vicariate apostolic of Beijing.⁶⁴ In it, Costantini argued that Jarlin and Vanhersecke as the vicar apostolic and delegate vicar should resign from their current positions because they had failed to observe fully the pontifical directive and to stop the circulation of these problematic publications. For Garnier, who currently stayed in the Lazarist residence in Paris, the measure regarding his polemics would be handed to Montaigne, who was in Paris meeting with Verdier regarding these affairs. For Planchet, he should be recalled to Europe through an order given by the Lazarist superior general, which would avoid the intervention of the French legation that had occurred in Garnier's case. One month later, van Rossum informed Verdier and Costantini of his final decision.⁶⁵ The charges against Planchet were as follows. First, his authorship of the *Histoire*, "printed in Paris under the name of A. Thomas with the complacent acquiescence of A. Simon," was confirmed by the confession he had allegedly made in a private conversation. Second, he had ignored the exhortation of the Propaganda Fide and had persisted in opposing the indigenization directive while composing his yearbooks. Third, his unscrupulous avarice as a procurator who charged high interest on mortgages had brought dishonor to the Church. Fourth, according to reliable information, he was still publishing material arguing against the content of the papal directive and he was continuing to correspond with missionaries who had already been recalled from China because of their lack of deference toward ecclesiastical authority. Therefore, for the benefit of the Church and the peaceful development of the China mission, Planchet should be recalled back to Europe. After receiving van Rossum's instruction, Verdier immediately arranged for Planchet's departure for France. However, perhaps in a last-ditch attempt to save his colleague, Verdier wrote a letter to van Rossum once again and attached Simon's letter, claiming that Planchet had not been directly involved in the composition or publication of the *Histoire*.⁶⁶

On August 8, 1932, Planchet left from Beijing for Shanghai, and on August 13, he embarked from Shanghai for France and never returned to

64. Letter from Costantini to van Rossum, N. 392-32, April 22, 1932, APF, N.S., vol. 1130, pp. 295-303 (alternatively, see AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 143-51).

65. Letter from van Rossum to Verdier, N. 1865-32 (minute), May 31, 1932, APF, N.S., vol. 1130, pp. 334-35. Letter from van Rossum to Costantini, N. 1865-32, June 6, 1932, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, p. 160.

66. Verdier's Reply to van Rossum, June 9, 1932, APF, N.S., vol. 1132, pp. 92-93.

China for the remainder of his life.⁶⁷ When Planchet's departure was announced, an article in *Le Journal de Pékin* recalled his merits as a good Frenchman, and this account apparently hit a nerve in Costantini. In a letter to van Rossum, he frankly addressed his worries.⁶⁸ He had no illusions about seeing repentance from Planchet and Garnier, both of whom were deeply invested in their nationalistic fanaticism and viewed Church's indigenization as the attack on the influence of France in China. The departure of Garnier in 1929 and Planchet in 1932 seemed to bring the long dispute in China to an end, but he was afraid that their return would make Europe a new arena for their polemics. Costantini's worries were partly true. Garnier continued with his polemics in Europe, but Planchet's name, including Simon's name, rarely appeared on any missionary-related publications in Europe after his return.⁶⁹

Shortly after Planchet's departure, the Catholic world in China underwent changes that made all issues related to the *Histoire* completely academic. Those people involved in the case soon faded from the center-stage of the Church in China. Van Rossum, the primary arbiter in the course of the book's investigation, passed away in August 1932. Costantini returned to Rome for sick leave in February, 1933, not knowing that he also would never return to China. Planchet's strong supporter, Verdier, died in July, 1933. In 1939, the papal encyclical, *Plane compertum*, recognized the civil values in the acts of veneration to Confucius and of ancestral worship, and ended the centuries-long Chinese Rites Controversy.⁷⁰ From that point onwards, the Chinese Rites Controversy was no longer a vulnerability for the Society of Jesus. Meanwhile in China, the Japanese invasion that began in the 1930s took up much of the Church's attention, and consequently the

67. In the 1933 issue of *Les Missions de Chine et du Japon*, Planchet's name still appeared on the cover as the editor. This Lazarist yearbook series, later renamed as *Les Missions de Chine*, continued to be published after Planchet's departure until the 1940s. When Planchet returned to France, he was first assigned as the superior of the Valfleury maison at Loire. Sometime after that, he returned to Paris and stayed there until his death on June 3, 1948. About Planchet's transfer in Europe, see the 1932–1948 issues of the Lazarist personnel catalogue, *Catalogue des maisons et du personnel de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Paris).

68. Costantini's Reply to van Rossum, N. 677–32, August 20, 1932, AAV, Arch.Nunz.cina, box 8, pp. 161–63.

69. For Garnier's works against Lebbe and indigenization, see *Introduction à la vie réelle du père Lebbe*, 2 vols. (Dijon, 1948 and 1951). After returning to Europe, Planchet only wrote several obituary notices of his former China colleagues for the *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission et de la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité*.

70. For a discussion of the end of the Controversy, see Jesuit George H. Minamiki, "The Yasukuni Shrine Incident and the Chinese Rites Controversy," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 66, no. 2 (1980), 205–29.

anti-Jesuit polemics and inter-order conflicts became less and less visible in the missionary records.

Conclusion

The uncertainty of the true identity of the *Histoire's* author and the anti-Jesuit narratives within the book were the primary reasons for the Propaganda Fide to initiate the investigation, and these questions initially dominated the center-stage of the investigation. Although the conflicting arguments and evidence existed in the different reports, the Propaganda Fide chose to trust the Lazarists and concluded that Planchet was a collaborator on the work and not its author. However, the suspicion of Planchet's alleged authorship remained in the missionary circles in China and resurfaced as the unexpected appearance of the second volume of the *Histoire*. In 1928, the Propaganda Fide resumed the investigation as the Nationalist government was establishing its power over China. Costantini, the apostolic delegate to China who had striven to establish a good rapport with the Chinese government and had advocated the Church's indigenization, headed the investigation. The question of authorship did not progress for lack of new evidence. The foci of Costantini's reports went beyond this narrow question and turned to the accusations regarding Planchet's usury, opposition to indigenization, and defamation of China in works that had been published under his own name. These misdemeanors, in Costantini's view, damaged the Church's reputation and devalued his long-running efforts to soothe the tensions between foreign and local clergy and to improve the Church's relationship with the Chinese government. Therefore, he urged the Propaganda Fide to take serious action either to recall Planchet to Europe or to transfer him to somewhere other than Beijing.

Planchet only received a token reprimand, however. He remained in Beijing, and his misdemeanors continued to be a source of annoyance for Costantini. It was not until 1932 that the Propaganda Fide ordered Planchet's leave through a command of his Lazarist superior. This decision was reached because of Costantini's claim that Planchet had supposedly confessed during a private conversation. Whether or not the new evidence was credible, it became the deciding factor in the Propaganda Fide's judgment on Planchet's departure that brought a close to a decade-long investigation. Studying these various and sometimes contradictory documents related to the *Histoire* and Planchet reveals a complicated process of identifying the author. The charges against Planchet's acts, besides his alleged authorship, speak to the worries of Costantini and the Propaganda Fide amid rising tensions between the Church and China in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Review Essay

Galileo, a Model of Rational Thinking?

CHRISTOPHER M. GRANEY*

- On Trial for Reason: Science, Religion, and Culture in the Galileo Affair.* By Maurice A. Finocchiaro. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2019. Pp. x, 289. \$32.95. ISBN 978-0-19-879792-0)
- Galileo and the Science Deniers.* By Mario Livio. (New York: Simon & Schuster. 2020. Pp. xvi, 286. \$28.00. ISBN 978-1-5011-9473-3)
- The Shogun's Silver Telescope: God, Art, and Money in the English Quest for Japan.* By Timon Screech. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2020. Pp. xviii, 306. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-19-883203-4)
- Extraterrestrial: The First Sign of Intelligent Life Beyond Earth.* By Avi Loeb. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. 2021. Pp. xviii, 240. \$14.99. ISBN 978-0358278146)

Reasoned. Critical. Open-minded. Fair-minded. Judicious. These words characterize Galileo's defense of the heliocentric theory of Nicolaus Copernicus, according to Maurice Finocchiaro in his *On Trial for Reason: Science, Religion, and Culture in the Galileo Affair* (225–48). But the book overlooks technical details of the science of Galileo's time. These details matter. They make Galileo's defense less impressive. And thus, like several other recent books that touch on Galileo and the Catholic Church, *On Trial for Reason* creates a problem for understanding this famous "affair."

Finocchiaro has written extensively on Galileo. He has tracked down and translated into English many documents related to "The Galileo Affair." He knows well the characters of the Galileo story and what they had to say. *On Trial* relies heavily on Finocchiaro's previous work: its bibliography includes sixteen of his publications, ranging in date from 1980 to 2018, and its notes abound with citations of those works.

* Prof. Graney is an astronomer and historian of science on the staff of the Specola Vaticana (the Vatican's astronomical observatory) in Rome and Tucson. His email address is c.graney@vaticanobservatory.org.

A particularly engaging section of this book is the last part of the third chapter and the first part of the fourth (69–96). Here Finocchiaro presents Galileo progressing in his view of heliocentrism. In 1597, Finocchiaro writes, Galileo has merely a “mathematical appreciation” of heliocentrism (71): “he obviously does not think that the Copernican arguments are conclusive or even strong enough to convince someone who, unlike [the astronomer Johannes] Kepler, is not already favorably inclined [73].” Thus Galileo “neither believed nor accepted Copernicanism as true. Indeed, as he confessed later, he was much more impressed by the observational astronomical objections against it, and deemed them to be strong and unanswerable [75].” But the telescope, which Galileo began using in 1609, changed that. By 1614 Galileo was strongly endorsing heliocentrism, labelling it as “certain” and “conclusive” (86).

Yet Galileo kept an open mind. He was willing to include, in his 1632 *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican*, Pope Urban VIII’s argument that divine omnipotence put certain knowledge of the universe beyond our reach. Galileo complied with the request to end the book with this argument, says Finocchiaro, and “such compliance reflected in part Galileo’s readiness and willingness to be cooperative and accommodating. It also reflected his judgment and recognition that there was something right about the pope’s favorite objection [126].”

The outcome of Galileo’s reasoned, critical, open-minded, fair-minded, and judicious look at the evidence was, of course, that heliocentrism comes out on top. He provided “a robust confirmation of the theory [3].” His way of thinking and searching for truth became “a model of rationality [11],” “a model of critical reasoning and critical thinking [248]. And thus over time he has properly come to be seen as having been tried by the Inquisition for the chief offense of making a “reasoned defense of Copernicanism,” despite it having been declared false and contrary to scripture by Church officials, and that defense has come to be seen as his key contribution to what we now call the Copernican Revolution (257)—itself “the most important intellectual transformation in human history [225].” Finocchiaro states that he is not out to produce a hagiography of Galileo (258), but the Galileo of *On Trial* is nevertheless quite a guy.

Galileo could hardly be that guy portrayed in *On Trial*—who could? But understanding why Galileo was not quite that model of rationality, critical reasoning, and critical thinking requires wading through technical scientific details. These details often glaze the eyes of even many hardy readers. They are generally not found in *On Trial*.

Details are key to understanding why Galileo or anyone else would find the observational astronomical objections against heliocentrism “strong and unanswerable.” Note that well: arguments against heliocentrism—astronomical arguments, scientific arguments—being strong and unanswerable. Finocchiaro tells us that heliocentrism was not scientifically self-evident, even to a man who is a model of reasoning and thinking, at least not prior to the telescope.

And it was not after the telescope, either. *On Trial* points this out, using as example a plaque, dated 1887, on a column by the Villa Medici in Rome, proclaiming that the Villa once “was a prison for Galileo Galilei, guilty of having seen the earth turn around the sun [220].” Finocchiaro notes that plaque as formulating an “empiricist myth,” given the impossibility, even today, of directly seeing the Earth turn around the sun (221).

Indirect evidence, then, tells us that Earth circles the sun. Galileo argued that the ocean tides were such indirect evidence. *On Trial* discusses this argument (144–49). Under heliocentrism, Earth’s double motion of yearly revolution around the sun plus daily rotation causes every point on Earth’s surface to move with a daily varying speed. Galileo hypothesized that this variation drove the water in the ocean basins to “slosh” back and forth, a “sloshing” made manifest in the tides. This implied daily tides, whereas Mediterranean tides occur twice daily, so Galileo added that a sea’s tidal period is determined by its length and depth. These govern the time required for water to surge from one end of the sea to the other—that time determining the tidal period. Thus, he said, while the Mediterranean’s tides occur twice a day, in a much larger sea like the Atlantic Ocean, they would be different. Indeed, he noted in a discourse that he wrote in 1616 to Cardinal Alessandro Orsini that the tides occur but once daily in Lisbon, Portugal, in conformity with the double motion hypothesis.

But tides occur twice daily in Lisbon. By 1619 Galileo had been informed of that. Yet in his *Dialogue* of 1632, he again put forward his tides hypothesis—but omitting any mention of Lisbon and the Atlantic tides. The tidal period being the same in the Atlantic as in the Mediterranean is a serious blow to Galileo’s hypothesis, yet he withheld that crucial bit of data in the *Dialogue*. Withholding contrary data will land any scientist in hot water today. It is a major scientific no-no. A model of critical thinking does not omit Lisbon.

Finocchiaro translated the discourse to Orsini. It is in his 1989 book *The Galileo Affair, a Documentary History*. Lisbon is on page 128. Lisbon

could be in the pages of *On Trial*. If it were, Galileo would seem less of a model guy.

Another thing that could be in the pages of *On Trial* are the sizes of stars, another eye-glazing technical subject. Star sizes were a strong and unanswerable argument against heliocentrism, even after the telescope. Finocchiaro discusses the problem of “annual parallax”—the yearly changes in the appearances of the stars that should occur were the Earth moving relative to them in an annual circle. No such changes were seen, and this was “an objection [to heliocentrism] which he [Galileo] could not really refute [142].”

The Copernican response to this objection had been that the stars were so distant as to make the parallax too small to detect, but such stellar distances had implications for stellar sizes. Finocchiaro states (39) that stars were cataloged “in terms of apparent brightness (called *magnitude*),” where “stars of the first magnitude were the brightest, and those of the sixth magnitude were the faintest,” and “the brightest star was named Sirius or the Dog Star.” But “magnitude” means “bigness,” not “brightness.” Astronomers of Galileo’s time, like astronomers throughout most of history, saw stars in terms of apparent *size*, not apparent *brightness*. Modern astronomers think of stars in terms of brightness, and have adapted the historical term “magnitude” to that way of thinking—but that was a much later development.

For stars to be as distant as heliocentrism required, and still show the apparent sizes they do in the night sky, necessitated that their absolute sizes be enormous. Stars in a heliocentric universe had to dwarf utterly the sun and planets. Kepler calculated Sirius to be larger in absolute size than the orbit of Saturn, and so even the smallest visible star had to be larger than the orbit of Earth. The telescope did not change this significantly, something the German astronomer Simon Marius had pointed out by 1614. In a geocentric universe, by contrast, the stars were comparable in absolute size to other celestial bodies.

The sun-dwarfing stars disturbed many astronomers. Even in the *Dialogue*, the neutral character, Sagredo, acknowledges that “for a fixed star to look as large as it does” in a heliocentric universe, “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.”¹ Galileo tried to address this in the *Dia-*

1. Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems: Ptolemaic and Copernican*, trans. Stillman Drake [Modern Library Science] (New York, 2001), 432.

logue, spending many pages on parallax and star sizes. But the pro-Copernican character, Salviatti, commits two more major scientific no-nos while talking about these things, both involving proposals of how to observe stars and reveal parallax—one regarding parallax in a closely-spaced pair of stars, the other regarding cutting in half the telescopically observed disc of a star with an obstructing object. Finocchiaro touches on Salviatti's proposed observations (143), but makes no mention of the scientific no-nos.

The treatment of technical scientific details is not one of *On Trial's* strengths. For example, twice the sun is described as having, under geocentrism, an eastern annual motion *about Earth* (48, 68). Since all celestial bodies rise in the east and set in the west, under geocentrism all bodies, the sun included, move around Earth in a westerly manner only. moves easterly *relative to the stars*—passing through the various constellations of the zodiac—but the sun is moving westerly around the Earth, just slower than the stars. Tides or star sizes involve far more technical details than the motion of the sun, and this could explain why these scientific objections to heliocentrism receive no attention in *On Trial*.

But consider another recent book on Galileo: *Galileo and the Science Deniers* by Mario Livio. An astrophysicist, Livio could certainly give attention to eye-glazing technical details. He writes, “very few of the known biographies [of Galileo] were written by a research astronomer or astrophysicist. I believe, or at least hope, that someone actively engaged in astrophysical research can bring a novel perspective and fresh insights even to this seemingly overworked arena [xv].”

Livio's Galileo has more flaws than Finocchiaro's, and at times Livio also lays out clearly some of the strong, unanswerable scientific objections to heliocentrism. For example, he mentions the case of Cesare Cremonini. Cremonini, says Livio (98), was an atheist, so scriptural problems with a moving Earth would not have concerned him. Yet he was disinterested in what the telescope revealed. Livio writes that “Cremonini wanted something deeper than what had been revealed by Galileo's observations. He noted, for instance, that if the Moon was indeed a terrestrial-like body, as Galileo's findings had implied, it should have fallen toward the Earth.”

In terms of the science of the time, what Cremonini said made sense: terrestrial bodies, like rocks, fell downward; they were heavy and hard to move; they did not circle overhead in the sky. geocentric physics of Aristotle (whom Cremonini staunchly defended), explained the motions of celestial bodies by assuming they were made of a

substance, not found on Earth, that naturally stayed up in the heavens and moved in circles. That physics could not explain the motion of a terrestrial-like Moon or of the vast, heavy ball of rock that was Earth itself. By contrast, in a geocentric system like that of Tycho Brahe (one fully compatible with telescopic discoveries), the basic geocentric structure of Aristotelian physics remained intact. Livio notes that, “In the absence of a theory that could explain why this [fall of the moon] was not happening (a situation that lasted until Newton [decades after Galileo]), Cremonini was not prepared to give up Aristotelian views.”

Nevertheless, *Galileo and the Science Deniers*, like *On Trial*, portrays Galileo as a man of reason, asked to “give up convictions that had been forged on the basis of painstaking scientific observations and brilliant deductions [115],” to abandon “what he regarded as the only possible logical conclusions in favor of what amounted to a seventeenth-century version of political correctness [116],” namely, concern over conflicts with scripture. Livio points out that “Galileo was right after all” and “facts were facts [116].” He does briefly mention the star size problem (65), but as a modern astronomer Livio knows that apparent sizes of stars are artifacts of optics, something Galileo did not know. Livio assumes Galileo did know, however, and leaves the matter there. He overlooks Galileo’s scientific *nonos* regarding parallax observations. He makes no mention of Lisbon despite discussing both the discourse to Orsini (127) and the *Dialogue* (171) regarding tides. He describes Marius as unable even to recognize that Jupiter’s moons orbit it (69), a statement that is incorrect.

Thus Galileo ends up being the guy who was right, opposed by science deniers fixated on scripture. Livio, the astrophysicist, tells the same story as Finocchiaro, likewise overlooking how scientific issues like tides and star sizes were on the minds of Galileo’s opponents—and in particular, how they were on the minds of people involved in the Church’s actions against heliocentrism: Francesco Ingoli, Melchoir Inchofer, and Zaccaria Pasqualigo, all involved in those actions, all raised questions about star sizes or tidal periods in their writings.

As we consider how to understand Finocchiaro’s and Livio’s portrayals of Galileo as a model of reason, opposed by science deniers, we should note that Livio’s book is published by Simon & Schuster, Finocchiaro’s by Oxford University Press. These portrayals passed through the editorial processes of two well-regarded publishers. Lisbon was overlooked anyway.

Perhaps Galileo can be a model of reason and Lisbon can be overlooked, not because of the difficulty of dealing with technical details, but

because the Galileo story is so established that no one, not even in an Oxford University Press review process, thinks to question the idea that Galileo was a model of reason. Long ago, Einstein famously described him as a representative of rational thinking who stood up against indolent men defending their authority and their mythical thinking. Finocchiaro today sees criticism of Galileo's thinking as comparable to questioning the Earth's motion—"almost as false and untenable," he says (258). As an astronomer and scholar with the Vatican's astronomical observatory, I am aware that among the many who might agree with Einstein and Finocchiaro was Fr. George V. Coyne, S. J., the Director of the Vatican Observatory from 1978 to 2006 who served on the Galileo Commission of Pope St. John Paul II. Finocchiaro sees the work of that Commission as muddled and not sufficiently pro-Galilean (175–176, 223). So did Coyne.² But Coyne never seems to have come across Lisbon and star sizes and cutting star discs. The tendency to overlook Lisbon and simply accept that Galileo equates to reason is a problem for those who wish to understand this famous "affair," as two other books illustrate.

The first book is another recently published by Oxford: *The Shogun's Silver Telescope: God, Art, and Money in the English Quest for Japan, 1600–1625* by Timon Screech. Galileo and his opponents appear in the book, which is about English efforts to sell their wares in Japan in the early seventeenth century. The title refers to a telescope sent to Japan in 1611. Screech proposes that the purpose of this telescope was to help the English gain access to Japan by discrediting the members of the Society of Jesus who had already been there for some time. The telescope would do this, according to Screech, by showing that the geocentric astronomy that the Jesuits taught was wrong. "The Japanese were thirsty for scientific knowledge, and the Jesuits taught as much astronomy as theology," he writes (74). "A telescope could be used to turn the tables," against the Jesuits, because, he says, "a telescope would confuse and embarrass their whole mission."

Screech explains how it would do this (73):

Here is the crux: telescopes allowed any careful observer to see that Copernicus was correct. The instrument made it possible to detect with one's own eyes—never mind abstruse calculations in Latin—that the earth *does* revolve around the sun. To maintain the opposite view, after 1608, was to persist in wilful error.

2. George V. Coyne S.J., "The Church's Most Recent Attempt to Dispel the Galileo Myth," in: *Faith and Knowledge: Towards a New Meeting of Science and Theology*, ed. Gustav Teres, S.J. (Città del Vaticano, 2007), 146–70.

Of course, as Finocchiaro points out in his comments about the Villa Medici plaque, this is incorrect. Equally problematic are statements in the book to the effect that by 1611 Cardinal Robert Bellarmine was “preparing to launch the papacy’s devastating attack on Galileo [235],” or that the “terrible findings” of telescopes in general “were shaking the papacy [236].” Rather, in 1611 Jesuit astronomers confirmed Galileo’s discoveries with their own telescopes, and honored him in Rome. *Silver Telescope* contains other problems, such as misspelled titles of Copernicus’s (72) and Galileo’s (10) books, and statements that in 1610 Galileo was rewarded for his telescopic discoveries with a job at the University of Pisa (74), where he continued his work (77).

The second book is by the Harvard astronomer Avi Loeb: *Extraterrestrial: The First Sign of Intelligent Life Beyond Earth*. The book is about Loeb’s hypothesis concerning the object named ‘Oumuamua that sped through the solar system in 2017—namely that its dramatic brightness fluctuations, and its deviation from its expected trajectory, can be best explained by it being a piece of space junk from an extraterrestrial civilization. But Galileo and the Church are also part of the book. Loeb writes about facing a roomful of reporters during the “frenzy” that followed his articulation of his hypothesis about ‘Oumuamua (33–34):

I reminded my audience of Galileo’s seventeenth-century declaration that the evidence visible through his telescope suggested that the Earth orbited the Sun. It is one of the most familiar and oft-told stories in the annals of science. . . . Galileo’s data implied that the Earth, along with all the other planets, revolved around the Sun. This ran directly counter to the teachings of the Catholic Church, which accused Galileo of heresy. Following a trial during which it is claimed his accusers refused to even look through his telescope, Galileo was found guilty of heresy. . . .

Galileo was forced to abandon his data and discovery and recant his statement that the Earth circled the Sun, but legend has it that afterward, Galileo whispered under his breath, “And yet it moves.” The story is likely apocryphal, and even if it’s true, its truth is beside the point—or at least it was for poor Galileo. Consensus had won out over evidence. . . .

What I wished to convey was that history has taught us to keep returning to the evidence about ‘Oumuamua, testing our hypotheses against it, and, when others try to silence us, whispering to ourselves, “And yet it deviated.”

Extraterrestrial is not about history, but Loeb repeatedly returns to the Galileo story, to the idea of refusing to look through a telescope, and to “and yet it deviated.”

Yet refusal even to look through a telescope did not play a part in the Galileo story. Finocchiaro notes how the future Urban VIII, the man most responsible for Galileo's trial, wrote in 1620 a poem that praised Galileo and his telescopic discoveries (123); the poem specifically mentions Jupiter's moons and the spots on the sun. Galileo was not forced to abandon his data and discoveries. They had all been confirmed, and even improved upon, often by scientists within the Church. And consensus had not won out over evidence. Solid evidence for, and a resolution to the scientific problems with heliocentrism would be long in coming.

Extraterrestrial and *Silver Telescope* contain basic errors. Some attention to the details of the Galileo story, or some consideration that heliocentrism might not have been the obvious choice for any reasonable person, might have caught these errors. They were not caught, despite all the resources available to the authors and publishers of these two books, and that is a problem for those who wish to understand this story.

The four books reviewed here show that details matter. The Galileo story is a story of scientific details (Finocchiaro notes that Galileo's trial "hinged precisely on the key scientific claims of the Copernican world view [226]"). Whether Galileo was a model of rational thinking, whether he was put on trial for reason, whether his opponents were science deniers, whether anyone with a telescope could see that Earth moves—even whether heliocentrism, with its sun-dwarfing stars and difficulties with physics, might have reasonably been called "false" in the early seventeenth century—judging these questions requires first digging into science *as it was in Galileo's time*.

None of these four books busy themselves with the scientific details of the Galileo story; two neglect even the most basic details. For those who want to read that Galileo was quite a guy, this hardly matters. But it is a problem for those who wish to understand the story. Perhaps among readers of *Catholic Historical Review* are historians who can figure out how to present this story of science to a world whose eyes glaze over at too many scientific details, but who are willing to imagine a reasoned, critical, open-minded, fair-minded, and judicious scientist, brought down by men who would not even look through a telescope and see for themselves that the Earth moves.

Book Reviews

ANCIENT

Making Christian History: Eusebius of Caesarea and His Readers. By Michael J. Hollerich. [Christianity in Late Antiquity, 11]. (Oakland, CA: University of California Press. 2021. Pp. xi, 316. \$95.00. ISBN 978-0-520-2953-60. eBook ISBN 9780520968134.)

Despite Jacob Burckhardt's often repeated accusation of being "the first thoroughly dishonest and unfair historian of ancient times," Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–339AD) and his *Historia ecclesiastica* cannot be easily set aside. Eusebius's contemporary readers highly esteemed his *Historia*, the ten-book annotated anthology preserving what he deemed to be the most important textual evidence of the first three-hundred years of Christian history. Less than a century after the author's death, manuscript evidence shows widespread diffusion of his Greek original, prompt translations into Latin, Syriac, and Armenian (and possibly Coptic), and new authors who filled in and continued the *Historia* up to their own times. Printed editions in Greek, Latin, and modern vernacular languages have circulated since the sixteenth century. Modern studies of early Christianity nearly all depend heavily on fragments of cited works only preserved within the *Historia*. For seventeen hundred years, Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* has remained the point of departure for all stripes of ecclesiastical historiographers—whether enthusiastic continuers, or cautious critics. Nevertheless, no single study has attempted to examine its transmission and reception until now.

Michael Hollerich has produced a valuable study on Eusebius and the *Historia ecclesiastica* by asking "how subsequent tradition used him over the very long period since he wrote his history" (p. 2). Hollerich begins by following the book as it moves through the Late Antique Christian *oecumene* under ever-changing conditions. He explains that "although we will treat these traditions separately [Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic], they were by no means separate in reality. We will see repeated instances of cross-fertilization—whether by borrowing, imitation, or competition—across linguistic, ecclesiastical, and political boundaries" (p. 47). After an introduction to Eusebius and the *Historia ecclesiastica*, Hollerich dedicates Chapter 2 to the Greek imperial continuers Socrates, Sozomen, and

Theodoret, and the Latin translation by Rufinus (pp. 47–87). Chapter 3 traces the early reception in “the Non-Greek East” (pp. 88–140), ranging from East Syrian Christians (Church of the East) and the West Syrian Orthodox, to Armenian historiographers and the complex influence on the Coptic tradition. Chapters 4 and 5 cover the medieval West and East respectively (pp. 141–70; pp. 171–190), extending from Cassiodorus to Jacobus de Voragine, and tracing briefly the Byzantine variations of the “chronicle” genre which proliferated according to Eusebius’s models. Finally, Chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 191–237; pp. 238–73) present the *Historia ecclesiastica* in the age of humanism, the subsequent crisis and “confession-alization” of Church history, and on through the stages of French and German critical method from the seventeenth century up to the boiling point of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Chapter 3 on the “Non-Greek East” especially stands out as it traces the common intellectual bonds forged by the *Historia* between imperial Christian historiographers and those on the ecclesial and geographic periphery. Hollerich draws on experts in highly specialized fields in order to present readers with lesser-known authors like Jacob of Edessa, Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Michael the Syrian, as well as the early Armenian scholars Mesrop Maštoc’ and Koriwn, and their medieval heirs Movsēs Xorenac’i and Step’anos Tarōnec’i. The transmission of the *Historia* into Armenian depended on a Syriac translation of a Greek version partially influenced by Rufinus’s early Latin translation. Eusebius’s *Historia* and other works flowed through the monastic and cathedral school networks of the fifth and sixth centuries across the Eastern Mediterranean and deep into Mesopotamia.

Hollerich’s work may upturn some assumptions, while clearly inviting further studies. Does the history of Eusebius’s readers challenge Walter Bauer’s thesis of ecclesial isolation and complete autonomy between Christian groups in Late Antiquity? Which elements of the *Historia* caused such diverse readers to identify so closely with his book as to become authors who filled in the “gap years” from Eusebius up to their own time? What can the interface between exegesis and ecclesial historiography tell us about early and medieval ecclesiology and scholarly method? How might scholarship on the relationship between historiography and formation of identity (Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser, 2019) help to explain the enduring reception of the *Historia*? Hollerich acknowledges the modern detractions made against Eusebius for his “providentialism,” his theo-political vision (pp. 10–22), his belief in the divine origin of the Church, and his confidence in the link between good scholarship and good apologetics (p. 39).

Could these guiding principles have scriptural roots which precede him? If so, might some of the methodological objections against Eusebius actually belong to the theological content of Christian belief itself, rather than the mere invention of a fourth century scholar-bishop?

Making Christian History is a welcome addition to the growing field of new Eusebian scholarship on the reception and influence of his innovative management of sources: from the Gospel Canons to his chronography and his largescale apologetic projects (Matthew Crawford, 2019; Richard Burgess and Witold Witakowski, 1999; Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, 2012; Sabrina Inowlocki, 2006; Cristian Mondello, 2017). It also introduces English readers to the findings of a multi-volume on-going European research project on the *Historia ecclesiastica* (Sébastien Morlet and Lorenzo Peronne, 2013), and provides a valuable roadmap for scholars and students of Church History, Early Christian Studies, historiography, and studies of the historical transmission of knowledge. Paired well with Jeremy Schott's new English translation and commentary of the *Historia* (2019), Michael Hollerich's *Making Christian History* contextualizes and reintroduces Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* to a new generation of readers who will have to forge their own chapter of reception history in the years ahead.

The Catholic University of America SR. MARIA THEOTOKOS ADAMS, SSVM

MEDIEVAL

Christianization and Commonwealth in Early Medieval Europe: A Ritual Interpretation. By Nathan J. Ristuccia. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. xi, 260. \$105.00. ISBN 978-01988-10209.)

In his Acknowledgments, Nathan Ristuccia remarks that this, his first book, is not his revised dissertation but a side project that developed out of it. It shows. It shows negatively, just a little, in arguments he might have developed in more detail (particularly with respect to the surprisingly early decline of the processions). More often it shows positively. For although this is a very fine piece of scholarship, there is nothing at all ponderous about it. It is deftly written, and the author has a knack for pithy, koan-like quips that bring one up short and make one think. Ristuccia is not merely filling in a gap in our knowledge but addressing a topic of real importance (indeed, I have been waiting for a book on this subject for decades). And he takes chances, using the appearance and development of Rogation Days to ask truly profound questions about the nature of Christianization and

the articulation of Christian communities in western Europe during the early middle ages. The Rogation Days were three days of penitential devotions and processions that usually occurred immediately before Ascension Thursday, though in some parts of Europe they were held immediately before or after Pentecost. Ristuccia demonstrates that credit for the creation of the litanies really is due to Bishop Mamertus of Vienne in c. 472. The practice was quickly taken up by other Gallo-Roman bishops and then made standard with the expansion of Frankish power. Ristuccia also argues, quite convincingly, that the Rogation Days were not a Christianized substitute for a Roman fertility feast of the *Ambarvalia*, since no such feast existed. They did, however, tap into a lively Roman culture of processions. Indeed, Mamertus and his colleagues developed them less to “Christianize” some putatively “pagan” feast than to strengthen a failing Roman civic culture, now sustained by bishops themselves. However, this initial impulse does not explain why Rogationtide ended up becoming the most prominent feast, after Easter, of early medieval Latin churches. One reason Ristuccia suggests is that after the demise of the catechumenate, the church needed to find a replacement period for educating Christians in the faith. Rogation Days provided a perfect opportunity. They brought all Christians of any given locality together, in one place, for processions, masses, fasting, and almsgiving. The combination of such devotions served as jumping-off points for sermons about the obligations of Christians and the nature of Christianity and Christian history, with the Lord’s Prayer (which all Christians were to know by heart) often serving as a framework for such teachings. Then, too, Rogationtide processions literally made visible the local church as a collective of individual Christians. That church was not, however, organized in territorially delimited parishes, and the early Rogation processions were no “beating of the bounds” of a village or parish of the sort one only finds much later. They were much more “stational.” That is, large dioceses had a number of baptismal churches whose priests served neighboring villages, hamlets, and estates. Each Rogation procession began at a baptismal church and went out to nearby churches, shrines, and even rural crosses, returning to the baptismal church for a mass and sermon, and ending, it seems, with feasting. Rogationtide processions therefore made visible the unity of Christians with each other (and against Jews). They also reinforced the ties binding local churches to the regional church that dispensed the major sacraments. Thus, Ristuccia argues, “Christianization” was not a replacement of “pagan” beliefs by “Christian” beliefs but the creation of both Christian communities and a newly Christian space.

REFORMATION

Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge 1535–1584. By Ceri Law. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society. 2018. Pp. 245. \$52.00. ISBN 978-0-86193-347-1).

In the updated preface to the 1972 reprinting of his *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, H. C. Porter provided readers with a lengthy list of books and articles that had been published on the subject since his book first appeared in 1958. Ceri Law's recent study deserves to be at the top of any such list today, and it will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. While the title of Porter's book suggested that the reader might find an account of both Protestantism and Catholicism in Tudor Cambridge, his focus was overwhelmingly on Protestant (and especially puritan) Cambridge. Porter's chapter on Mary I's reign, for example, was entirely about the Protestant exiles who left Cambridge during those years. Law's *Contested Reformations* corrects this imbalance, but without swinging to the opposite extreme. Acknowledging that "a story of Protestant triumph cannot be swapped for one of Catholic resistance," she aims "not to demolish but to complicate and nuance the idea of 'godly Cambridge'" by drawing attention to the ongoing presence of religious conservatism in Tudor Cambridge and to the ways in which Protestant reform was contested within the university (p. 188).

While evangelicalism was "much more entrenched in Cambridge than in almost any other community in England" during Edward VI's reign, Law shows that nevertheless there were conservative (if minimally conformable) Edwardian fellows at colleges like St John's and Trinity who troubled their evangelical colleagues enormously (p. 51). The restoration of Catholic Cambridge under Mary I that Law describes would be "fuelled by those who had accepted religious change under Henry and Edward, even if they had never embraced it" (p. 98). Early Elizabethan Cambridge did not witness a purge of Marian fellows (with the exception of St John's under its new master, James Pilkington) and the case studies that Law presents in chapter 6 show that the famous "turncoat" Andrew Perne was not the only conservative who was able to make a way within the Elizabethan university. Elizabethan conservatives appear in the sources precisely because they came into conflict with their Protestant colleagues, of course, but—sounding an increasingly common theme in the historiography—Law argues that their tolerated presence also reveals the possibilities of cross-confessional "compromise and co-existence," even in the fractious environment of the university.

Here and elsewhere, Law draws attention to the distinctive features of the early modern university as a community, and she considers the ways in which the experience of the Reformation within the university was similar and dissimilar to other communities. Chapter 5 focuses especially on university dynamics, examining the operation of competing sources of external power on and in Elizabethan Cambridge. The university was a temporary home for most of its denizens, and Law's discussion of departures from Marian and Elizabethan Cambridge (along with two very useful and detailed appendices) complicates and expands our understanding of the motives behind these moves. In sum, *Contested Reformations* does not replace Porter's *Reformation and Reaction*, but it is an essential companion and corrective to it that adds a great deal to our knowledge of the English Reformation and the workings of Tudor Cambridge.

University of Miami

KARL GUNTHER

Notes and Comments

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Plans for the annual meeting in New Orleans at the Sheraton Hotel on January 6–8, 2022 were discussed at the July 26 meeting of the Executive Council. They include nine sessions with three or four panels each, a special panel on Black Catholic Archives, a tour of “African American Catholic New Orleans,” a “Highway to Purgatory: Music Session and Social,” a Presidential Luncheon at Antoine’s Restaurant in the French Quarter, a liturgy at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, and a closing reception in the Armstrong Ballroom of the Sheraton Hotel.

The Association is seeking to establish the Christopher J. Kauffman Prize in U.S. Catholic History. Dr. Christopher Kauffman (1936–2018) was a gifted scholar, a tireless advocate for the field of U.S. Catholic history, and promoter of those who studied it. Over his long and distinguished career, he authored ten books and over one-hundred articles, and served as editor of the *U.S. Catholic Historian* (1983–2013). The American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) is sponsoring a prize in his honor. The Kauffman prize will be awarded to the author of a monograph that provides new or challenging insights for the study of U.S. Catholic history. A gift to fund this prize may be made online at achahistory.org or by mail (memo line: Christopher J. Kauffman Book Prize): ACHA, Mount St. Mary’s University, 16300 Old Emmitsburg Rd., Emmitsburg, MD 21727.

AWARD

The Royal Historical Society has awarded the David Berry Prize for the best published scholarly journal article dealing with Scottish history to Dr. Stuart McManus of the Chinese University of Hong Kong for his article “Scots at the Council of Ferrara-Florence and the Background to the Scottish Renaissance” that appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, 106 (2020), 347–70. The citation reads:

“Stuart’s article offers the first study of the Scottish presence at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. It aims to show that educated and well-connected Scots were present in one of the premier cultural centres of the

early Renaissance such that the flowering of classicising culture in Scotland a generation later comes as no surprise. This is a strikingly original piece of work, based on painstaking research using very limited sources. The results of this research are impressive, first, for setting in better context the emergence of Renaissance ideals in Scotland and, second, in underlining the importance of ecumenical councils like that of Ferrara-Florence in understanding the longer history of European cultural integration.”

FELLOWSHIPS

The Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz awards fellowships to young academics (doctoral and postdoctoral researchers) from Germany and abroad. Funding is provided for both doctoral and postdoctoral research dealing with the religious, political, social and cultural history of Europe from the early modern period to 1989/90. Comparative, transnational, and transfer-historical research projects are particularly welcome, as are projects which deal with topics of intellectual, theological, or church history. The deadline for post-doctoral applications is October 15, 2021. For further information, please contact: fellowship@ieg-mainz.de.

CONFERENCES

On September 30 to October 2, 2021 the Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichte and the Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte an der Universität Dresden will sponsor an international conference on the theme “Konzilien und die Welt der Klöster.” It will study the influence of the monastic and mendicant orders on the doctrinal and disciplinary decrees of the councils. For more information, please contact Dr. Mirko Breitenstein at mirko.breitenstein@tu-dresden.de.

On October 7–8, 2021 the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania, together with the Reformation Research Consortium and the Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1500–1800) Research Team will hold a workshop that seeks to present and discuss new projects, new possibilities for cooperation, and new initiatives to support junior and senior researchers, universities, and libraries. For more information, see: <https://www.reforc.com/new-chances/>.

On October 27 to 29, 2021 the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche and the Université Catholique de Lyon will sponsor the conference “Inchiesta sulla Storia dei Primi Secoli della Chiesa” at the Istituto Maria Santissima Bambina in Rome. The first session will treat the current historiography on the origins of the history of the Church in four papers: “I

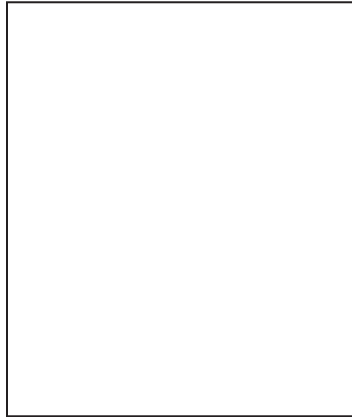
primi secoli della Chiesa, una posta in gioco teologica e istituzionale” by Josep Ignasi Sarayana Closa; “L’état des connaissances sur la Palestine à l’époque d’Hérode” by Bruno Bioui; “Les Actes des Apôtres, première historiographie chrétienne” by Daniel Marguerat; and “Adolf von Harnack e la storia dei primi secoli della Chiesa: giudizi confermati e smentiti” by Antonio Pitta. The second and third sessions will deal with a world of exchanges between the Mediterranean and Eurasia in eight papers: “La mobilità dans le monde romain” by Claudia Moatti; “The financial balance of economic exchanges from the Roman point of view” by Raoul McLaughlin; “Rome et l’irrésistible appel du lointain” by Yves Roman; “Les diasporas hébraïques, l’usage et la diffusion de l’araméen en Asie” by Yousif Thomas Mirkis; “Les mouvements de la diaspora juive: repères topographiques et chronologiques pour la mission chrétienne” by Marie-Françoise Baslez; “L’essor des routes de la soie, les tracés et les acteurs” by Maxime Yevadian; “Le esportazioni indiani verso il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente mediterraneo” by Fedrico de Romanis; and “The itineraries of Christian missionaries in the Parthian world” by Sahar Nafi Shakir Mahmoud. Part of the third session and the fourth session are dedicated to a critical look at some literary texts related to the origins of the Church, containing seven papers: “Le traité de la ‘Démonstration de la Prédication Apostolique’ d’Irénee de Lyon” by Élie Ayroutlet; “Les ‘Actes de Thomas’: la date de composition et les structures du texte” by Jiphy Francis Mekkattukulam; “Le plus célèbre poème de la littérature syriaque: L’hyme de la perle” by Pierre Perrier; “Charition Drama from Greek Papyrus 413 and the first century Indian Church of St. Thomas” by Thattunkal Mani; “The ‘Gens Annaea’ and Early Christianity” by Ilaria Ramelli; “L’influsso cristiano sul ‘Bhavisya Purana’” by Cristiano Dognini; and “L’empreinte chrétienne dans le ‘Satiricon’ de Pétrone” by Stéphane Ratti. The fifth and sixth sessions deal with a critical look at some archeological findings related to the first centuries of the Church involving nine papers: “La frise de Kong Wang Shang et le dossier du premier christianisme chinois” by Shueh-Ying Liao; “L’ornementation des tombes de Xuzhou” by François-Regis Moreau; “Le miroir à mantra marial et la patène de Xuzhou” by David Linxin He; “Testimonianze sulla presenza di comunità cristiane nella Dobrovia anteriori all’ imperatore Costantino il Grande” by Irina Achim; “Testimonies on the presence of Christian communities in Iran prior to the emperor Constantine the Great” by Sherly Avedian; “La presenza dei cristiani a Pompei ed Ercolano: ipotesi e valutazioni” by Danilo Mazzoleni; “Les reliques de sainte Marthe à Tarascon” by Jean-Michel Sanchez; “Les reliques de sainte Marie-Madeleine” by Stéphane Morin; and “Le visage de Marie-Madeleine dévoilé” by Philippe Charlier. A final paper will be by Angelo de Bernardino, titled “Bilancio di una ricerca in corso.”

On November 24 to 26, 2021 the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche will sponsor a conference on "I Canonici Regolari dal Medioevo ai Nostri Giorni" to be held at the Istituto Maria Ssma. Bambina in Rome. An inaugural address is to be given by Gert Melville on "I canonici regolari medievali, nel contesto generale della vita religiosa, dal punto di vista dei contemporanei." The second session is dedicated to the theme "To the Trees of the Canons Regulars" with four papers: "Chrodegang di Metz e i Sinodi di Aquisgrana" by Florian Hartmann; "Autour d'une lecture d'un synode fondamental de la Réforme Grégorienne, Latran 1059: Idéal sacerdotal et prémisses d'une vie canoniale régulière?" by Jean-Hervé Foulon; "Aspettative riposte nella 'vita communis' del clero" by Julia Barrow; and "La fondazione di Saint-Ruf di Avignone e le prime forme di un'autocoscienza del clero regolare" by Yannick Veyrenche. In session three on identity in the bosom of the Church are four papers: "Regula Beati Augustini": dall'assenza alla pluralità" by Ursula Vones-Liebenstein; "Consuetudini, statuti e privilegi: configurazione interna e rapporto con la Chiesa" by Ulrich Gotfried Leinsle; "Consolidamenti e differenziazioni: panoramica dell'organizzazione delle gerarchie e dell'economia" by Jörg Sonntag; and "Self-Fashioning among Regular Canons: Definitions of Identity and Distancing from the *Ordo monasticus* (11th /12th Centuries)" by Wolf Zöller. The fourth session, devoted to "The Actualization of a Project of Life," features four papers: "Un progetto di vita 'ad instar Apostolorum'" by Julia Becker; "La spiritualità e l'erudizione dei Canonici regolari: il caso di San Vittore di Parigi" by Matthias M. Tischler; "Riti e simboli della 'vita communis' attraverso i libri delle consuetudini dei Canonici regolari" by Ambrose Debut; and "Diversità di ruoli e funzioni nella comunità—uomini e donne, chierici e laici" by Christina Lutter. The fifth session deals with the canon regulars in the millennium with five papers: "Forme innovative e riforme nel tardo Medioevo" by Clemens Galban; "I Canonici regolari nella Rifoma cattolica" by Isabelle Brian; "La vita canonica oggi: restaurazione della Congregazione di San Vittore" by Hugues Paulze d'Ivoy; "La vita canonica oggi: fondazione dei Canonici regolari della Madre di Dio" by Emmanuel-Marie Lefébure du Bus; and "La vita canonica femminile: fondazione del monastero di Azille" by Faustine-Marie Bouchard. The sixth and final session treats some eminent figures among the canons regular and consists of four papers: "Anselmo di Havelberg, canonico regolare Premostratense" by Jay T. Lees; "Arnaldo da Brescia, canonico regolare agostiniano" by Romedio Schmitz-Esser; "Tommaso da Kempis, agostiniano del Monte Sant'Agnese" by Paul J.J. van Geest; and "Serafino Aceti de' Porti, canonico regolare Lateranense" by Pierantonio Piatti.

RESEARCH PROJECT AND PUBLICATION

The German Historical Institute of Paris has announced a project, “Édition de la correspondance française des actes de la paix de Westphalie,” to publish the 220 letters exchanged by the French diplomats in Westphalia and the court in Paris relative to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, it will be published by Aschendorff Verlag of Münster with Gold Open Access.

OBITUARIES



**Reverend Thomas S. Bokenkotter
(1924–2021)**

The Reverend Thomas Stephen Bokenkotter, a priest of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, died on July 11, 2021, at age ninety-six. He was born on August 19, 1924, in Cincinnati, Ohio, to Anthony and Gertrude (Wessel) Bokenkotter. He attended St. Gregory Seminary, Cincinnati, and Mount St. Mary’s Seminary of the West, Norwood, and was ordained to the priesthood on September 8, 1950, at Sts. Peter and Paul Church in Norwood, Ohio.

He was sent to Europe to continue his education. He obtained a licentiate in sacred theology from the Angelicum in Rome in 1951 and a doctorate in church history from the University of Louvain in Belgium in 1954. His dissertation was published as *Cardinal Newman as an Historian* (1959). He considered Cardinal Newman and Lord Acton the most significant influences on his understanding of history.

Upon completing his studies, he returned to the Archdiocese of Cincinnati and served in parishes and as a high school teacher. In 1959, he was appointed to teach history at St. Gregory's Seminary, Cincinnati, remaining on the faculty for two decades. He also taught courses through Mount St. Mary's Seminary and its Lay Pastoral Ministry Program. In 1980, he left full-time teaching and became pastor of Assumption Church in Walnut Hills (Cincinnati), which he shepherded until the parish closed in 2013. After becoming a pastor, he taught part-time as an adjunct professor of theology at Xavier University in Cincinnati.

Father Bokenkotter enjoyed relating that in the mid-1970s, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis was approached about authoring a single-volume history of the Church. Not being able to devote time to the project, Ellis suggested the project to Bokenkotter, who began drafting what became the best-selling *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*. Father Bokenkotter recalled that the first publisher who reviewed the manuscript rejected it. However, an editor at Doubleday judged that it had merit.

First published in 1977, the *Concise History* filled a need: an accessible, moderately priced survey of the Church's history for college students and interested lay Catholics. *America* magazine positively assessed the volume: "It is all here: the peaks—Augustine and Chalcedon, Innocent III and Aquinas, Trent and the Counter-Reformation, Vatican II and Mother Teresa; and the valleys—which include most of the rest." This was Bokenkotter's intent, to offer a survey of the Church's history that included the highs and the lows, and in doing so, to show how "change has been a constant" over the Church's two thousand years. When a second edition of the *Concise History* was produced in 1990, it added material on the period after 1976 and an annotated bibliography. It was again expanded and updated in 2004 with a final chapter, "On the Threshold of the Third Millennium" (the volume's longest chapter).

In 1990, the publisher numbered the *Concise History's* sales at 125,000 copies. Since then, it has remained a favorite of seminary and college professors and adult faith formation instructors. In total, hundreds of thousands of copies have been purchased, making it among the best-selling of all church history texts. The author's wish was that this book might successfully outlive him. A survey of internet-based booksellers indicates that it doubtlessly has.

Father Bokenkotter authored two other significant works. *Dynamic Catholicism: A Historical Catechism* (formerly *Essential Catholicism: Dynam-*

ics of Faith and Belief) was first published in 1985. It explained key Christian beliefs from the perspective of historical development. A decade later, *Church and Revolution: Catholics in the Struggle for Democracy and Social Justice* (1998) explored significant figures in the Catholic social reform movement, including Félicité Lamennais, Frederic Ozanam, Jacques Maritain, Eamon de Valera, Dorothy Day, Konrad Adenauer, Oscar Romero, and Lech Walesa.

In addition to his teaching and scholarship, Father Bokenkotter became a leader in social action. Beginning in the 1960s, he advocated on behalf of exploited agricultural laborers, joining in the efforts of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers to boycott grocery stores selling produce picked by non-union employees. In 1976, after visiting the Catholic Worker House in New York, he was inspired to begin the Over the Rhine Soup Kitchen (now Queen City Kitchen), the oldest soup kitchen in the city. By 1980, with the Ohio Council of Churches, he was active in the cause of prison reform, and in 1990, he helped found the Tom Geiger Guest House, a transitional shelter for homeless women and children. His great love for the poor and marginalized impacted every facet of his ministry.

Professionally, Father Bokenkotter was a member of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association. He enjoyed photography and traveling. He leaves behind a brother and sister and twenty-four nieces and nephews as well as former students, parishioners, collaborators, friends, and the many who knew his charity.

*Mount St. Mary's Seminary of the West
Cincinnati, Ohio*

DAVID J. ENDRES

**Hans Achim Pohlsander
(1927–2021)**

Hans Achim Pohlsander, classicist and church historian, and a contributor to this journal, died recently at the age of 94. Pohlsander was 94 years old.

Professor Pohlsander was born in 1927 the city of Celle, Germany, into a family belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints; his father and grandfather were priests in the church. In 1947, a year after gaining an *Arbitur* at the *Gymnasium Ernestinum*, he emigrated to the United States. He enlisted in the United States Army in 1950, receiving an appointment as E-7 in the intelligence branch and remaining in the service as a reserve from 1952–61. He had already begun classical studies at the University of Utah; he proceeded to the masters' program at the University of California, Berkeley, and received his doctorate in classics from the University of Michigan in 1961.

He received an appointment in the Department of Classics at the University of Albany, part of the New York state system, where he remained for his entire career, becoming professor in 1971 and serving as chair of the department from 1972–78. In 1995, he became Professor Emeritus in the same department.

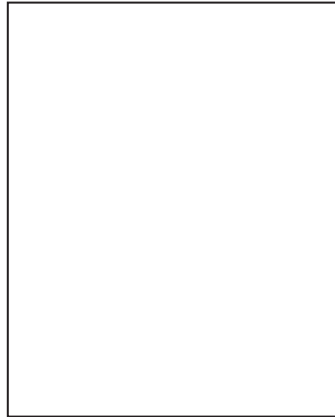
Pohlsander also taught as visiting professor at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri; at the American University of Beirut; at Ohio State University; and at the London Center of Brigham Young University.

Pohlsander's early work focused upon the history of ancient Greek texts and interpretation. In 1963 he published *The Dating of Pindaric Odes by Com-*

parison, along with *Lyrical Meters and Chronology in Sophocles*. His research later turned, however, toward the history of the early fourth century A.D., and the reign of Constantine. The author of numerous book reviews and articles, he also published, in 1984, *Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End*; *Constantia* in 1993; *Helena: Empress and Saint* in 1995; *The Emperor Constantine* in 1996 (second edition, 2004); and *A Call to Repentance: Bishop Nicetius of Trier to the Emperor Justinian* in 2000. He also was a coauthor of *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus, 1456–1489*, published in 2005. In addition to his scholarly works on the era of Constantine, Pohnsander also published two books on a particular aspect of modern history: *National Monuments and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, in 2008, and *German Monuments in the Americas: Bonds Across the Atlantic*, in 2010.

The Catholic University of America

ROBIN DARLING YOUNG



**Thomas Nathaniel Tentler
(1932–2021)**

Thomas N. Tentler (Tom) passed away peacefully at his home on Capitol Hill on Wednesday, July 21, 2021 from acute leukemia. Tom was born on October 25, 1932, in Evanston, Illinois and grew up in Chicago before attending Harvard University for his undergraduate and graduate degrees. His senior thesis, “Erasmus and the Sacraments” (1954), evidenced an interest in the great humanistic reformer that he was to pursue throughout his life, while his Ph.D. dissertation, “The Problem of Anxiety and Preparation for Death in Luther, Calvin, and Erasmus” (1961), expressed another dimension of his scholarly interests in the problems surrounding preparation for death and the practices of consolation. Following the completion of his

work at Harvard, Tom served as an instructor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1961 to 1963 before joining the Department of History at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. He was to remain there until his retirement in 1999, rising from assistant to associate professor in 1971 and from associate professor to professor in 1977. In retirement, Tom joined his wife, Leslie, in Washington, DC, where she had accepted a position at Catholic University. During his time in the capital, he occasionally taught seminars and advised students at Catholic as well.

Chief among Tom's many scholarly achievements was his book, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1978), an elegantly written, magisterial study of the manuals for confessors in circulation in late-medieval Europe. Where the scholarly trends of the 1960s and 1970s tended to cast the fifteenth-century Church as a decaying institution that carried within it the seeds of Luther's protests and sixteenth-century reforms, Tom viewed auricular confession as complex, hydra-headed, capable of consoling some, even as it might engender scrupulosity in others. The scope of *Sin and Confession* was exhaustive and its scholarly methods innovative among the many studies of medieval and early modern religion that appeared at the time. It remains today the authoritative treatment of sacramental penance at a pivotal point in the history of the Church.

While throughout his life Tom Tentler's scholarly interests gravitated towards the study of death and consolation in historical settings, his gifted teaching put into practice the many psychological insights he had culled from his wide reading in humanists, theologians, and social scientists. For his friends, colleagues, and students, Tom was always a willing ear, helping them work through both personal and scholarly problems. His great ability as a sounding board, in particular, drew scores of students to him over the years, and during weekly office hours a steady stream of advice seekers congregated outside his door. In his almost forty-year career at Michigan, Tom supervised the senior theses of many undergraduate students, some of whom have gone on to successful careers as professional historians. As a doctoral mentor, Tom's gifts were second to none in a large and diverse department, and his dedication to his students was legendary. Never one to express false praise or to back away from offering honest criticism, he saw his task as *Doktorvater* as encouraging beauty of expression, clarity, and exhaustive analysis. The circles of hospitality he nourished in his homes in Ann Arbor and Washington, DC testify to his perceptive intelligence, profound learning, and Erasmian wit and wisdom. He will be greatly missed by the many he touched in the course of a long and rich life.

Periodical Literature

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

- The Evolvement of the Ritual of the Lord's Supper: An Historical Investigation. Youssry Guirguis. *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 34 (2, 2020), 53–68.
- L'Évolution des éloges des martyrologes des fêtes de martyrs inscrites au calendrier romain préconciliaire pour le mois d'août. Philippe Beitia. *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 135 (Jan.–Mar., 2021), 3–23.
- L'Évolution des éloges des martyrologes des fêtes de martyrs inscrites au calendrier romain préconciliaire pour le mois de septembre. Philippe Beitia. *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 135 (Apr.–June, 2021), 129–81.
- Évolutions de la théologie et de la pratique des bénédictions au cours de l'histoire. Martin Klöckener. *La Maison-Dieu*, 302 (Dec. 2020), 35–62.
- Una città, un rione, la sua strada compostellana. Ricostruzione di un quadro di civiltà europea a Perugia. Apparato iconografico con note. II Parte. Daniela Gambini. *Compostellanum*, 64 (3–4, 2019), 509–54.
- La Via Romana per loca maritima. Justificación del Camino de Santiago. Cesar M. González Crespán. *Compostellanum*, 64 (3–4, 2019), 577–616.
- Il Vaticano II e la questione del sacerdozio dei fratelli insegnanti: il caso dei lasalliani. Matteo Mennini. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 42 (1, 2021), 129–59.
- Breve histoire du Groupe de travail orthodoxe—catholique Saint Irénée depuis sa création il y a quinze ans. Johannes Oeldemann. *Istina*, 64 (Oct.–Dec., 2019), 429–38.

ANCIENT

- Zur Datierungsfrage des Ersten Clemensbriefs. Eine exemplarische Evaluation anhand der Argumente bei Lightfoot und Edmundson. Andreas Pflock. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (1–2, 2020), 94–126.

- The Jewish–Christian Dialogue *Jason and Papiscus* in Light of the Sinaiticus Fragment. Harry Tolley. *Harvard Theological Review*, 114 (Jan., 2021), 1–26.
- “Do Not Believe Every Spirit”: Discerning the Ethics of Prophetic Agency in Early Christian Culture. Eugene C. Tibbs. *Harvard Theological Review*, 114 (Jan., 2021), 27–50.
- Dati storici e aspetti romanzeschi nelle prime due *Visioni* del *Pastore* di Erma. Una riconsiderazione del problema alla luce di nuove scoperte testuali. Emanuele Castelli. *Augustinianum*, LX (Dec., 2020), 321–40.
- Haereticorum baptisma*. Aspetti della controversia battesimale tra Occidente e Oriente nel III secolo. Emanuela Prinziavalli. *Augustinianum*, LX (Dec., 2020), 341–7.
- Konstantin der Große und christliche Weisheit. Manuel Alejandro Rodriguez de la Pena. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 234–49.
- Noli adhaerere velle seni mundo*. Agostino e la conversione del mondo pagano nei discorsi al popolo. Americo Miranda. *Augustinianum*, LX (June, 2020), 105–31.
- Augustine’s *Sermo* 336 for the Detection of a Church. A Study of Its Contents, Manuscript Transmission, and Editorial History, with a New Critical Edition. Gert Partoens. *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, 88 (1, 2021), 1–45.
- The Ancient Readers of Augustine’s *City of God*. Mattias Gassman. *Augustinian Studies*, 52 (1, 2021), 1–18.
- From emergency practice to Christian polemics? Augustine’s invocation of infant baptism in the Pelagian Controversy. Alexander H. Pierce. *Augustinian Studies*, 52 (1, 2021), 19–41.
- Du florilège au dialogue. Mise en scène, organisation et fonctionnement des citations augustiniennes dans le «*Contra philosophos*.» Mickaël Ribreau. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 42 (1, 2021), 29–60.
- Anastasio I di Roma e le lettere ai vescovi di Milano sulla condanna di Origene. Emanuela Prinziavalli. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 42 (1, 2021), 7–28.
- Les Vies de sainte Domnika (*BHG* 562, 562d, 562f). Textes grecs édités et commentés avec traduction de *BHG* 562f. Andrey Kurbanov—Lydia Spyridonova. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 138 (Dec., 2020), 241–303.
- Flauia Amala Amalafrida Theodenanda* e un elogio funebre della famiglia reale ostrogota (ICUR I, 2794). Rocco Ronzani. *Augustinianum*, LX (Dec. 2020), 543–69.

- Cinq Passions tardo-antiques d'Italie méridionale (Donat et ses frères Éleuthère, Potitus, Guy, Érasme). Cécile Lanéry. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 139 (June, 2021), 5–105.
- Les Vies de sainte Domnika (BHG 562, 562d, 562f). Textes grecs édités et commentés avec traduction de BHG 562f. Andrey Kurbanov – Lydia Spyridonova. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 138 (Dec., 2020), 241–303.
- Las Confesiones de San Agustín. Modesto García Grimaldos, O.S.A. *La Ciudad de Dios*, 232 (Sept.–Dec., 2019), 505–40.
- Die *Confessiones* Augustins—ein autobiographisches Projekt in der Spätantike. Winrich Löhr. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 114 (3–4, 2019), 159–87.
- Augustins Priesterweihe in Hippo Regius (391 n. Chr.)—Selbstaussagen, Hagiographie und moderne Deutung. Konrad Vössing. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 114 (3–4, 2019), 188–217.
- genium Carthaginis*—Augustin als Prediger in Karthago. Therese Fuhrer. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 114 (3–4, 2019), 218–33.
- Saint Julian of Cicilia: Cult and Hagiography. Including the Edition and English Translation of the *Passio S. Iuliani Anazarbeni* (BHG 966) and its *Epitome* (BHG 967d). Efthymios Rizos. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 139 (June, 2021), 106–55.
- Three Ways to Imitate Paul in Late Antiquity: Ekstasis, Ekphrasis, Epektasis. Michael Motia. *Harvard Theological Review*, 114 (Jan., 2021), 96–117.
- Il triteismo nel VI secolo: la fase arcaica (557–567). Carlo dell'Osso. *Augustinianum*, LX (June, 2020), 189–207.
- Saint Martin, précurseur des saints des Gaules d'après les œuvres de Grégoire de Tours. Guy Jarousseau. *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 127 (Dec., 2020), 7–33.

MEDIEVAL

- Dos nuevos fragmentos manuscritos del s. XI de la *Vita vel Passio S. Desiderii* (BHL 2148) de Sisebuto de Toledo (612–621): transcripción y estudio. José Carlos Martín-Iglesias and Salvador Iranzo Abellán. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 138 (Dec., 2020), 338–67.
- Le rôle de tribus arabes chrétiennes dans l'intégration de l'Orient à l'Église syro-orthodoxe: de la mort de Sévère (v. 683–684) à la crise entre Denhā II et Julien II (r. 687–709). Simon Pierre. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 255–71.

- Uso politico delle reliquie e modelli di regalità longobarda du Liutprando a Sicone di Benevento. Alessandro Di Muro. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (2, 2020), 373–92.
- A Coptic Magical Text for Virginity in Marriage: A Witness to “Celibate Marriage” from Christian Egypt. Lincoln H. Blumell and Korshi Dosoo. *Harvard Theological Review*, 114 (Jan., 2021), 118–42.
- Tra rispetto delle leggi e furti notturni. Narrazioni carolinghe di spostamenti di reliquie. Francesco Veronese. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (2, 2020), 327–38.
- Les origines du culte des saints martyrs Fuscien, Victorin et Gentien d'après les sources manuscrites. Dominique Paris-Poulain. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 105 (July–Dec, 2019), 235–51.
- The *Encomium* of the Five Martyrs Eustratius, Auxentius, Eugenius, Mardarius and Orestes (BHG 646b) by Michael the Monk. Dirk Krausmüller. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 138 (Dec., 2020), 311–37.
- Il *De episcoporum transmigratio*ne: le decretali pseudo-isidoriane e i dibattiti sul trasferimento e la deposizione dei vescovi tra la metà del IX e l'inizio del X secolo. Giulia Cò. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 225–34.
- The content and the ideological construction of the early pontifical manuscripts. Arthur Westwell. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 235–53.
- Les saints médiévaux d'une cité provençale: Apt, une relecture. Thierry Pécout. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 105 (July–Dec, 2019), 213–33.
- On moving bodies and monastic history. The relics and *Vita* of Probus of Ravenna. Edward McCormick Schoolman. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (2, 2020), 339–50.
- Ein Papst im Widerstreit: Paschalis II. († 21. Januar 1118). Rudolf Schieffer (†). *Römische Quartalschrift*, 114 (3–4, 2019), 275–92.
- Papato, curia romana e diocesi tra vecchi e nuovi schemi storiografici. Nicolangelo D'Acunto. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 42 (1, 2021), 163–87.
- Stratégies épistolaires et réforme grégorienne: le cas de l'Italie méridionale normande. Annick Peters-Custot. *Le Moyen Age*, 127 (2, 2020), 299–318.

- L'Église de Cologne consulte l'Église de Liège sur un problème soulevé par l'application de la Paix de Dieu (1128–1137)—Sur les trois formes de l'excommunication. Jean-Louis Kupper. *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 186 (2020), 5–22.
- Recepción de Ireneo en el siglo XII. El *Liber de sectis hereticorum* de Balduino de Canterbury, testimonio de un manuscrito perdido del *Adversus Haereses* de Ireneo. José Luis Narvaja. *Augustinianum*, LX (June, 2020), 209–29.
- “Networking” d'un espace chrétien ? Représentativité et réseaux de la correspondance pontificale aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. *Le Moyen Age*, 127 (2, 2020), 319–34.
- Lépreux et léproseries en Normandie orientale et Vexin au XIII^e siècle d'après le journal des vistes pastorales d'Eudes Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen. Bruno Tabuteau. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 105 (July–Dec, 2019), 253–72.
- La parola terapeutica del papa: prime indagini sui sermoni di Onorio III. Christian Grasso. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 29–44.
- Tommaso da Celano: un francescano d'Abruzzo. Luigi Martignani. *Laurentianum*, 61 (3, 2020), 467–82.
- Presenza degli agostiniani nell'ambito urbanistico e sociale di Roma (secoli XIII–XV). Anna Esposito. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (1–2, 2020), 18–28.
- Negli occhi di Cristo: una visione di Margherita Colonna. Francesco Saracino. *Gregorianum*, 102 (2, 2021), 419–39.
- Stimuli, Remedia* e altre immagini: sulla rivoluzione devozionale dei francescani. Antonio Montefusco. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 45–55.
- Nichil solvit*. Norma e pratica nella contribuzione ecclesiastica per la monarchia nella Corona d'Aragona durante il papato di Avignone e lo Scisma (1309–1418). Esther Tello Hernández. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (2, 2020), 439–52.
- Res publica restituta?* Perceiving emperors in fourteenth-century Rome. Anne Huijbers. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 147–68.
- Il “Manipulus curatorum” di Guy de Montrochen: 250 anni di formazione sacerdotale in Europa. Parte I. Antonio Gerace. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 42 (1, 2021), 61–85.

- Muslims in Medieval Inquisitorial Thought: Nicolau Eymeric and His Contexts. Michael D. Bailey. *Church History*, 90 (Mar., 2021), 1–20.
- John Wyclif and the Eucharistic Words of Institution: Context and Aftermath. Ian Christopher Levy. *Church History*, 90 (Mar., 2021), 21–44.
- L'enfer froid en images (xv^e et xvi^e siècles). Christian Kermoal. *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 127 (4, 2020), 97–122.
- L'église médiévale de Saint-Julien-de-Vouvantes. Thibault Lehuédé. *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 127 (4, 2020), 53–94.
- Du corporal à la pale: un nouvel objet sur l'autel au Moyen Âge tardif. Julie Glodt. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 105 (July–Dec, 2019), 273–99.
- Retour sur le “népotisme”: les nominations de cardinaux au XV^e siècle. Pierre–Bénigne Dufouleur. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 169–96.
- Feasts of Irish and Scottish Saints in Hermann Greven's Martyrology and *Devotionale*. A Review of the Evidence. Pádraig Ó Riain. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 138 (Dec., 2020), 368–81.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- Entre la tiare et le turban: les relations entre le clergé grec orthodoxe et Rome dans le contexte de la domination ottomane (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles). Alexandra Laliberté de Gagné. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 132 (1, 2020), 273–83.
- I *Ratti* di santa Caterina de' Ricci nell'archivio delle Domenicane di San Vincenzo di Prato. Chiara Vasciaveo. *Vivens Homo*, 30 (July–Dec., 2019), 379–97.
- The Bible Abbreviated: Summaries in Early Modern English Bibles. Ezra Horbury. *Harvard Theological Review*, 112 (Apr., 2019), 235–60.
- La salvezza degli Stati: atei, streghe, infedeli ed eretici nel pensiero di Bodin. Michaela Valente. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 81 (2, 2019), 291–308.
- La decorazione di fine Cinquecento presso Palazzo Farrattini ora Propaganda Fide. Ilaria Arcangeli. *Urbaniana University Journal*, 73 (3, 2020), 241–55 with 26 plates.
- Las cinco Custodias de la Sagrada Forma del Escorial y sus vicisitudes históricas. José Rodríguez Díez. *La Ciudad de Dios*, 232 (Sept.–Dec., 2019), 569–98.

- L'alleanza tra congregazione dell'Oratorio ed Enrico IV di Borbone. La testimonianza inedita dell'abate Jean Du Bois. Gennaro Cassiani. *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 55 (2, 2019), 333–60.
- La lecture des curés français (fin du XVI^e–fin du XVIII^e siècle): de l'idéal à la réalité. Philippe Martin. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 105 (July–Dec, 2019), 301–19.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

- Saggio sulla forma di vita clariana nel Monastero di Graz (1602–1782). Paul Zahner. *Antonianum*, 95 (Sept., 2020), 649–65.
- La vita quotidiana dei cappuccini nell'Africa Congo–angolana del Seicento. Esperienze missionarie francescane. *Laurentianum*, 59 (1–2, 2018), 49–78.
- A Female Mystic and Educator in the Medici Grand Duchy: Hagiography of the Venerable Leonora Ramirez de Montalvo (1602–1659) from medieval to modern *topoi*. Mattia Zangari. *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 55 (2, 2019), 229–64.
- A Visual Documentation of Fil–Hispanic Churches Part XXIV: The Church of Santa Ana, Buguey, Cagayan. Regalado Trota José. *Philippiniana Sacra*, LV (May–Aug., 2020), 307–56.
- A Visual Documentation of Fil–Hispanic Churches Part XXV: The Church of Santa Catalina de Alejandria, Gattaran, Cagayan. Regalado Trota José. *Philippiniana Sacra*, LV (Sept.–Dec., 2020), 499–532.
- Labbé de Rancé et l'office divin. Claire–Geneviève de Sainte Victor. *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 82 (4, 2020), 365–92.
- An Annotated Transcription of *Compendio Historial* (1690), by Juan Peguero, O.P. (Part 2). Jorge Mojarro. *Philippiniana Sacra*, LV (May–Aug., 2020), 357–84.
- An Annotated Transcription of *Compendio Historial* (1690), by Juan Peguero, O.P. (Part 3). Jorge Mojarro. *Philippiniana Sacra*, LV (Sept.–Dec., 2020), 533–56.
- Matrimonio cattolico e concubinato in Cina; la voce di un mandarino convertito nel XVII secolo. Rui Zhang. *Antonianum*, 95 (Sept., 2020), 621–38.
- Revising the Supernatural: Prospero Lambertini's Reconsideration of the Concept of Miracle. Alessandro Laverda. *Church History*, 90 (Mar., 2021), 45–67.

- L'incendio della basilica di S. Antonio nelle narrazioni inedite di testimoni oculari (Padova, 29 marzo 1749). Antonino Poppi. *Il Santo*, 59 (3, 2019), 451–69.
- The Church of England and the Coronation Right, 1761–1838. Nicholas Dixon. *Church History*, 90 (Mar., 2021), 98–116.
- “Angefangene Kirchenverbesserung”. Zur Reformationsdeutung in der Christentumstheorie des Aufklärungstheologen Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart. Marco Stallmann. *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 116 (Dec., 2019), 402–31.
- La lente dissolution de la bibliothèque grecque du cardinal Salviati. Une affaire de soldats, *gentilshommes*, papes, bibliophiles et pirates. Don Giacomo Cardinali. *Journal des Savants* (July–Dec., 2020), 429–92.
- Les Martyrs de Casamari 13–16 mai 1799. Pierdomenico M. Volpi. *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 82 (4, 2020), 393–409.

NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES
(EASTERN HEMISPHERE)

- Catholicisme et défense de la discipline quadragésimale à l'âge libéral. Sylvio De Franceschi. *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 55 (2, 2019), 303–30.
- Hippo Regius—Bûna—Bône. Ein Erinnerungsort im Spiegel der kolonialzeitlichen Augustinusrezeption. Stefan Ardeleanu. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (1–2, 2020), 29–56.
- Charles de Montalembert et Victor de Buck. Bernard Joassart. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 139 (June, 2021), 156–91.
- Zwischen Kronen und Nationen: Die zentraleuropäischen katholischen Priesterkollegien in Rom zwischen Risorgimento und Zweitem Weltkrieg. Tamara Scheer. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 159–71.
- Das *Pontificium Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum* zwischen internationalem Anspruch und nationalen Interessen im 19.20. Jahrhundert. Markus Pillat. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 172–182.
- Das Mutterhaus der Salvatorianer in Rom—Internationalität versus deutsches Regulativ. Stefan Samerski. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 183–92.
- Der Kirchenhistoriker Joseph Wittig und Rom 1904/06. Manfred Spata. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (1–2, 2020), 137–55.

- “Aber durch die gemeinsame einheitliche Kommandosprache wurde noch kein Mann entnationalisiert. . .” Rok Stergar. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 217–33.
- Buonaiuti, La Piana, De Stefano. Carteggi tra modernisti per una teologia della storia [III]. Salvatore Corso. *Laurentianum*, 59 (1–2, 2018), 79–299.
- Alexander Frison (1875–1937), ein russlanddeutscher Germaniker unter Stalin. Katrin Boeckh. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 202–16.
- “Le Plus Anti Allemand des Prélats de Toulouse.” Mgr Bruno de Solages dans les Archives de la *Sicherheitspolizei-Sicherheitsdienst* (SIPO–S.D.). Michał Wenklar. *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, 486 (Apr.–June, 2021), 75–87.
- Memorie autobiografiche patavine del professor Lorenzo Cima. I rapporti con il padre Stanislao Sgarbossa ofmconv: un cappellano sul crinale antifascismo-anticomunismo (1943–1948). *Il Santo*, 59 (3, 2019), 471–503.
- “Nous avons un saint parmi nous, et ne nous en étions pas rendus compte”: vie et mort de l’abbé Louis Jacquat en Thuringe dans les derniers mois de la seconde guerre mondiale. Christine Herzog. *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France*, 105 (July–Dec, 2019), 331–51.
- “The Limits of Human Jurisdiction”: Protestantism, War Crimes Trials, and Human Rights in Occupied Germany. Brandon Bloch. *Journal of Modern History*, 93 (June, 2021), 363–400
- Der slowenische Priester Lambert Ehrlich: Wanderer zwischen den Welten. Marija Wakounig. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 193–201.
- Die Berufung Josef Höfers zum geistlichen Botschaftsrat der deutschen Botschaft beim Heiligen Stuhl (1951–1954). Dominik Burkhard. *Römische Quartalschrift*, 115 (3–4, 2020), 268–96.
- Johann Adam Möhler negli studi teologici del secondo Novecento. Principali linee di interpretazione. Luca Ferracci. *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 42 (1, 2021), 87–128.

Other Books Received

- Blum, Daniela. *Multikonfessionalität im Alltag: Speyer zwischen politischem Frieden und Bekenntnisernst (1555–1618)*. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Tarte, Brad 162.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2015. Pp. x, 374. €56.00).
- Bouley, Bradford A. *Pious Postmortems: Anatomy, Sanctity, and the Catholic Church in Early Modern Europe*. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2017. Pp. vii, 214. \$59.95).
- Brejon de Lavergnée, Matthieu. *The Streets as a Cloister: History of the Daughters of Charity*. (Hyde Park, NY: New York City Press. 2020. Pp. 504. \$79.00).
- Brekus, Catherine A. *Sarah Osborn's Collected Writings*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2017. Pp. xli, 337. \$40.00).
- Catto, Michela, and Claudio Ferlan. *I gesuiti e i papi*. (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2016. Pp. 223. €20.00).
- Cherry, Haydon. *Down and Out in Saigon: Stories of the Poor in a Colonial City*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2019. Pp. xviii, 280. \$50.00).
- Christensen, Mark Z. *The Teabo Manuscript: Maya Christian Copybooks, Chilam Balams, and Native Text Production in Yucatán*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2016. Pp. xvii, 321. \$55.00).
- Cohick, Lynn H., and Amy Brown Hughes. *Christian Women in the Patristic World: Their Influence, Authority, and Legacy in the Second through Fifth Centuries*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 2017. Pp. xxxviii, 292. \$35.00 paperback).
- Cole, Zachary J. *Numerals in Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts: Text-Critical, Scribal, and Theological Studies*. (Leiden: Brill. 2017. Pp. xiii, 269. \$25.00).
- Crowe, Brandon D. *The Last Adam: A Theology of the Obedient Life of Jesus in the Gospels*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 2017. Pp. xvii, 264. \$32.00 paperback).
- Curran, Robert Emmett (Ed.). *Intestine Enemies: Catholics in Protestant America, 1605–1791: A Documentary History*. (Washington, DC: The

- Catholic University of America Press. 2017. Pp. xxix, 289. \$34.95 paperback).
- Curtis, Finbarr. *The Production of American Religious Freedom*. (New York: New York University Press. 2016. Pp. x, 169. \$28.00 paperback).
- De Palma, Luigi Michele. *Studiare teologia a Roma: Origini e sviluppi della Pontificia Accademia Teologica*. [Itineraria, 12.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2017. Pp. 415. €29,00).
- Enzler, Clarence J. *My Other Self: Conversations with Christ on Living Your Faith*. (Notre Dame, IN: Christian Classics. 2011. Pp. xx, 232. \$13.95 paperback).
- Espinosa, Gastón. *Latino Pentecostals in America: Faith and Politics in Action*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2014. Pp. xiii, 418. \$30.00).
- Fragnito, Gigliola, and Alain Tallon (Eds.). *Hétérodoxies croisées: Catholicismes pluriels entre France et Italie, XVIe-XVIIe siècles*. (Rome: École française de Rome. 2017. Pp. 514. €27,00 paperback).
- García Hernán, Enrique, José Cutillas Ferrer, and Rudi Matthee (Eds.). *The Spanish Monarchy and Safavid Persia in the Early Modern Period: Politics, War, and Religion*. (Valencia, Spain: Albatros Ediciones. 2016. Pp. 247. €30.00).
- Gauvreau, Michael. *The Hand of God: Claude Ryan and the Fate of Canadian Liberalism, 1925-1971*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2017. Pp. xiv, 678. \$44.95).
- Greyerz, Kaspar Von, Silvana Seidel Menchi, and Martin Wallra *Basel 1516: Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament*. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. 2017. Pp. xix, 310. €49.00).
- Gonzalez, Johnhenry. *Maroon Nation: A History of Revolutionary Haiti*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2019. Pp. xii, 302. \$40.00.)
- Hogan, Edmund M. *The Turning of a Tide: Ignace Lissner and the Society of African Missions in the U.S.A.* (Rome: SMA Publications. 2016. Pp. vii, 319).
- Hollinger, David A. *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2017. Pp. xv, 390. \$35.00).
- Howard, Thomas Albert. *The Pope and the Professor: Pius IX, Ignaz von Dollinger, and the Quandary of the Modern Age*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 2017. Pp. xvii, 339. \$53.00).

- Howard, Thomas Albert. *Remembering the Reformation: An Inquiry into the Meanings of Protestantism*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 2016. Pp. xiii, 189. \$25.95 paperback).
- Janet, Richard J. *In Missouri's Wilds: St. Mary's of the Barrens and the American Catholic Church, 1818 to 2016*. (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2017. Pp. xi. 276).
- Johnson, Anna Marie. *Beyond Indulgences: Luther's Reform of Late Medieval Piety, 1518–1520*. [Early Modern Studies, Vol. 21.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2017. Pp. xii, 225).
- Kengor, Paul. *A Pope and a President: John Paul II, Ronald Reagan, and the Extraordinary Untold Story of the 20th Century*. (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books. 2017. Pp. x, 637. \$29.95.)
- Kreider, Alan. *The Patient Ferment of the Early Church: The Improbable Rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 2016. Pp. xiii, 296. \$29.99 paperback.)
- Lapomarda, Vincent A. *Anthony F. Ciampi (1816–1893): The Jesuit Who Saved the College of the Holy Cross*. (Worcester, MA., 2017. Pp. xiv, 181).
- Martínez Ferrer, Luis. *Tercer Concilio Limense (1583–1591): Edición bilingüe de los decretos*. (Lima: Facultad de Teología Pontificia y Civil de Lima. 2017. Pp. 339.)
- Miller, R.W.H. *Dr Ashley's Pleasure Yacht: John Ashley, the Bristol Channel Mission and all that Followed*. (Cambridge, UK: The Lutterworth Press. 2017. Pp. xvi, 134. £20.00).
- O'Neill, Michael (Ed.). *Episcopal Visitations of the Diocese of Meath, 1622–1799*. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2017. Pp. 383. €49.50).
- Pelletier, Kevin. *Apocalyptic Sentimentalism: Love and Fear in U.S. Antebellum Literature*. (Athens, GA: Georgia University Press. 2018. Pp. xii, 192. \$26.95 paperback.)
- Pennington, Jonathan T. *The Sermon on the Mount and Human Flourishing: A Theological Commentary*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 2017. Pp. xx, 326. \$32.99 paperback.)
- Peterson, Mark. *The City-State of Boston: The Rise and Fall of an Atlantic Power, 1630–1865*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2019. Pp. xviii, 832. \$39.95.)
- Petro, Anthony M. *After the Wrath of God: AIDS, Sexuality, & American Religion*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2015. Pp. x. 197. \$33.95.)

- Rademacher, Nicholas K. *Paul Hanly Furfey: Priest, Scientist, Social Reformer*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2017. Pp. xi, 341. \$35.00 paperback.)
- Rehberg, Andreas (Ed.). *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*. [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen & Instituts in Rom, Band 132.] (Berlin: De Gruyter. 2017. Pp. xvii. 684. \$154.99).
- Ru *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany, 1945–1980*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2017. Pp. xvi, 394. \$49.99).
- Schjørring, Jens Holger, and Norman A. Hjelm (Eds.). *History of Global Christianity, Volume II: History of Christianity in the 19th Century*. (Boston, MA: Brill. 2018. Pp. xii. 346.).
- Shea, C. Michael. *Newman's Early Roman Catholic Legacy, 1845–1854*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2017. Pp. xiv, 230. \$90.00).
- Stahl, Ronit Y. *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2017. Pp. x, 348. \$43.50).
- Verrier, Philippe. *Victor Dillard, SJ: Spiritual Resister and Apostle to the STO Slave Laborers in Germany, Martyred at Dachau*. Trans. Theodore P. Fraser (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press. 2017. Pp. 212. \$24.00 paperback).
- Wallace, Carey. *Stories of the Saints: Bold and Inspiring Tales of Adventure, Grace, and Courage*. (New York, NY: Workman Publishing. 2019. Pp. ix, 217. \$24.95 hardcover.)
- Williams, Leslie. *Emblem of Faith Untouched: A Short Life of Thomas Cranmer*. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2016. Pp. viii, 200. \$18.00 paperback).
- Young, Francis. *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2016. Pp. xiii, 275. \$37.99).