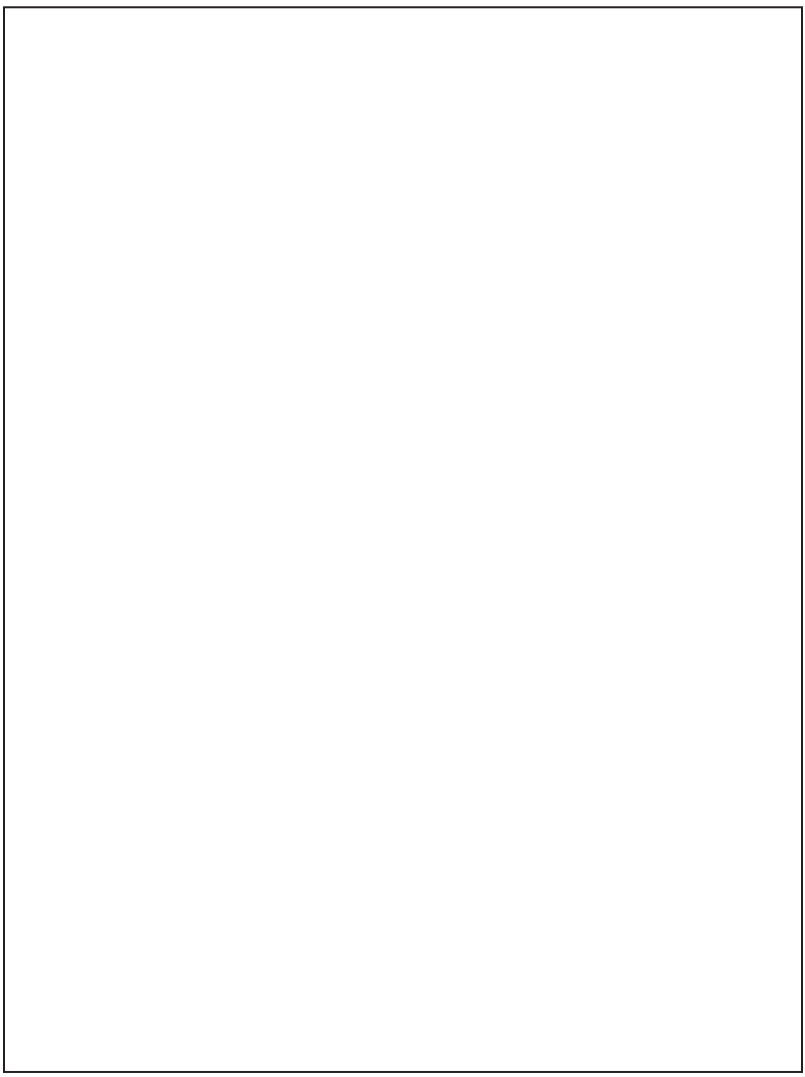

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Presidential Address to the American Catholic Historical Association 2023

Rethinking Catholic Intellectual History

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This paper argues for a revitalization of Catholic intellectual history, in particular the modern history of Catholic thought. The author weaves her own personal narrative as a scholar of Catholic ideas with suggestions for renewed commitment to the discipline of intellectual history in relation to the themes of embodiment, attention/contemplation, outsiders, and humor.

Key words: Jewish intellectual history, John Tracy Ellis, Catholic sensibilites and outsiders, attention and contemplation, humor

How might we revitalize what can feel a bit like a curmudgeonly old subfield, intellectual history, especially when it's connected to something even *more* curmudgeonly and old, the Catholic Church? To answer this question, I'd like to begin with a narrative of my own journey into this field.

I consider myself fortunate to have come into the academic study of Catholicism actually by way of Jews and Judaism. I went to a big state school in Colorado, and a Jewish professor with a gray ponytail named Ira Chernus introduced me to the study of religion. He taught a course I loved

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on Modern Jewish Thought. My first year in college I was blown away by Ira's lectures on Martin Buber, especially Buber's answers to questions about how we find our way to God now that religious belief has become so challenging for modern people. His 1923 book, *I and Thou,* proposed a theology of relationality, the idea that God's being is manifest in the interpersonal dynamics of authentic relations.

Growing up in small-town Michigan, of course I had never in my life heard anything even remotely like that before, and loved it. I went to college seeking a portal to another world, a way to imagine possibilities for thinking and living, of which until then I had only hunched in high school through my music and my subscription to *Sassy* magazine. Reading these ideas from Jewish intellectuals made me feel aspirational and grown-up. Today, I still feel a little pang of embarrassment remembering that, at the time, the only way I could think to show Ira my enthusiasm for Buber was to print my entire midterm paper on fancy stationery, embossed with tiny flecks of dried flowers, like little rose petals, and dried hay. How that didn't jam the dorm printer I'll never know. No idea how he could even read it. I just wanted to show my professor that I was *all-in*. Eventually, I learned to simmer down.

With Ira, we learned about Buber, Abraham Joshua Heschel, Elie Weisel, and others in a field I now recognize as Jewish intellectual history or modern Jewish thought. But these thinkers were not exactly taught to me in terms of the dynamics of "them" (the Jewish teacher and authors) welcoming "us" (outsiders like me) into their world in an atmosphere of host and guest, like "interfaith dialogue." No, Ira, along with the authors we read, seemed to treat me as just an engaged interlocutor interested in resources for thinking from anywhere, including Judaism, that were as open to critique and admiration from anyone. There was something indelibly *Jewish* about these thinkers, to be sure. They were *marked by* Judaism, especially the long Jewish tradition on thinking, debating, and writing as almost sacred activities. But their visions had sights on a wider field of humanity. I was invited to learn *about* them, but *from* them, too—about our shared would, even about myself.

This all took place in a small undergraduate department of religious studies in a big football and party school. With not many serious students, the professors gave us majors who were interested, including John Seitz, my husband, now a scholar of American religion, so much attention and care. They were just looking for baseline, sober students. At one point in my undergraduate program, Ira asked me what my own religious background was. I said I was Irish Catholic. But I was very quick to assure him that

there was nothing interesting there. From what I could tell, it seemed to mostly mean boiled cabbage, silence, and alcoholism. I shook my head, as in no, *please don't ask me to dig into this, it's so boring!* But Ira pressed, said I might be surprised. In a course on nonviolence, he showed me things like the Catholic peacemaking traditions of the twentieth century.[1] When I told him I had to do a research paper for my Spanish minor, he said of course I must dig into the Spanish mystics. Hmmm. *Maybe*. I warmed to it a little.

When I decided to go to Boston for graduate school, it was Ira who said that this would be the best city in the country to really finally dig into the riches of Catholicism. He convinced me. I was not exactly sure what I was doing in graduate school and I certainly would not have had any kind of ability to talk about my preferred historical methods. I now see I was looking for a kind of Catholic version of what Ira had shown with Judaism, a kind of history of Catholic thought, combining biography, careful readings of the compelling ideas that came from specific religious and political contexts, but which were broad and humanistic. Systematic theology, where I was originally slotted as a graduate student, seemed not empirical enough, not enough *life* and *people* and *particularity*. So I found my way to the history of Christianity courses.

But at the time, in the early 2000s, the study of Catholicism was totally energized in different directions. It was not so much the history of thought but of practice, not ideas but sensory experience and embodiment, not the theses of elite writers but religion as it was lived among the marginal and dispossessed, not just white writers from Europe and the US but people all over the world, at pilgrimage sites, cemeteries, and the bedsides of the sick and dying.[2] Not religion at its most inspiring but in its most violent too, and strange. As you can probably tell from this litany, Robert Orsi had arrived at Harvard when I began my doctoral program.[3] Just as my study of writers like Buber and Arendt pointed me to the most morally

1. This course became the basis of his book, Ira Chernus, *American Nonviolence: The History of an Idea* (Ossining, 2004).

2. For an excellent overview of this turn in the history of religion, see Constance M. Furey, "Body, Society, and Subjectivity in Religious Studies," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 80, no. 1 (2012), 7–33.

3. It was Robert Orsi's teaching that was most influential at the time, but also these works in particular made an impact: Robert A. Orsi, "Is the Study of Lived Religion Irrelevant to the World We Live in? Special Presidential Plenary Address, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Salt Lake City, November 2, 2002," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 42, no. 2 (2003), 169–74; Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars who Study Them?* (Princeton, 2005).

urgent, serious questions I had ever, *ever* considered asking—about things like *evil* and *God*—this new way of thinking about religion felt just as moral, *just as urgent*. It was much more than a "method" for studying Catholic history, but was an insight into reality, a new answer to the question of where you look to learn what is real and true, a moral imperative to expand the list of those we consider worthy of our attention and curiosity and care. I can only say now that, even though I had my sights elsewhere, I knew this attention to embodiment, this approach to lived religion, the move away from elite writers was *and is* necessary, crucial.

It wasn't just the field of Catholic history, of course, but I sensed that the kind of scholarship I was interested in pursuing was not really where the excitement was in the humanities. Studies about broad humanistic ideas were handled with a certain kind of nervousness or skepticism. Topics like the self, freedom, responsibility, love were seen as having an unspoken, tacit reference to a dominant (usually male, white, Eurocentric) culture. Christian thinkers and especially the ideas of theologians whose insights purported to be universal, were seen as holdovers from an earlier history of religion that had not yet shed its own narrow, ethnocentric perspective, masked as "humanism."[4] The suspicion of big ideas meant that there was a turn to narrower and narrower frames of reference. It was a warning to be very suspicious of claims that ideas reached beyond their original context.[5] At the same time, there were *theories* and *theorists* taught and used in graduate school, tools that historians of religion used to help interpret the data they studied. But these theorists, at the time, were largely deconstructive, attuned to unmasking the dynamics of power, a tool that could be used in any context.

I should add here that I wasn't nostalgic for the old days because I found these critiques, and explosions, of the canon to be totally convincing. I still do. At the same time, I still felt strongly that the study of religious *ideas* mattered, and not just the ideas about critique. I knew that ideas always mattered to the people whose lives I read about, and I knew person-

4. Much has been written on this topic, but one short essay I found helpful is Michael Puett, "In Praise of Play," in: *Why We Play: An Anthropological Study,* ed. Roberte Hamayon (Chicago, 2016), xv–xix.

5. See here Amy Hollywood, "Gender, Agency, the Divine in Religious Historiography," in: *Acute Melancholia: Mysticism, History, and the Study of Religion* (New York, 2016). Tyler Roberts, "Between the Lines: Exceeding Historicism in the Study of Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 74, no. 3 (2006), 697–719; Tyler Roberts, *Encountering Religion: Responsibility and Criticism After Secularism* (New York, NY, 2013; online ed., Columbia Scholarship Online, 2015), Robert Orsi, *History and Presence* (Cambridge, MA, 2016).

ally that to live with purpose, or to make a difference, ideas mattered a great deal. But I also could see that when ideas were merely presented as lifeless theories that floated around in the ether, or were imagined as abstractions that could be "applied" to life, whatever that means, that was totally inadequate. I knew even as a budding historian that was not how the world worked. There were *tensions* to figure out.

It was a stroke of luck that my first TA job was for the fabulous scholar of Jewish thought, Jay Harris. It returned me to my undergraduate roots. In his Modernity and Judaism course, Jay Harris brought to life incredible new thinkers, people like Hermann Cohen, Gershom Scholem, and Franz Rosenzweig. I was completely back in the world of big, humanistic ideas from the history of religion. We were reading, after all, some of the best intellectuals of the twentieth century and asking what claim that their ideas still had on us. But here is the key difference: the ideas were *highly dependent on the particularities of modern Judaism;* their thinking wasn't dependent upon a hidden secret Eurocentrism masked as universalism. Not at all. These Jewish scholars had fled persecution in Europe. Their lives were lived amid threat, violence, faint hope. This texture, this contextual particularity, could not be overlooked. Modern Jewish thought *cannot* be thought outside of history and of lives; they flee, they hide, they blend in, they create secret networks as the condition and fabric of their thought. So the ideas were *specifically Jewish with specific histories.* But they weren't thereby *niche*: still it was expected that we responded to these authors as interlocutors, they made claims upon us today about things like memory and the nature evil, of responsibility, redemption.

Also, these thinkers were immersed in the religious *stuff* of their Judaism *and* in the European intellectual traditions in which they were trained. But all this was different, less triumphal and less presumptive because it was combined with a cutting, visceral recognition of the real dangers of Western thought. They were especially consumed, of course, with the question of what elements of European thought were most responsible for the rise of National Socialism. Taking notes as the TA that semester, it struck me: this way of combining life *and* ideas, politics, biography, and thought—this was wonderful. And to study writers who combined religious commitment with realism and critical consciousness—*that's what I wanted to do with Catholicism. But how?*

Where were the Catholics like that? Who were the Catholic Bubers, Arendts, Rosenweigs? It was so much tricker because the Catholic Church, unlike Judaism, is so much more deeply entangled with Western power

and doesn't have this long, visible tradition of outsiderhood that marks so much of the intellectual creativity of minority communities. And Catholicism doesn't have the cultural commitment to critical thinking the way Judaism does. (To put it mildly!). There was more too. Recently, my colleague Michael Pasquier reminded me of the classic 1955 essay by Monseigneur John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life."[6] Some readers may remember this piece: a devastating critique of the mediocrity of American Catholic intellectual culture. Msgr. Ellis claimed that the weakest aspect of the Church lay in its failure to produce leaders in intellectual circles. Catholics thinkers instead were life-long defenders of a fortress, doing apologetics instead of substantive thought.

Although I was in graduate school about fifty years after Msgr. Ellis's scathing and actually kind of brilliant article, maybe his insight had something to do with why I ended up studying the Catholics who were most connected to the European Jewish thinkers I admired so much. With the help of generous people like the late great scholar for whom we grieve, John W. Malley, my mentor, Amy Hollywood, and Stephen Schloesser, I wrote my dissertation on Raïssa Maritain. She was a Jewish-born poet who had assimilated into French secular laïcité in the late nineteenth century, but was drawn eventually to Catholic mysticism and converted in 1905.[7] But she considered herself a Jewish-Catholic, a designation she reclaimed after she had to flee Europe in 1939 for North American: though a converted Catholic, still a Jew under Nazi law.

Yet things *have* changed so much in the field of Catholic history since Msgr. Ellis published his essay. Now, I think, we are at a moment when the study of Catholic thought and intellectual history could really be *revitalized* in wonderful ways. My sense now is that we can even more fully integrate the insights from fields like Jewish studies and other subfields whose center of gravity is the history of outsiderhood—African American studies, postcolonial studies, women's studies.

The trick is to have this outsider capacity for critique merging, as it does in Raïssa Maritain, in Arendt, or in Baldwin, for example—to have that merging with a willingness to think broadly, to think humanistically. Ideas, and here I mean the relatively refined contributions of intellectuals

6. John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," *Thought*, 30 (1955) 351–88.

7. *Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, the Allure of Suffering, and the French Catholic Revival, 1905–1944* (Notre Dame, IN, 2013).

and artists to big humanistic questions, are sometimes, *but not always,* a mask for power. I believe we are at a moment in the humanities that is weary of endless suspicions.[8] We are also weary of secular modernity's promises, and eager for big, bold alternatives to the corrupt, bankrupt religious worldviews circulating in the domains of power. We are open to considering that the religious ideas of the past have something other than false consciousness, imperialism, or illusion, and that instead, are one possible historical resource to consider as we could move towards new ways of being in the world. The buried ideas, we all know in the field of Catholic history, are often found in archives, glimpsed in old correspondences, homilies, out-of-print journals and dusty collections of poems. They require careful, historical work, learning new languages, the standard tools of our craft. What sorts of Catholic ideas might we excavate from the past? How can they speak to us now, humanistically? Here are four sites of excitement as I see it for a renewed Catholic intellectual history.

First, when you're looking for creative, interesting sites of intellectual history in Catholicism, one place is to the exiles, the insider-outsiders, the pariahs. This means we have to expand who counts as Catholic. To be sure, at its most basic, Catholic intellectual history would have to include the full panorama of Catholic sensibilities: brilliant, empathetic, misogynistic, abusive, criminal, pillaging, plundering, insecure, joyful, racist, achingly dull, creative, disgusting, inspiring, in excess of both compassion and disdain. Catholic "thought" of course happens in all of these spaces. But I am interested in ideas that might be life-giving. Without losing sight of the dangers, I want to consider buried Catholic ideas that open up new frames of reference, ideas that might point another way through some of our tired conversations, toward unexpected ways of being in the world.

Catholic intellectual history can no longer be limited to who John Tracy Ellis was looking for: just the white clergy and professional male Catholics working solely within one national and cultural border, or even solely within one confessional border. We need a more capacious understanding of who counts as a "Catholic thinker."[9] Again, I think we learn

8. My thinking here is indebted to Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago, 2015), and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You," *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC, 2003), 123–51.

9. James Heft, *The Future of Catholic Higher Education* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) 130–132.; Brian Conniff, "John Tracy Ellis and the Figure of the Catholic Intellectual," *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 10, no. 1 (2006), 76–88.

from Judaism here. Consider Hannah Arendt's powerfully vivid essay, "We Refugees," that came out in January 1943, before the worst horrors inflicted upon the Jews were fully revealed.[10] In this essay, Arendt breaks down the tragic optimism of Jews who were trying to assimilate and forget their past, what she called the *parvenu* or the upstarts. Arendt instead made a case for the pariah (the outsider). She celebrates the refugees who refused to bury their memories in the rush to assimilate. They never wanted to become upstarts or up-and-comers, they preferred the status of conscious pariah. For her it was the modern Jew's salvation to accept that status as outsider proudly while fighting for a more humane world, always *with* the ones who are excluded, just as they were.

Among these Jewish thinkers in the pariah traditions Arendt listed Franz Kafka, Charlie Chaplin, Rahel Varnhagen: not just the philosophers or theologians, but a female writer in a man's world, a short-story author of the fantastical, a comedian. She had in mind wide-ranging intellectuals who were committed to outsiders wherever they were. Arendt insists that creativity happens from these perspectives of the wanderers who did not just leave, but who were expelled outside the borders, whose thought, art, writing and ideas proceeded to explode tired categories.

So who are Catholicism's conscious pariahs? This kind of move might turn historians' attention to people like the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral, who was born in 1893 and to this day remains known as the "spiritual queen of Latin America."[11] Mistral was a Catholic, a lay woman and a Franciscan oblate. Mistral lived through devastating crises of global magnitude: the rise of xenophobia and dictatorships, genocide, world war, mass exiles around the world.[12] A wanderer who lived in Chile, Paris, Brazil, and New York, Mis-

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10. Hannah Arendt, "We Refugees," *Menorah Journal*, 31, no. 1 (1943), 69–77.

11. Hjalmar Gullberg, "Award ceremony speech," (speech, Stockholm, Sweden, December 10, 1945), available on Nobel Media AB 2019, accessed April 18, 2023, http://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1945/ceremony-speech.

12. There are several excellent biographies of Gabriela Mistral: Licia Fiol-Matta, *A Queer Mother for the Nation: The State and Gabriela Mistral* (Minneapolis, 2002); Marjorie Agosn, *A Gabriela Mistral Reader* (Fredonia, NY, 1993); Karen Patricia Peña, *Poetry and the Realm of the Public Intellectual: The Alternative Destinies of Gabriela Mistral, Cecília Meireles, and Rosario Castellanos* (Leeds, 2007). The work of Elizabeth Horan is unparalleled: Elizabeth Horan, *Gabriela Mistral: An Artist and Her People* (Washington, DC, 1994). The University of Chile maintains an extraordinary Spanish-language website with up-to-date secondary literature on Mistral, a detailed biography, and photos, at "Gabriela Mistral," Gabriela Mistral, Universidad de Chile and the Ministerio de Educación, 2003, accessed April 20, 2023, http://www.gabrielamistral.uchile.cl. Finally, see Martin C. Taylor, *Gabriela Mistral's Struggle with God and Man: A Biographical and Critical Study of the Chilean Poet* (Jefferson, NC, 2012).

tral was also a trailblazer in the transatlantic exchange of ideas. Immersed in international networks of art and thought, her writing drew from indigenous storytelling from Chile and Mexico, along with Tolstoy, and Chekov, and Mexican religious figures, like Sor Juana de la Cruz. While Europe offered her a clear chance to escape her origins, to join the elite intellectual circuit and not look back, she refused. She never lost sight of the reality of the people who have little control over their lives. Her psychological involvement with the class from which she came ran deep. It is this kind of positionality that enabled Mistral to imagine herself as a defender of Europe's many mid-century refugees. She imagined herself as someone who would, as one of her mystical, surreal poems narrates, "lick up" refugee footprints in order to hide their tracks from their pursuers.[13] (To me that's very Franciscan of her, licking up something gross to make a point about love!) Mistral's form of wild, mystical insider-outsider hood is a brilliant beacon, undoing presumptions about Latin America, about women, about indigeneity, about Catholicism, *and* about European modernism itself.

Our openness to pariahs needs to include those who have wandered in and outside of the Church too. One of my favorite historians, the late Jesuit Michel de Certeau, offers a brilliant model of this kind of curiosity in a chapter of *The Mystic Fable* called "Labadie the Nomad," focused on Jean de Labadie, a seventeenth-century French Pietist. Originally a Jesuit priest, he became a member of the Reformed Church, before founding the community which became known as the Labadists in 1669. De Certeau described Labadie as "a man whose wanderings continue to elude the learned, who only see him cross the narrow field of their competency, and who leaves us nothing but his sandals."[14] Labadie wandered relentlessly, and instead of abandoning the journey, de Certeau holds on, seeking to understand what he called "migrations through the institutions of meaning." [15] De Certeau stays with him, follows him as he crosses the field outside of Catholicism, like so many borderland seekers of the sacred de Certeau loved: all "sorts of wanderers, like those Jesuits who become Protestants, or the other way around."[16] I am interested in joining de Certeau in the conviction that there is much intellectual vitality and creativity to be found in those who undertake these voyages in and out of the

13. Gabriela Mistral, "Footprint," in: *Selected Poems of Gabriela Mistral,* ed. and trans. Ursula K. Le Guin (Albuquerque, 2003).

14. Michael de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable,* trans. Michael Smith, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1996-2015, here 1996), Volume 1: *the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* 293

15. Michael de Certeau. *The Mystic Fable,* 292.

16. Ibid.

traditions, whose allegiances are fluid, and yet are shaped, indelibly, by something called Catholicism.

Imani Perry, the scholar of African American history, provides a more contemporary example. Perry grew up amid religious multitudes—her mother and grandmother are Catholics from the south, her great-grandmother was Baptist, and the father she grew up with was Jewish. She describes herself as "a child of the fragments of Christianity." "I think of myself as a seeker," she explained in an interview, "and I respond to that which resonates within, so my spiritual life is as promiscuous as my intellectual interests."[17] In her memoir *Breathe*, Perry writes to her sons, young Black men in the United States: "In the Catholic tradition, there is a form of grace—the sanctifying one—that is the stuff of your soul. It is not defined by moments of mercy or opportunity. It is not good things happening to you. Rather it is the good thing that is in you, regardless of what happens to you."[18] I found myself drawn to her reflections on grace *because* openness about her fluid allegiances. We aren't looking for Catholic heroes, but for stories that illuminate the embodied complexity of Catholic ideas in the real world.

The embodied complexity of Catholic ideas in the real world. That brings me to my second point: The issue of embodiment in Catholic history, and its relation to thought. Catholic thought has always to be rendered *with* sensuality on the page. Scholars of Catholic religiosity have been the leaders in the humanities with attention to the role of embodiment and sensory experience in history. It was a special joy to participate in bestowing the 2022 Distinguished Scholar Award of the American Catholic Historical Association to Caroline Walker Bynum. I remember so clearly learning from her work that it wasn't mind *or* body, ideas *or* senses, but the whole world of medieval religion, which in her hands simply exploded the long-held notions of duality and mind and body.[19] Indeed, it is the texture of a life that is most often missing from accounts of Catholic ideas and writers.

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17. "More Beautiful," Imani Perry interview with Krista Tippet, *On Being* podcast, September 26, 2019, accessed April 10, 2023, https://onbeing.org/programs/imani-perry-more-beautiful/.

18. Imani Perry, *Breathe: A Letter to My Sons* (Boston, 2019), 29.

19. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the. Human* Body *in Medieval* Religion (NY: Zone Books, 1992); Robert Orsi, "Doing Religion with Your Whole Body," *Practical Matters,* 6, no. 2 (2013), 1–6. Orsi's work has also been explicit that it is never mind *or* body, but ideas are felt, experienced, transformed in embodied relational worlds. See for example, Robert Orsi, "The problem of the holy," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies,* ed. Robert Orsi, [Cambridge Companions to Religion] (Cambridge, UK, 2012), 84–106.

As Robert Orsi has written, "other people's lives are always there, in one way or another. This is true even when the matters we are thinking about are huge and abstract, when we ask questions about religion and the state, for instance, or religion and violence. There are always lives within our ideas."[20] To draw people in, the more concrete, the better: to what degree can we evoke the sound of a page turning, the light on the bookshelf, the feel of holy water on the forehead, the nervousness to share a first poem?

In my own work I show how we cannot understand, for example, how Jacques Maritain's ideas made such an impact in places like the U.S., Chile, and Uruguay without pausing on the materiality that sustained the circulation of his ideas. People who were working on Maritain's texts were not content with words. They gathered up photos of Jacques—just like the relics that the most ardent of the faithful Christian disciples have always gathered: bits of holy cloth, tooth, and bone—and redistributed them among themselves as relics. He signed letters with kisses and scribbled memories entangled with visions of God and photos.[21] The energy circulating between desire, materiality, and holiness is central to the movement of Catholic ideas. Historians of Catholicism are, perhaps, trained to see this better than anyone.

In addition to embodiment and pariahs, I offer a third key catalyst for a better Catholic intellectual history: attention and contemplation. Readers know how much historical work demands long, sustained efforts at focused attention, an ability to delve into the strange specificity of the luminous worlds we study. It requires languages, careful analysis of detailed evidence, focused attention, and then we have to step back and see how they fit into larger patterns, for intellectual historians, larger patterns of thought, the big humanistic ideas. Yet we live in a world of soundbites and clickbait, pop up ads and interruptions that shatter deep thoughts and undercuts focus.[22] The diminishment and dispersal of our attention I think is a huge deal we have

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20. Robert Orsi, "Theorizing Closer to Home," *HDS Bulletin,* 38 (Winter/Spring, 2010), 29.

21. I elaborate on this in Brenna Moore, *Kindred Spirits: Friendship and Resistance at the Edges of Modern Catholicism* (Chicago, 2021).

22. Sherry Turkle, *The Empathy Diaries* (New York, NY, 2021); Peter Suciu, "Americans Spent On Average More Than 1,300 Hours On Social Media Last Year," *Forbes,* June 24, 2021, https://www.forbes.com/sites/petersuciu/2021/06/24/americans-spent-more-than-1300-hours-on-social-media/?sh=51dab12d2547; Jia Tolentino, *Trick Mirror*: *Reflections on Self-Delusion* (New York, NY, 2019), 178–79; Jia Tolentino, "What it Takes to Put Your Phone Away," *New Yorker,* April 4, 2019, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/04/29/what-it-takes-to-put-your-phone-away; Erin Woo, "Teenage Girls Say Instagram's Mental Health Impacts are No Surprise," *New York Times,* October 5, 2021.

yet to really reckon with.[23] But the Catholic intellectual tradition has rich resources for reflection on attention, focus, indeed contemplation that is required for deep attention to the other.[24] These ideas are worthy I think of retrieval given the assaults on our attention we are all experiencing and their importance for historical work of any sort. The best artists and writers tell us too that silence—rather than the noise of the crowd, whether Twitter or friends and parents—is the soil of great creativity. "The impulse to create begins—often terribly and fearfully—in a tunnel of silence," Adrianne Rich wrote in her wonderful lecture "Arts of the Possible."[25] Or as Susan Sontag put it, "There's nothing wrong with standing back and thinking."[26] Catholic intellectual traditions have much to offer here.

But that's just one example of the kind of very Catholic ideas worth historically retrieving today. In that old 1955 essay of Msgr. Ellis, he quotes the then-president of the University of Chicago, Robert M Hutchens. Catholics, Hutchens said, have "the longest intellectual tradition of any institution in the contemporary world," yet the Church has ignored most of the best ideas. Admittedly, that was eighty-five years ago. But it's true; historians of Catholicism *are* all working in a really long, old tradition. That means we work with ideas that pre-date so many of the things that seem natural and intractable in our own time—not only the attention economy, but also the carbon economy, neoliberalism, and the widespread veneration of merit in our unequal society. We can rummage around the past, looking for thinkers in Buenos Aires and Jerusalem, Uruguay and Cairo, and explore ideas that can point to other ways of thinking, feeling, and relating to one another that

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23. Jenny Odell, *How To Do Nothing: Resisting the Attention Economy* (Brooklyn, 2019).

24. Just a few of the resources I have found helpful on this topic include Adolfo Nicolás, S.J., "Depth, Universality, and Learned Ministry: Challenges to Jesuit Higher Education," (lecture, given at conference on Jesuit Higher Education: Shaping the Future for a Humane, Just, and Sustainable Globe, Mexico City, April 23, 2010), http://www.sjweb.info/documents/ansj/100423_Mexico%20City_Higher%20Education%20Today_ENG.pdf.

Jose Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Pilgrim Saint*, trans. Corneluis Buckley S.J. (Chicago, 1994). José Carlos Coupeau, S.J., "Five *personae* of Ignatius of Loyola," in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester, S.J. (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 32–51. For an excellent collection of Ignatius's own writing, see Joseph Munitiz, S.J., and Philip Endean, S.J., eds., *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings,* (London, 1997). Terence O'Reilly, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola: Contexts, Sources, Reception*, [Jesuit Studies series] (Netherlands, 2020); Pico Iyer, "A Chapel is Where You Can Hear Something Beating Below Your Heart," in: *A Sense of Wonder: The World's Best Writers on the Sacred, the Profane, and the Ordinary,* eds. Brian Doyle (Ossening: Orbis, 2016), 167.

25. Adrianne Rich, *Arts of the Possible: Essays and Conversations* (New York, NY, 2002), 150.

26. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York, NY, 2004), 118.

remind us of the oddness of our own ways. We don't have to start from scratch. Catholic tradition is so huge, full of crooks and bozos, but there is also a long chain of interesting thinkers and artists who I consider our intellectuals, who might be found among the Catholic pariahs, the exiles, who must be studied in relation to embodiment, who will have things to teach us.

My final and fourth point I would make about revitalizing Catholic intellectual history takes us to the theme of humor, and to my final story. A few weeks ago my ten-year-old son Jonah asked me a question. "Mom, what do you do when your students are so rowdy, when they're talking when you're talking, laughing, making jokes, fooling around? How do you get them to calm down?" That's his experience in a classroom. Clap, clap clap. I laughed and said I *wish* my problem was too much laughter, too much joyful talking in class. That sounds kind of glorious! When I walk into the classroom, I often feel like I'm pulled into a kind of undertow of the students, so often so quiet, so sullen, hiding behind screens. I know it's common to blame students. But I think they are afraid to get to know me, afraid for me to really know them, afraid to look like anything other than aloof, afraid of this thing I teach called Catholicism. This fear is contagious, and sometimes even I start to feel it. I sense myself hiding, feeling nervous and a little afraid, and then annoyed at them. In a classroom, where we show what intellectual life looks like, I hate to admit it, sometimes there is a vicious cycle of contagious fear and intimidation.[27]

One of my favorite Jewish writers, Amos Oz, says you cannot laugh and be afraid at the same time.[28] And there is, just like in Judaism, a tradition of Catholic humor. There is so much absurdity in Catholicism that our best writers, our best thinkers *are funny*. If intellectual history is to be revitalized, we have to attend to its humor, lift that up as a precious heartbeat of Catholic thought. For instance, the brilliant Irish novelist Colm Tóibín in a recent interview was asked about the cultural silence around sexuality, and if he had come out as gay to his Irish Catholic parents? "Have I come out to my parents as homosexual? My brothers and sisters haven't even come out as heterosexual!"[29] Or I think of John O'Malley's lectures that were so funny and warm, in contrast to the somber topics like Church Councils, when he used to make us laugh in class about how bru-

27. Parker Palmer, "The Culture of Fear: Education and the Disconnected Life," in: *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life* (San Francisco, CA, 1998).

28. Amos Oz and Fania Oz Salzberger, *Jews and Words* (New Haven, CT, 2012).

29. Colm Tóibín, "How Colm Tóibín Burrowed Inside Thomas Mann's Head," *New Yorker,* September 12, 2021.

tally dull it must have been at Trent, a meeting that went on for eighteen years.[30] Or my mentor Amy Hollywood (herself not a Catholic but shaped by the tradition in many ways) giving a brilliant lecture on Meister Eckhart at Harvard, and stopped midway and asked a packed auditorium, "Is it weird that I'm wearing jeans?" There is for sure a tradition of Catholic humor that comes from facing total absurdity.

All of this is to say, intellectual life is compelling, not because it is elite or obscure, but it always takes place within life; as Adrianne Rich said, poetry happens alongside "blood and bread."[31] To me that points, too, to one of the great ideas of Catholicism: something beautiful, holy, and true is not out there, inaccessible on high, but dwelling in here, among us, in life. As I worked on this talk, I realized a better title would be "*Reviving* Catholic Intellectual History"; *reviving* is more what I have in mind, with the etymology of the word *vivire*, to live again, and its connection with life, vitality, consciousness. It is to pick up again the wonderful conversation historian James T. Fischer began in his 1995 essay, "Alternative Sources of Catholic Intellectual Vitality."[32] We have to push against pressures that make the study of ideas feel unconnected to life, make intellectuals feel inept and powerless, within a system that depends on the alienation of humanistic thinkers.

We will always need many methods for understanding the past: cultural history, institutional history, micro histories: they are all critical. I have been trying to point to a revived *intellectual* history to give a boost to just one subfield that can feel out of step with our own times. We can be guided by what goes on in Jewish thought. In Catholicism, humanistic questions can come alive for us through the presence of thinkers and artists who consciously align themselves with outsiderhood, or by virtue of their social status end up there. We can think *with* their embodied experience, humor, creativity, and ideas. We might have a new generation of young students eager for wisdom from anywhere, like I felt enthralled by Jewish thought—randomly! as an absolute clueless outsider a long time ago. It pulled me out of my own world before I could return to it much later. You just never know what happens when old ideas and people are dusted off and put into the world. *You just never know*.

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30. Brenna Moore, "A Tribute to John W. O'Malley, S.J.," *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal*, 11, no. 2 (2022), 8–10.

31. Adrianne Rich, *Arts of the Possible: Essays and Conversations* (New York, NY, 2002), 150.

32. James T. Fisher, "Alternative Sources of Catholic Intellectual Vitality," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 13, no. 1 (1995), 81–94.

Real Presence and Mere Painting on the Counter-Reformation Altar

Ian Verstegen*

This article proposes a new paradigm for coordinating altarpiece painting and Eucharistic devotion after Trent. By both accepting the demotion of painting's holy efficacy and the establishment of the Eucharist as the most important sacrament, a new order of priorities on the high altar began to develop. Painting in this era could no longer provide an authoritative source of divine matter, and its relational function was increasingly reinforced. However, there was a complex phenomenological and theological accommodation of the divinity and relationality as painting (on the side altars, that is, because the high altar was increasingly reserved for the Host) sought to regain or substitute the presence that came to be associated with the space above the altar. By examining a series of paintings—featuring reproduced sculptures, miraculous images, and visions—one is able to fully appreciate how painting either told stories to arouse devotion or, in order to compete with the Host, to charge the central part of the altarpiece with a holy substitute.

Keywords: iconoclasm, altarpieces, tabernacles, efficacy

Introduction

It is well known that in the sixteenth century there was both a removal of altarpieces from high altars throughout Italy, and the—sometimes coordinated—placement of sacramental tabernacles on those same altars. While some altarpieces were sought by emboldened collectors, and the sacrament was placed on the altar in response to the calls of bishops and

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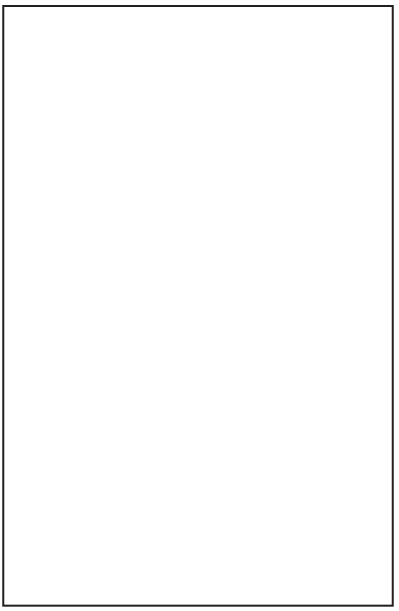

FIGURE 1. Raphael, *Madonna of Foligno*, 1511–1512, tempera, canvas and panel, 10.1′ × 77.9″ (308 × 198 cm), stored in the Vatican Museum. Painting is in the public domain.

the faithful, the replacement of a modern pictorial work of art with an three-dimensional tabernacle, housing Christ's miraculous flesh, is a more significant phenomenon with deeper meaning for the status of images in the Catholic Reformation.

As scholars of early modern Italian imagery have become comfortable with a pan-European "reform," including a Catholic variant, it is clear that forms of iconoclasm—the diminishing of the status of images and their scope—also occurred in Catholic lands. This self-censure helps to explain the coordinated demotion of pictures and the elevation of the Eucharist. When seen together, one can observe a dynamic struggle taking place on the church altar, wherein priests and prelates sought to reclaim efficacy—the ability to obtain salvation—in light of the doctrines promoted by the Council of Trent.

A good example of this transition can be seen in the erection of a sacramental tabernacle on the high altar of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome and the eventual removal of Raphael's altarpiece, the Madonna of

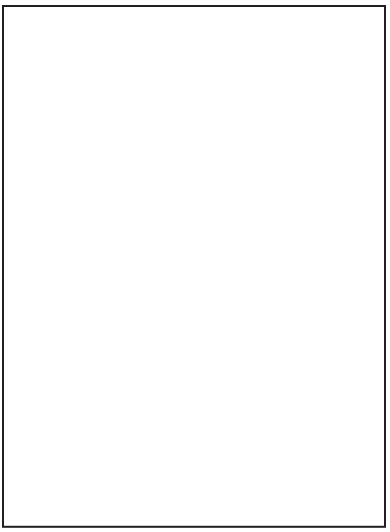

FIGURE 2. Girolamo da Carpi, Sacramental Tabernacle, 1553, formerly of Santa Maria in Aracoeli; taken Alberto Serafini, *Girolamo da Carpi: pittore e architetto ferrarese (1501–1556)* (Rome, 1915), fig. 176, p. 353.

Foligno.[1] Following the gift of a tabernacle, designed by Girolamo da Carpi in 1552, from Pope Julius III to the Franciscan church in 1553, the friars began reserving the host on the high altar. By that date, Raphael's altarpiece had been on the high altar for some time. When the altar was definitively redesigned around 1565, the altarpiece was removed and sent to Foligno, while the icon of Mary was placed on the altar instead (in what exact configuration it is not known). What does this say about the coexistence of the tabernacle and famous altarpiece on the same altar? Did an unhappiness with its relationship with the tabernacle—perhaps it blocked the putto on the bottom—lead to the search for its replacement?

It has to this point not been emphasized enough how popular narratives of Counter-Reformation art are in harmony with this movement.

1. Carlo Pietrangeli, "Il tabernacolo cinquecentesco dell'Aracoeli al Museo di Roma," *Bolletino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 8 (1961), 26–33; Sylvia Ferino Pagden, "From Cult Images to the Cult of Images: the case of Raphael's altarpieces," in: Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp, eds., *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (New York, 1990); Kirstin Noreen, "The High Altar of Santa Maria in Aracoeli: Recontextualizing a Medieval Icon," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 53 (2008), 99–128.

Hans Belting saw the extinguishing of the "image" and the rise of "art"; Victor Stoichita instead stressed how meta-pictorial devices marked the artistic image.[2] Later writings sought to reduce the apparent teleology of such systems: Klaus Krüger noted how religious altarpieces lost the quality of being a "thing" in favour of an "illusion," but could still signal cultic interests with the metaphor of incarnation, while Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have noted the dialectic of the "substitutional" image with one that is "performative."[3] In larger art historical debates, such polarities have taken on new importance as irreconcilable regimes of belief surrounding images and their proper study.[4] Put simply, art and cult continued, and the tabernacle on the high altar helped decide their relative place.

This paper seeks a resolution of the paradoxical situation in which scholarship finds itself, by joining discussion of painting with architectural debates on the proper display of the Eucharist. The Eucharist, supremely elevated in Catholic doctrine, became the element that arbitrated issues of the economy of saintliness and artistry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The Catholic solution decided at Trent culminated in a new role for Catholic imagery that paved the way for the metapictorial precisely because such imagery was clarified as *not* efficacious. One could argue that image cults continued unabated.[5] Such an approach has the advantage of fuzzying the borders between apparently separate domains of art and cult. However, modern artists could no longer be counted on to produce miraculous images and Christopher Nygren writes that "Titian is the only artist of Vasari's *terza maniera* to have been credited by his contemporaries with

2. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994); Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge, 1997).

3. Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren: Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien* (Munich, 2001); Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York, 2010); c.f. Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, 2008).

4. William John Thomas Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago, 2005); Marie-Jose Mondzain, "Can Images Kill?" *Critical Inquiry*, 36, no. 1 (2009), 20–51.

5. For studies of miraculous images, see Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Rome, 2004); Fredrika Jacobs, "Rethinking the Divide: Cult Images and the Cult of Images," in: James Elkins and Robert Williams, eds., *Renaissance Theory* (New York, 2008), 95–114; Megan Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," *Art History*, 34 (2011), 432–65; Sheila Barker, "Miraculous Images and the Plagues of Italy, c. 590–1656," in: Sandra Cardarelli, ed., *Saints, Miracles and the Image: Healing Saints and Miraculous Images in the Renaissance* (Turnhout, 2017), 29–52.

having painted a miraculously efficacious image."[6] Relics and reliquary images, just like the myriad saints that the Catholics chose to limit to the canonical, were authorized only after laborious *processi*.[7] That which was saintly and could serve as an efficacious intermediary to Christ was limited, and art was left in many respects with free reign for new possibilities.

The consecrated host became the main focus of life and liturgy in the late medieval period.[8] The cult of saints diminished, and that of Christ and the canonical saints grew, as piety became more affective.[9] In 1215, the Lateran Council made mandatory the elevation of the host at Mass, and in 1264 Pope Urban IV established the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament (Corpus Christi), giving rise to numerous confraternities and *scuole*.[10] During this time, the high altar was hidden behind a monumental rood screen, enhancing desire to view the real flesh of Christ.[11] The evolving altarpiece form—not necessary for the liturgy but aiding it—came to be implicated in the elevation of the host at the altarpiece. Patricia Rubin sur-

6. Christopher Nygren, "Titian's Miracles: Artistry and Efficacy Between the San Rocco Christ and the Accademia Pietà," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 57, no. 3 (2015), 320–49.

7. On the general theme of control in the Counter-Reformation period, see Anne Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis, 1992); Wietse de Boer, "Social Discipline in Italy: Peregrinations of a Historical Discipline," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 94 (2003), 294–307; Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Institutions, Instruments and Agents of Social Control and Discipline in Early Modern Europe* (Frankfurt, 1999); Herman Roodenburg and Pieter Spierenburg, eds., *Social Control in Europe*, 2 vols. (Columbus, 2004), *Volume I: 1500–1800*.

8. Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist outside Mass* (New York, 1982); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991); Matteo Al Kalak, *Mangiare Dio:una storia dell'eucaristia* (Turin, 2021).

9. For the shift from relics to the Eucharist, see Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), 28; Godefridus J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995). For the rise of affective piety, see John Hirsh, "The Origin of Affective Devotion," in: *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality* (Leiden, 1996), 11–30; and Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary* (New York, 2002).

10. Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

11. For the relations of visibility, exposure and concealment of the medieval host, see Jacqueline Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin*, 82, no. 4 (2000), 622–57; Anna Moraht-Fromm, ed., *Kunst und Liturgie: Choranlagen des Spätmittelalters: Ihre Architektur, Ausstattung und Nutzung* (Stuttgart, 2003); Donal Cooper, "Projecting Presence: The Monumental Cross in the Italian Church Interior," in: Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd, eds., *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and other Objects* (Aldershot, 2006), 47–62; and Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø, eds., *Decorating the Lord's table*; *on the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen, 2006).

mises that works like Perugino's *Resurrection* for San Francesco al Prato, Perugia, leaves a blank space at the bottom just for this accommodation.[12]

Although Trent reiterated the relative priority of the Eucharist, it was merely the clarification and culmination of longstanding practices. Miri Rubin notes that already in the late medieval period, "the Eucharist was [becoming] a special type of sacrament, an arch-sacrament;" one which was increasingly isolated as "the eucharist was being removed from other practices with which it had traditionally been assimilated."[13] Trent served to codify a new reality and clarify, once and for all, the relative importance of the Sacraments and the predominance of the Eucharist.

Just as the host was always a virtual presence in Renaissance art, and the host-like quality of the altarpiece and viewer formed a dyad, its role was accordingly enhanced after the close of the Council of Trent. So greatly was the host enhanced, it came to be housed in large altar-tabernacles that literally replaced altarpieces on the altar (see Figure 3).[14] The situation is fascinatingly shown in Counter-Reformation paintings where altars, in the style of before and after the Council of Trent, *or* miraculous subjects, are shown.[15] Where one is shown, the other is not: where altars are depicted, the full power of the Eucharist must be represented in the altar-tabernacle position, or a combination of relics, objects or miraculous visions. This amounts to a reformulation of the meaning of the visionary

12. Patricia Rubin, "Commission and Design in Central Italian Altarpieces c. 1450–1550," in: Eve Borsook and Fiorella Gioffredi, eds., *Italian Altarpieces 1250–1550: Function and Design* (Oxford, 1994), plate 122. For the relation between the elevated host and the altarpiece, see Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function*, 2 vols. (Groningen, 1984–1990, here 1984), 12–17; Roger Crum, "Facing the Closed Doors to Reception? Speculations on Foreign Exchange, Liturgical Diversity, and the 'Failure' of the Portinari Altarpiece," *Art Journal*, 57 (1998), 5–13; and Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion," Speculum, 79, no. 2 (April 2004), 341–406. For a skeptical reaction to such interpretations, see Charles Hope, "Altarpieces and the Requirements of Patrons," in: *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, eds. Timothy Verdon and J. Henderson (Syracuse, 1990), 535–71.

13. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 36, 35.

14. In the following, the word *tabernacle* shall be used to indicate sacramental receptacles that are a part of the high altar or altar of a sacramental chapel and not the chapel frames themselves, as is sometimes done. Although *ciborio* is a term frequently encountered to describe this very element, to be consistent this paper will reserve *ciborium* for canopied structures built in imitation of antique practices.

15. *Counter-Reformation* is used as a chronological term, without all the baggage assumed by early twentieth-century usages of it relating to a universal, centralized reaction against Protestantism. Although *Catholic reform* could have been used, the author also does not agree with that term's generality, so *Counter-Reformation* remains indispensable.

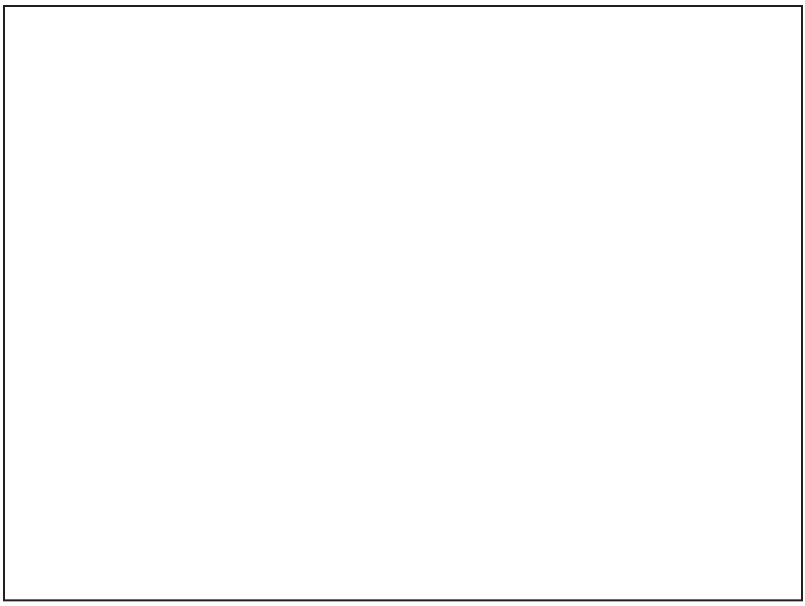

FIGURE 3. Giovanni Pezzini, *Interior of Sta Croce, Florence* (detail), 1861–1862, canvas and oil paint, stored in Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Florence. Image stored in the Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of modern art; image is state property, available under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license.

altarpiece.[16] In Perugino's time, the painting accommodates the host and what takes place in the painting itself is not visionary. Later, coinciding with the widespread usage of massive altar-tabernacles, qualitatively different entities appear in paintings, visions "of divinity soliciting the worshipper to enter and participate in that vision."[17]

It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate how a type of altarpiece that shows altars bears out the new importance of the Eucharist. These

16. For the visionary altarpiece, see Victor Stoichita, *Visionary Experiences in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London, 1995); Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren*; Krüger, "Authenticity and Fiction: On the Pictorial Construction of Inner Presence in Early Modern Italy," in: *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Reindert L. Falkenburg, Walter S. Melion, and Todd M. Richardson (Turnhout, 2007). On the prehistory of the Baroque visionary altarpiece, see John Shearman, *Only Connect . . . Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1992), esp. 102–06.

17. Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (New Haven, 2011), 74.

observations help stake out the space between art and the sacred, and clarify the spaces that were allowed for artists to display artistry and where they dared not go for lack of any salvific religious efficacy. This paper shows, then, how a contradiction between artistry and piety, a contradiction shown most clearly in the response to the *Last Judgment* by Michelangelo, began to be resolved in a way that those at the time could not foresee would lead to the secularization of art taken for granted today. This story is familiar for the Protestant North, but these comments indicate how a kind of Catholic Reformation and a Catholic self-censuring "soft" iconoclasm produced similar results.[18]

After discussing the rules for the display of the Eucharist in the post-Tridentine church, this paper outlines a variety of Catholic iconoclasm in changing doctrines that demote the image in connection to the efficacious Eucharist. It then goes on to show paintings from the Catholic tradition of Italy, Spain and the Spanish Netherlands that indicate how the Eucharist overpowers all art on the altar. Finally, turning away from relations enacted within paintings, it will reconsider once again paintings themselves, and their viewers and the consequences of the preceding observations for the new Eucharistic role given to the altarpiece in terms of devotion.

The Eucharist and the New Ordination of the Altar

The cult of images was affirmed in the post-Tridentine period, but certain concessions were made to the Protestants that changed the role of images, and, therefore, altarpieces in the liturgy of the Catholic Mass.[19] These subtle changes created a crisis in the viability of the mere image in opposition to the substantial and miraculous host. The result is that the relationship between the Host and the individual taking communion gained priority above all other sacramental relationships and was the standard of communing with God. The Eucharist therefore was ever-present in dealings with images and subtly informed the internal formal organization of such images.

Faced with pressures from Protestants, who questioned the transubstantiation of the host in the Mass and the role of Mary and the saints, the Catholic Church responded by emphatically asserting the miraculous tran-

18. See Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Religious Art* (Chicago, 2011).

19. For an overview, see Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York, 1992); Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin, 1997).

substantiation of the host into the flesh of Christ.[20] However, the Church acceded points about Mary, the saints, relics and pictorial art in the liturgy. The result was quite tangible, as clerics were instructed to bring the host into veneration on the high altar—in the process displacing art from this focal point. As Alexander Nagel has noted, this amounts to a form of Catholic iconoclasm, with all the anxieties it normally serves to impute in the Protestant case.[21]

The Council of Trent not only upheld the miracle of the Eucharist (denied by Calvin, and qualified by Luther) but it also asserted that of all the sacraments, the Eucharist was the most important: "there is found in the Eucharist this excellent and peculiar thing, that the other sacraments have then first the power of sanctifying when one uses them, whereas in the Eucharist, before being used, there is the Author Himself of sanctity."[22] Almost in consequence, the cults of the saints and of works of art were reduced.[23] In the twenty-second session (September 17, 1562) it was conceded that:

> although the Church has been accustomed at times to celebrate certain masses in honor and memory of the saints; not therefore, however, doth

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20. Zwingli and Calvin denied the transubstantiation, while Luther argued for consubstantiation, or, as recently argued by Thomas Osborne ("Faith, Philosophy, and the Nominalist Background to Luther's Defense of the Real Presence," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63 [2002], 63–82), Luther did not offer a theological position at all, but rather argued on faith. For Luther on transubstantiation, see Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), trans. Albert T. W. Steinhäuser, Frederock C. Ahrens, and Abdel Ross Wenz, in: *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (Philadelphia, 1900–1986, here 1959), XXXVI, 28–35; *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* (1528), trans. Robert H. Fischer, in: *Luther's Works*, ed. Robert H. Fischer (Philadelphia, 1961), XXXVII, 317; *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics*, trans. Frederick C. Ahrens, in: *Luther's Works*, ed. Abdel Ross Wentz (Philadelphia, 1959), XXXVI, 335–61. On Luther, see Herman Sasse, *This Is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Minneapolis, 1959). For Calvin, see Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1559), Book IV, xvii, 1: "First, the signs are bread and wine, which represent for us the invisible food that we receive from the flesh and blood of Christ."

21. Nagel, *The Controversy of Religious Art*, especially on Giberti, 239–54.

22. Thirteenth Session, "On the excellency of the most holy Eucharist over the rest of the Sacraments," *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London, 1848), Chapter III, 77; c.f., John F. McHugh, "The Sacrifice of the Mass at the Council of Trent," in: *Sacrifice and Redemption: Durham Essays in Theology,* ed. Stephen W. Sykes (Cambridge, 1991).

23. Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 116 (1935), 143–88, 404–29; Ernest Graf, trans., *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1957–1961); Scavizzi, *Controversy on Images*, 75–78.

> she teach that sacrifice is offered unto them, but unto God alone, who crowned them; whence neither is the priest wont to say, "I offer sacrifice to thee, Peter, or Paul"; but, giving thanks to God for their victories, he implores their patronage, that they may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate upon earth.[24]

Already in the thirteenth session (October 11, 1551) on "Concerning the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist," Chapter V, "On the cult and veneration to be shown to this most holy Sacrament," had determined that, "Wherefore, there is no room left for doubt, that all the faithful of Christ may, according to the custom ever received in the Catholic Church, render in veneration the worship of *latria*, which is due to the true God, to this most holy sacrament."[25] Later, in the twenty-fifth session (December 3–4, 1563), where images and relics are discussed together, in conformity with the Council of Nicaea, honour is referred instead to the original and not the image. In other words, *latria* is denied to images. It is stated again that while:

> images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them: not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols; but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ; and we venerate the Saints, whose similitude they bear: as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of Nicaea, has been defined against the opponents of images.[26]

This is a reversal of the scholastic deference to images, which seems to have begun with worship of the crucifix.[27] Both Aquinas and Bonaventure had apologized for images.[28] In other words, contrary to an iconophilic image theology and popular visual piety of the late medieval period, Trent denied that divine power resided in images.

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24. *Canons and Decrees*, 155.
25. *Canons and Decrees*, 79.
26. *Canons and Decrees*, 234.
27. William Wood Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art* (New York, 1898), 398–401. Seymour is equivocally stating "The Council of Trent declined to give a clear decision in this matter, only desiring that *due* worship should be given to images, but did not define what 'due worship' was" (400).
28. For a review, see Cooper, "Projecting Presence," 49–50. As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, Thomas' position on images was never criticized after Trent.

The issue was decided based on the signifying relation and whether it was real or not. Calvin specifically wrote that the relation of the host to the body of Christ was metaphoric, merely a referring sign, and the Catholics refuted him by affirming the referential connection.[29] But once Christ's connection to the host was emphatically affirmed, this left the indexing power of Mary, the saints and images of them at the level of mere signification. This view is contrary to the standard narrative according to which the cult of saints not only continued unabated but even accelerated, as did the use of images. They did, but a subtle shift had occurred where the literality of the saint-image-Eucharist connection was shaken.

The result was that in the post-Tridentine universe, the Eucharist bore almost all divine assistance that was formerly distributed among images and relics (or rather, images and relics were efficacious only insofar as they made reference to the Eucharist, i.e., Christ).[30] Furthermore, frequent (non-ocular) communion was promoted, divorced from the confines of the Mass and literally ever-present.[31] The focalization of interest on the altar toward the miraculous stuff of the Host, and away from works of art (especially painting), must have subtly altered the phenomenology of the church space in the mind of contemporary beholders, where the power of the Host in its tabernacle upon the altar overtook other symbols in importance.

Pictures retained importance as instructional tools, although they too took on more and more of a Christological focus.[32] They more or less carried on a standard function in the aisle chapels, especially when joined into a linked program, but the high altar was increasingly given over to an altar-tabernacle rather than a painting.[33] Especially in the context of extended exposition of the host, as in the Forty Hours (*Quarant' Ore*) Devotion associated with Saints Filippo Neri and Carlo Borromeo, there is no question

29. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, 93–94.

30. On Renaissance "magic" in its manifestation in regard to images, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989), Chapter 11. On distributed "personhood" as an explanation of animism, see Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (New York, 1998). In this paper, the author is arguing that this distribution historically came to encompass fewer agents, i.e., the miraculous host.

31. John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200–1700," *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 29–61.

32. Peter Humfrey, "Altarpieces and Altar Decorations in Counter-Reformation Venice and the Veneto," *Renaissance Studies,* 10, no. 3 (1996), 371–87.

33. In the event that an altarpiece was chosen, especially in a provincial center, the subject matter referred more and more to the Eucharist. As Humfrey writes, there was a "huge expansion in the number of high altarpieces with Christological subjects"; Humfrey, "Altarpieces and altar dedications," 376.

that mere art had no place.[34] As this paper ultimately will show, this changed the function of Counter-Reformation painting, which had to earn its keep in a new way under the pressure of competition from the high altar.

First, the due veneration of the host immediately suggested architectural changes to complement and display it. Early Renaissance church architecture was simple and unified, and often didn't leave a place for an altarpiece.[35] However, in this period there was already devotion to the Eucharist. Already in the fifteenth century, wall tabernacles became popular, creating a permanent locus for display of the Eucharist outside of the liturgy.[36] Even before the close of the Council of Trent this movement was afoot—in Florence, where Savonarola set up a wooden tabernacle on the high altar of the duomo, and in Siena, where Vecchietta's tabernacle from the Ospedale was mounted on the high altar of the duomo. Such initiatives to move the Eucharist culminated in the efforts of the Bishop of Verona, Matteo Giberti (reigned 1524–1543).[37] San Carlo Borromeo, in the chapter on the "Tabernacle of the Most Holy Sacrament" in his *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*, ordered that the tabernacle be located on the high altar and adorned in a fit manner; his instructions passed into the *Roman Missal* and *Ceremonial of the Bishop*, becoming ecclesiastical law in 1614 in the *Rituale Romanum*.[38] Placement on the high altar was intended

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34. See Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusion," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 218–48, esp. 220–35; Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*. On Neri and the display of the host, see Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di San Filippo Neri*, (1636); Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, ed., *The Life of St. Philip Neri*, 2 vols. (London, 1902–03), I, 154.

35. See the useful discussion in Henk van Os, "Painting in a House of Glass: The Altarpieces of Pienza," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 17, no. 1 (1987), 23–38.

36. For Florence, see Eve Borsook, "Cults and Imagery at Sant' Ambrogio in Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, 25, no. 2 (1981), 147–202; for Siena, see van Os, "Painting in a House of Glass"; for Rome, see Thomas Pöpper, "'. . . una certa opera di marmoro che vulgare se chiama tabernaculo': Zu zwei identifizierten römischen Sakramentstabernakeln: nebst einem Exkurs zu Andrea Bregno, Giovanni de Larigo und den Fenster-Aedikulen des Palazzo Raffaele Riario (La Cancelleria) in Rom," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 45 (2003), 39–63.

37. Archdale A. King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (New York, 1965), 179, 201; c.f., Otto Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie* (Bonn, 1979). A brief review of these developments is given in Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*.

38. Carlo Borromeo, *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* (1577), Eng. trans. Evelyn Carole Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's 'Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae,' 1577. A Translation with Commentary and Analysis* (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977), chapter XIII, "The Tabernacle and the Most Holy Eucharist"; *Rituale Romanum Paule V. Pontificis Maximi iussu editum* (Rome, 1615); c.f., Milton Lewine, *The Roman*

for perpetual adoration, not just during the *elevatio*; thus rood screens had to be taken down, not only to open the visibility of the host, but also to aid the lay people in communion.[39] Almost all major churches after Trent received altar-tabernacles on the high altar.[40]

For famous churches that had such sacramental tabernacles, one may think of Santa Croce in Florence (see Figure 3), the Orvieto Duomo, the Gesù and the Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, and the Milan Duomo.[41] These altar-tabernacles—and similar structures like canopied ciboria *all'an-*

Church Interior, 1527–80 (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1960), 82–3; Dalma Frascarelli, "Arte e Controriforma: l'altare maggiore nelle Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis di Carlo Borromeo," in: *I cardinali di Santa romana chiesa, collezionisti e mecenati*, 6 vols., ed. Marco Gallo (Rome, 2001–2003, here 2001), I: *Quasi oculi et aures ac nobilissimae sacri capitis partes,* 24-37.

39. For the removal of the rood screens in the two mendicant churches of Florence, see Marcia Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation. Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta. Maria Novella and Sta. Croce 1565–1557* (Oxford, 1979).

40. On the Christian altar, see Josef Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1924), II, 623–48. For pre-Tridentine altars, see Hans Caspary, *Das Sakramentstabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trent, Gestalt, Ikonographie und Symbolik, Kultische Funktion* (Munich, 1965); and Maurice Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the 16th Century* (New York, 1979); and for Counter-Reformation altars, see Anna Forlani Tempesti, ed., *Altari e immagini nello spazio ecclesiale: Progetti e realizzazioni fra Firenze e Bologna nell'età della Controriforma* (Florence, 1996); Cristina De Benedictis, ed., *Altari e Committenza: Episodi a Firenze nell'età della Controriforma* (Florence, 1996); Carlo Cresti, "Altari fiorentini controriformati: lineamenti di fortuna e sfortuna critica," in: *Altari controriformati in Toscana: architettura e arredi,* ed. Carlo Cresti (Florence, 1999), 9–73. Of course, many high altar complexes, including tabernacles, were torn down in the nineteenth century as part of the neo-Gothic revival. Cathedrals and the major Roman basilicas did not have an altar-tabernacle because altars at which the bishop or pope might officiate were not allowed to have them; it is also possible that Marian churches resisted sacramental tabernacles on their high altars (for example, the Chiesa Nuova). On the Roman basilicas, see Steven Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (New York, 1996); on Marian churches, see Giles Knox, "The Unified Church Interior in Baroque Italy: S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo," *Art Bulletin*, 82, no. 4 (2000), 679–701, esp. 689.

41. For Orvieto Cathedral's sacramental tabernacle (commissioned in 1554 and in place by 1564), see Marietta Cambareri, "A Study in the 16th Century Renovation of Orvieto Cathedral: The Sacramental Tabernacle for the High Altar," in: *Saggi in Onore di Renato Bonelli*, ed. Corrado Bozzoni et al., 2 vols. (Rome, 1992), II, 617–22; for the Gesù, see Joseph D. C. Masheck, "The Original High Altar Tabernacle of the Gesù Rediscovered," *Burlington Magazine*, 112, no. 803 (1970), 110–13; for the Aracoeli's tabernacle (now in the Museo di Roma) begun in 1552, see Carlo Pietrangeli, "Il tabernacolo cinquecentesco dell'Aracoeli al Museo di Roma," *Bolletino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 8 (1961), 26–33; for the Milan Duomo, see S. Benedetti, "Un'aggiunta a Pirro Ligorio: Il tabernacolo di Pio IV nel Duomo di Milano," *Palladio*, 25 (1978), 45–64.

FIGURE 4. Drawing of Host-Communee metaphor within a painting and new Host-Communee relationship with painting. Ian Verstegen, *Drawing of Host-Communee metaphor,* 2023, drawing.

tica—are monstrous affairs, insurmountable screens to the choir with side doors for entry. They are almost as substantial as the rood screens that they universally replaced, effectively pushing back a much more modest choir space (retrochoir) reserved for the clergy and leaving the laity with access to the high altar. All over Italy, altarpieces—even venerable images—were taken down. Either there was no room for painting (except for small *sportelli* on the tabernacle) or paintings were cast off to the side of the choir.[42] In a sense this maintained them in the altar area, but it destroyed the proximity that allows a communee-host metaphor to arise between believer and altarpiece (see Figure 4).[43]

This can be illustrated in Rubens's altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova (see Figure 5).[44] As a pictorial frame that incorporates another revered image, it is a picture tabernacle (*Bildtabernakel*).[45] In such pictures no altar is present. Most often the historic image floats in the picture space and is adored, more

42. In some cases, there were gains for painting, as for instance in the case investigated by Paul Hills, in which lateral paintings were devised to surround the tabernacle. These remained, however, a different kind of painting, like an altarpiece but more like a mural; Paull Hill, "Piety and Patronage in Cinquecento Venice: Tintoretto and the Scuole del Sacramento," *Art History*, 6, no. 1 (1983), 30–43.

43. In other words, the transitive dimension investigated by John Shearman (*Only Connect*), in which the viewer completes the picture as a participant in its composition, is destroyed.

44. For discussions of this much-investigated painting, see, in addition to Belting and Stoichita, Michael Jaffe, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford, 1977).

45. Martin Warnke, "Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 19 (1968), 61–102; Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*; Iris Krick,

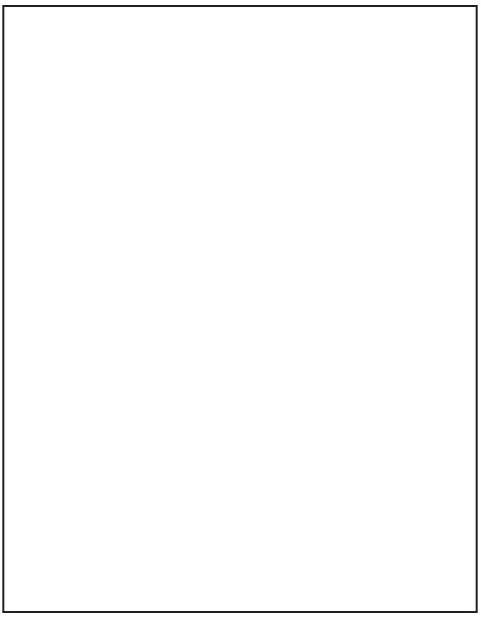

FIGURE 5. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Madonna Vallicelliana*, 1608, Rome, Chiesa Nuova, oil on canvas and slate, 13.9′ × 98.4″ (425 × 250 cm), stored in Chiesa di Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome, Italy. Photograph courtesy of Mattis by Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license, cropped, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rome,_Chiesa_di_Santa_Maria_in_Vallicella_005_-_Main_altar.JPG.

or less naturalistically, by surrounding figures. Nevertheless, images like the *Madonna del Soccorso* (Gregorian Chapel, St. Peter's), the *Madonna della Clemenza* (Cappella Altemps, Santa Maria in Trastevere), and the *Salus Populi Romani* (Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore) are nominal relics (Lucan Madonnas, miraculous images) and share in the distributed sacramentality (host, relic, image) that had been lost with the Edicts of the Council of Trent. Each of these images was sanctioned as miraculous and therefore suitable for the object of cult worship; they were proven to be efficacious conduits to the one godhead of Christ.[46]

Römische Altarbild malerei zwischen 1563 und 1605: ikonographische Analyse anhand ausgewählter Beispiele (Taunusstein, 2002).

46. For these Roman icons, see Pietro Amato, *De vera effiegie Mariae: antiche icone romane* (Rome, 1988); Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990).

Rubens's earlier, rejected version had life-sized figures adoring a painted version of the *Madonna Vallicelliana* above, with which a viewer could relate as in traditional altarpieces. But these were cast off into the laterals in the final version. What remains are attendant angel figures that are surrogates for us, the viewers, who behold the *Madonna Vallicelliana* above. Because this is a Marian church, no monumental tabernacle is present (Cirro Ferri's tabernacle that can be seen in the photograph was added later).[47] The Marian relic is like the relic of Christ's body, for which the painting becomes a *Bildtabernakel*, a pictorial tabernacle, for the miraculous image. The term has become familiar to us today as an index of metapictoriality, but the fact that Rubens's altarpiece type is inspired, as pointed out by Steven Ostrow, by a *sculpted* tabernacle suggests how this *painted* tabernacle is other than a traditional altarpiece.[48] Functionally, Rubens's painting is only that in medium; it really is a receptacle for the miraculous image.

Almost diagrammatic of the new sacramental role of altar painting is the frequent appearance of the Eucharist as the subject of an altarpiece (Adoration, Disputation, etc.) as a self-sufficient subject.[49] A prominent example is Rubens's *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* in the Sint Pauluskerk, Antwerp.[50] Various church fathers discuss and consult texts to fathom the

47. This can be seen in Andrea Sacchi's record of the solemnities for the canonization of Filippo Neri (1622, Vatican Pinacoteca), reproduced in *La Regola e la Fama*, 322, where no tabernacle is present. A remarkable Marian counterpart to the altarpiece coupled with tabernacle is the Marian painting above a Marian reliquary, as for example is seen at the pilgrimage church of Scherpenheuvel, where the miraculous silver reliquary housing an image is below a painting by Theodor van Loo.

48. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome*, 174–80; Warnke, "Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock."

49. This is in addition to tapestries and wall frescoes celebrating the Eucharist, such as Agostino Ciampelli's fresco of the *Adoration of the Sacrament* (1601–3) from the sacristy ceiling of the church of the Gesù in Rome; Howard Hibbard, *"Ut picturae sermones*: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesu," in: *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution,* eds. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York, 1972), 36, 42–3; Gauvin Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto, 2009).

50. Reproduced in Cynthia Lawrence, "Confronting heresy in post-Tridentine Antwerp," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* 55 (2004), 86–115, fig. 1, p. 88. For similar paintings, see also Ventura Salimbeni, *Glorification of the Eucharist*, 1600, church of San Pietro, Montalcino; Francesco Vanni, *Disputation of the Eucharist*, 1606, Duomo, Pisa. Naturally, there were plenty of examples of Adoration of the Eucharist before Trent; one example is Sassetta's Arte della Lana Altarpiece, now destroyed; c.f., Machtelt Israëls, "Sassetta's Arte della Lana Altar-Piece and the Cult of Corpus Domini in Siena," *Burlington Magazine,* 143 (2001), 532–43. Two other examples are given in Craig Harbison, "Religious Imagination and Art-Historical Method: A Reply to Barbara Lane's 'Sacred versus Profane," *Simiolus*, 19,

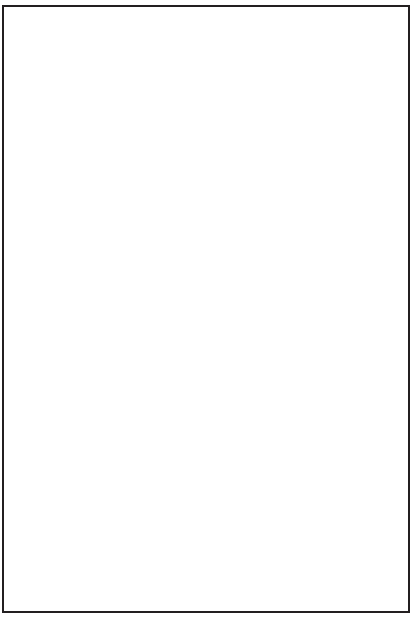

FIGURE 6. Federico Zuccaro, The Most Holy Trinity Venerated by the Seven Archangels, c. 1600, Rome, Gesù.

mystery of the holy host, centrally placed in a monstrance. The Eucharist now shows quite clearly the activated power at the altarpiece's center that would beg to be occupied by other suitably potent subjects. Related examples are the number of paintings of adoring angels that look up to a flash of light bearing the symbol of the Trinity or, in a Franciscan or Jesuit context, the trigram ("IHS"), such as Federico Zuccaro's altarpiece of *The Most Holy Trinity Venerated by the Seven Archangels* in the Gesù (see Figure 6).[51]

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no. 31 (1989), 198–205. However, these examples, as the Sassetta altarpiece shows, were often for Congregations of Corpus Domini rather than for parish churches. Closely related are examples of the Last Supper marking the Institution of the Eucharist: Federico Barocci, Chapel of the Sacrament, Duomo, Urbino; Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci: 1535–1612* (Bologna, 1985), II, 330–41.

51. Bonita Cleri, ed., *Federico Zuccari: le idee, gli scritti: atti del Convegno di Sant'Angelo in Vado* (Milan, 1997), 227, fig. 6. See also (in De Benedictis, *Altari e Committenza*, 9–10) Jacopo da Empoli's *Exaltation of the Name of Maria*, 1592, San Remigio, Florence; and El Greco's *Adoration of the Name of Jesus*, late 1570s, National Gallery, London (see Gabriele Finaldi, *The Image of Christ* [New Haven, 2000], 122). In the sense that the burst of light is cloudlike, Hubert Damisch sees it as using the same denotation system of the divine; *A Theory of /Cloud/: Toward a History of Painting*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford, 2002), 51.

The altarpiece versus the altar-tabernacle was often an either-or proposition, as already suggested by the Siena duomo, where the move of Vecchietta's tabernacle coincided with the removal of Duccio's *Maestà* from the high altar. An interesting example is provided by Urbino's cathedral, which still has a Chapel of the SS. Sacrament to the left of the altar. The Archbishop of Ravenna, with pastoral authority over Urbino, urged the Urbinates to relocate the host on the high altar, but lack of money to commission a proper tabernacle caused them to stall.[52] When Federico Zuccaro later offered a free altarpiece for the Chapel of the Sacrament, they finally considered moving the altar-tabernacle.[53] This uncoupling of image and tabernacle is no doubt due to the fact that especially in churches with retrochoirs, it was desirable to move the altarpiece to allow adoration of the Host from behind the altar.[54]

Further evidence suggests that altarpieces were not preferred where monumental tabernacles resided was already provided, such as in the aforestated example of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, which received Girolamo da Carpi's new-style tabernacle in 1553, and Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno* (Vatican, Pinacoteca), which was eventually moved and replaced with the icon of the *Madonna Advocata*.[55] An example of concerted renovations to the high altar that can still be seen today is the high altar of the Augustinian church of Sant'Agostino in Rome, which possesses both a monumental tabernacle and a reliquary icon (Figure 7).[56] In these cases, an

52. Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere, Archbishop of Ravenna, to the Communal Council, 10 January 1565, stored in Biblioteca Universitaria, Urbino, *Consigli dei Quaranta*, vol. II, 1557–1572, f. 118; Franco Negroni, *Il Duomo di Urbino* (Urbino, 1993), 80. Della Rovere's urgings came, obviously, before the stipulation relating to cathedrals had been decided.

53. Federico Zuccaro, Letter from Zuccaro to the Canons of the Cathedral, September 1589, Urbino, Archivio della Cappella del SS. Sacramento, Risoluzioni Consigliari, 1581–1589, 107; Negroni, *Il Duomo di Urbino*, 98.

54. This was expressly stated in regard to Santa Croce, Florence, when the friars explained to Duke Cosimo de' Medici that the removal of the altarpiece on the high altar would permit seeing "the elevation of the host, and on the altar once could place a ciborium or crucifix, as in S. Spirito, the Annunziata and S. Piero Maggiore." See the letter of July 21, 1566, in: Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 18.

55. An analogous case happened earlier when the high altar was renovated at SS. Annunziata in Florence, and Perugino's *Assumption of the Virgin* altarpiece was removed; c.f. Jonathan Nelson, "The high altar-piece of the SS. Annunziata in Florence: history, form, and function," *Burlington Magazine*, 134, no. 1127 (1997), 84–94. The Annunziata's tabernacle is mentioned in passing below.

56. For the high altar, decorated in the 1620s, see Anna Maria Pedrocchi, "Giovan Lorenzo Bernini e Santi Ghetti: l'altare maggiore in Sant'Agostino a Roma, nuovi documenti e precisazioni," *Bolletino d'Arte*, 90, no. 133–134 (2005), 115–26.

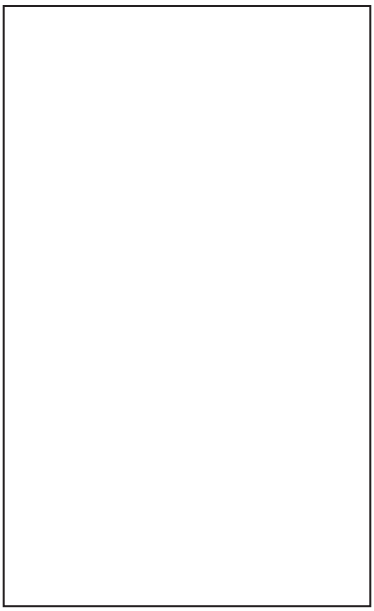

Figure 7. High altar of Sant'Agostino, Rome. Livioandronico2013, *Sant'Agostino (Rome)—Interior HDR,* July 26, 2015, photograph, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sant%27Agostino_(Rome)_-_Interior_HDR.jpg. Cropped, available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license.

efficacious pre-Reformation cult-image replaced a traditional altarpiece, confirming that the altar in general became the site of relics. The consequences are clear for artists, since they cannot manufacture such a relic. They are relegated to painting or, especially, sculpting its tabernacle (including the tabernacle itself, reliefs and surmounting crucifix).[57]

It is worth dwelling on the lack of efficacy of religious art here. Patricia Rubin has noted how what was earlier a *Kultbild*—a cult picture serving the liturgy—was translated in the sixteenth century into a *Bildkult*, a cult celebrating the genius of the artist.[58] More technically, Alexander Nagel has noted how under the rapid change of artistic style, older works were less often substituted and increasingly treated in their unique and unsub-

57. For a useful list of small crucifixes atop post-Tridentine tabernacles, see John Paoletti, "Wooden Sculpture in Italy as Sacral Presence," *Artibus et historiae*, 13, no. 26 (1992), 85–100, here 98n18.

58. Rubin, "Commission and Design in Central Italian Altarpieces c. 1450–1550."

stitutable "performative" historicity, which is close to the definition of a relic.[59] It was precisely Raphael's modernity that discounted him for religious efficacy. Ironically, his death thirty years before the publication of Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite* now nominated him for a new kind of reliquary quality: his works now could not be substituted.

Renaissance subjects take on Eucharistic meaning when their position relative to Christ's body in the painting duplicates that of the act of taking communion (Mary as altar) or protecting Him (Mary as tabernacle).[60] This paper is adding the further claim that once the divinity of an intercessory universe was limited by the Tridentine church, figure-altar relations within a painting become literally Eucharistic as well; no longer metaphors, they are indexes of the act of communion. Thus, even a painting depicting a miracle, like Francisco Ribalta's *Christ Embracing Saint Bernard* (1620–25) in the Prado, Madrid, is literal.[61] In the image, St. Bernard is in a trance-like state as Christ appears to him. It might seem to be the reward of great piety, and that Christ appears from above because Bernard was meditating piously on the crucifixion. There is a long history of imaginative devotion in which devotees are asked to imagine helping Christ down from the cross. However, the Eucharistic meaning becomes central, where Christ is host-like on the altar table and has been miraculously transubstantiated from mere wafer into living being.[62]

In the case of the Ribalta altarpiece it is nonsense to say that Christ is Eucharistic. The true source of the Eucharist is not also a symbol of itself.

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59. Alexander Nagel, "Fashion and the Now-Time of Renaissance Art," *Res: Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology*, 46 (2004), 33–52.

60. Examples are the numerous depictions of kneeling subjects (the Kings in the Epiphany, etc.) before the Christ child, who is seated upon a cloth of honor; c.f., Maurice Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art* (Paris and Grenoble, 1946); Barbara Lane, *Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1984); Maurice B. McNamee, *Vested Angels: Eucharistic Allusions in Early Netherlandish Paintings* (Leuven, 1998); Heike Schlie, *Bilder des Corpus Christi: Sakramentaler Realismus von Jan van Eyck bis Hieronymus Bosch* (Berlin, 2002).

61. Reproduced in Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 288. See further by Ribalta, *St. Francis Embraces the Crucified Christ*. 1620, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes; reproduced in Finaldi, *The Image of Christ*, 122.

62. This example was discussed by Freedberg (*The Power of Images*, 287–88), who stressed the real-life dramas that implicated these objects and provided the background knowledge for those looking at such an image. The author appreciates the implication of practices in his account, is making the complementary argument that comportment at the altar was another source of background knowledge. These two approaches are not exclusive; Corpus Christi dramas would certainly enhance the mystery of the Eucharist on the altar, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 271–87.

This is the substance of Craig Harbison's critique of Barbara Lane's theory of sacramental allusion in Netherlandish art; the new realism *did* provide the viewer real presence.[63] But if this was true for Jan van Eyck and his contemporaries, it is much less clear after Trent. An image became merely an image and could not provide presence like it once could. Now the image of Christ was in some sense Eucharistic because it is in close proximity to the Eucharist. Thus, one has to nuance his understanding of these images as the miracle of Christ coming to life to a saint-before-an-altar-at-which-the-miraculous-host-comes-alive. This puts the situation in more reasonable terms, for while the believer is convinced that Christ certainly appeared before Bernard, there is an aetiology to the situation that explains the context. This becomes clear in numerous examples.

In the post-reformation period, quite in general images are *supplemented* with real presence: by the figure of Christ, obviously the most potent, the Virgin Mary and other saints (perhaps invoked by relics at the altar), and finally miraculous images, whose heavy panel construction becomes a surrogate for the figural presence of the depicted figures of Christ and the saints and becomes a suitable locus of power for the viewer. Formally, the construction of the new kind of altarpiece is literally a question of poles of Eucharistic power and three-dimensional personages (or at least substantial sculptures or heavy icon-relics take this place). Images of miraculous statues-come-to-life are also sacrament made flesh, stand-ins for the absent host.

Trent, it will be recalled, denied authority to images. In its place, it ordered that "the bishops shall carefully teach this, that, by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people be instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith."[64] Following closely on Trent, Gabriele Paleotti argued that the believer must avoid idolatry and remember that one was looking on the divinity itself and not the image: "we are adoring Christ, the Virgin, and the saints represented in the images; and when we kneel in before their images, it amounts to kneeling before themselves."[65] This might lead to a clever observation

63. Harbison, "Religious Imagination and Art-Historical Method."

64. *Canons and Decrees*, 235.

65. Bishop Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, ed. Paolo Prodi (Los Angeles, 2012), 138; *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (1582), in: Paola Barocchi (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma* (Bari, 1961), II, 117–509, here 257: "*Nello adorare dunque le sacre imagini di Cristo, della Vergine e de' santi, adoriamo Cristo, la Vergine et i santi rappresentati nelle imagini; e quando ci inginocchiamo davanti le loro imagini, e' quanto ci inginocchiassimo davanti essi*…"

that explains away these visions as the real saint, hence avoiding idolatry. However, this is a theological point. Paleotti, on good theological grounds, asserted that praying to an image was like praying to the saint. However, for an artist, this is another matter. Here the problem is one of matching the power of the miraculous host that had been elevated beyond its prior position. The question then is phenomenological, of the way of imparting a formal presence to a painting in the nave, away from the High Altar, to compensate for what one would habitually expect to see there—i.e., the presence of the Host.

Catholic Iconoclasm

As noted, the changes here documented regarding the Eucharist and the altar are part of what may be called a large-scale process of Catholic Reformation and Catholic iconoclasm. Indeed, the Catholics were not completely dismissive of Protestant challenges. All aspects of sacred potency were rethought by Catholic theologians, and a vast reduction of efficacious avenues was the result. Loomis noted that "the Medieval church was a magical place."[66] In the Counter-Reformation period, this was much less the case.

Although the Catholic reform is most often portrayed as a triumphant continuation of the Church's prior themes and priorities, the concessions listed above emphasize the Catholic attempt to reform aspects of their doctrine. It did become harder to become a saint, as lengthy *processi* prove. Relics were only invoked if they were honoured by ratification or tradition. The sacraments were clarified so that the Eucharist was easily the most important. While Catholics were accused of idolatry, they demoted images and granted the Protestant charge that images merely referred to their prototypes. They were to be merely crutches for devotion and exemplars of good actions.

But an even bigger change had been made; vision itself had been demoted. At the same time that Eucharistic adoration was increasing, the

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C.f., Scavizzi, *Controversy on Images*, 131–40; Pamela Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's Hierarchical Notion of Painting's Universality and Reception," in: *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650,* ed. Claire Farago, (New Haven, 1995). See further Cesare Baronio on the worship of images in his *Annales ecclesiastici*, discussed in Romeo de Maio et al. (eds.), *Baronio e l'Arte* (Sora, 1985).

66. Charles G. Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend*, (Cambridge, 1948).

new perspectival account of vision was growing in importance as well. This account was tailor-made for an imagery of presence because it was founded on the idea that the properties of bodies—even Christ's—were the *formal cause* (in Aristotle's sense) of one's perception of that cause. In avoiding a mechanistic account of perception, the visible species became in the eye a sensible species and finally an intelligible species. The form was maintained all along. As explained by A. Mark Smith, "What guarantees this congruence [between one's mental picture of objective reality and the objective reality it pictures] is the congruence of formal cause and effect at every stage in the visual process as it unfolds from light- and colour-radiation, through seeing and perceiving, to apperception."[67]

According to such a neo-Aristotelian philosophy, accidents inhering in substances were communicated precisely through picture-like species, sent through the air. Thus, "ocular" communion could suffice for the believer.[68] It is not hard to see how an image of Christ, like the face of Veronica, could seem to be Christ himself. The linking of a believer's emotions to those of Christ's Passion led, of course, to the Passion becoming a popular subject in religious iconography.[69] However, once emphasis was placed on the sole act of communion and incorporating the true substance of Christ's body rather than the accident, it is easy to see why vision came to possess less efficacy.[70]

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67. A. Mark Smith, "Descartes's Theory of Light and Refraction," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 77, no. 3 (1987), 78. In a related vein, Richard Trexler noted, "The cult of the body of Christ validated one of the strongest religious tendencies: to give form to power on the principle that power was imputable to objects. If in so improbable a place as bread, how much more plausible in an effigy" (Richrad Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 18 [1972], 7–41). For a discussion of how the ontology of the work of art changed, and the early Renaissance understanding of it, see Jack M. Greenstein, "On Alberti's 'Sign': Vision and Composition in Quattrocento Painting," *Art Bulletin*, 79, no. 4 (1997), 669–98.

68. On ocular communion, see Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*, passim; Charles Caspers, "The Western Church During the Late Middle Ages: *Augenkommunion* or Popular Mysticism?" in: *Bread of Heaven,* eds. Charles Caspers, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Rouwhorst (Kampen, 1995), 83–98; Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002), 140–46.

69. For the rise of devotion to the passion and 'affective' spirituality, see Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*. On passion iconography, see James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979); and Peter Parshall, "The Art of Memory and the Passion," *Art Bulletin*, 81 (1999), 456–72.

70. The Dominicans, perennial conservatives in theology, had already challenged the efficacy of ocular communion on similar grounds: see Bynum, "The Blood of Christ in the later Middle Ages." Of course, this placed Catholicism behind the latest developments in physics, which posited atoms instead. Thus the implications of Descartes's views on the

Before, in representations of the Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory, for example, the Eucharistic miracle was usually interpreted as the Eucharist transformed into a miniature three-dimensional Christ, come to life, but the Tridentine Mass emphatically changed the referent from image to relic itself. It is extremely telling that when Andrea Sacchi was assigned a subject for an altarpiece in New St. Peter's, it was not Gregory's miraculous mass which was selected, but instead a miracle of the corporal, according to which a cloth that had held a relic bled when pierced.[71] The former subject begged for pictorialization that was now inappropriate, while the latter maintained a properly indexical relationship.[72] Indeed, although there are dozens of images from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of saints having visions inspired by images—and even though believers were still encouraged to engage in imaginative devotion and meditate on holy mysteries as if they were present to the mind—such images are rare in the Counter-Reformation period.[73]

The late medieval period saw a tight coupling between imaginative devotion and salvation through indulgence images. It is no accident that the Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory was precisely one of the most popular of these. The profligacy of images come to life in Gregory's miracle, and the believer's private devotional practice was linked to the doctrine of Pur-

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Eucharist were unacceptable for banishing the Aristotelian vocabulary of substance and accident; Tad Schmaltz, "What has Cartesianism to do with Jansenism?" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60 (1999), 48.

71. The story derives from the Golden Legend: see Ann Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi*, (Princeton, 1977), 52.

72. On the iconography of the Miracle of St. Gregory, see Uwe Westfehling, *Die Messe Gregors des Grossen. Vision, Kunst, Realität*, exh. cat. Schnütgen-Museum (Cologne, 1982); Carolyn Walker Bynum, "The Blood of Christ in the later Middle Ages," *Church History*, 71 (2002), 685–714, esp. 708–13. On the idolatrous nature of the Miracle of St. Gregory, see Christine Göttler, "Is Seeing Believing? The Use of Evidence in Representations of the Miraculous Mass of Saint Gregory," *The Germanic Review*, 76 (2001), 120–42. For a semiotic discussion of the significance of the index with a stain, such as that on the Shroud of Turin, see Georges Didi-Huberman, "The Index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain)," trans. Thomas Repensek, *October*, 29 (Summer 1984), 63–81.

73. One example of such an image is Cesare Aretusi and Gabriele Fiorini, *The Miraculous Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1580, Bologna, Santa Maria dei Servi; reproduced in *Mistero e immagine: L'Eucarestia nell'arte dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, exh. cat., Milan, 1997. For late medieval iconography of praying before an image, see Cooper, "Projecting Presence"; Scavizzi, *Controversy on Images*; and Krüger "Authenticity and Fiction." One rare Counter-Reformation example of an image inspiring a miracle is Rutilio Manetti, *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, private collection; reproduced in Finaldi, *The Image of Christ*, 124. Characteristically, the small crucifix is shown in archaeological detail and becomes a historical prop rather than conflated hybrid of image and Christ.

gatory. Of course, indulgences were one of Luther's largest grievances. When reforming popes like Pius V restricted the use of indulgence images, emphasis was placed instead on the true efficacy of Christ's flesh.[74] The result was a compelling reprioritization of efficacy in the Catholic Church. The Eucharist and its surrogates, i.e., approved relics, took over the role of efficacious material, while painting and sculpture could now be "art."

Here one can return to Belting's and Stoichita's discussion of the *Bildtabernakel*. Belting, one must recall, notes how the enframement enhanced the aura of the reliquary image, while Stoichita emphasizes its metapictorial element. Both can be reconciled by seeing that the aura of the reliquary image allowed for metapictorial play outside of it or in relation to it. The two impulses—one religious and one self-consciously artistic, representing the spirit of the Council of Trent on one hand and the creation of an academy of artists on the other—were both permitted, according to the theology of the time. Just as painters had won the intellectual argument over the *paragone*—the superiority of painting or sculpture—according to its gentlemanly distance from physical labour, they had to yield the high altar to the sculptors, who thereby gained prominence, but only in the yeoman's task of altar adornment.[75]

The Overpowering Altar-Tabernacle

In Counter-Reformation churches, the altar-tabernacle overpowers the choir, or, in the case of churches outfitted with Counter-Reformation retrochoirs, creates it. Similarly, in pictures with fully developed altar-tabernacles, the altar-tabernacles overpower other pictorial content, so that little else may be depicted. The subjects of high altarpieces are often coordinated so that they tend to be Christological with Eucharistic connota-

74. On Pius V's restriction of indulgences, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1896), III, 424.

75. Stoichita (*Visionary Experiences*, 70–72) agrees: "in ecclesiastical circles sculpture was held in higher regard than painting and that in any comparison of the two, elements were taken from early paragone . . . and combined with criteria of a doctrinal nature." There is an interesting record of the contemporary painter's dilemma in Armenini, who recommends that, "sensible painters learn all about the forms of the tabernacles and their positions and sizes in order to make them with proportionate and appropriate measures. Not only are painters expected to have a knowledge of good architecture, but they must also be able to make drawings, models, and the actual tabernacles in stucco in new and extraordinary ways": Giovanni Battista Armenini, *On the True Percepts of Paintings*, trans. Edward Olszeski (New York, 1977), 230.

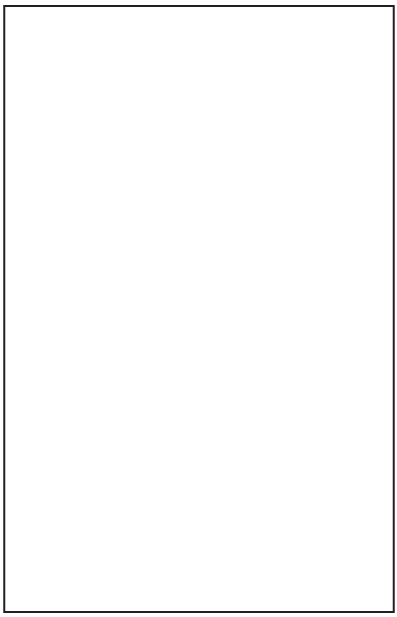

FIGURE 8. Andrea Sacchi, *Gesu*, 1639, Museo di Roma, Rome, with Girolamo Muziano's *Circumcision of Christ* and altar tabernacle on the high altar; taken from Gauvin Bailey, *Between renaissance and Baroque*, plate 114.

tions.[76] In such high-altarpiece-and-tabernacle combinations, a space is often reserved for the vertical tabernacle that juts upward into the pictorial space, creating an opportunity for complex referential meanings. But one can see that this disruption, once again, belies the sacramental priorities here, as the inner pictorial content tries to negotiate an interesting response in spite of the tabernacle.[77]

There are other paintings that simply acknowledge the tabernacle or echo it in some way. Girolamo Muziano's important *Circumcision of Christ*, formerly of the high altar of the Gesù in Rome but now relegated to the sacristy, left an empty space to accommodate the tabernacle. Muziano

76. Humfrey, "Altarpieces and altar dedications."

77. In a rare acknowledgement of this dilemma, Armenini (231) writes that, "[the paintings that will adorn it] must be appropriate to that Most Holy Mystery, both in the front as well as on the sides; one must avoid chimeras and fanciful scenes which often are used in similar places by fools who do not realize their mistake."

soberly shows the moment when Christ received his name, which was of course also sacred to the Society of Jesus. The emptiness at the bottom centre of the composition accommodates the sacramental tabernacle that would have 'completed' the painting, but that was long ago dismantled.

The spatial effect of the painting-tabernacle combination is clearly shown in Andrea Sacchi's painting of the interior of the Gesù (Figure 8; 1641, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna).[78] There it is clear that the central action of Christ's circumcision exists as a sort of duplication of the tabernacle below. There is a thematic echo, Christ in the tabernacle and the Christ child. But the merely represented Christ child now draws his power from his proximity to the true flesh of Christ below. The tension of focus almost puts the painting in the role of *Bildtabernakel*, as simple embellishment next to the divine Eucharist. The altar diagrams the priorities of the Counter-Reformation; images are images and the Eucharist is Christ.

Other examples can be added.[79] In general, these altarpieces contain a sacramental subject (Last Supper, Communion) placed behind the tabernacle. Centrally placed is the communion wafer, being proffered by Christ, just above the actual tabernacle holding the real Eucharist. This example goes well beyond metaphor to being extremely literal. The Muziano and other examples are from high altars or altars of the sacrament, and it is interesting to see next how the memory of the altar-tabernacle affects the construction of altarpieces *away* from the high altar. During the Counter-Reformation frequent communion was encouraged, so more masses at more altars in more chapels required artists to take the host into consideration, as when Vasari corresponded with Vincenzo Borghini about his *Resurrection* altarpiece for the Pasquali chapel in Sta Maria Novella, whose

78. Harris, *Andrea Sacchi.*

79. See, for example, Felice Pellegrini's *Last Supper* (1600) in the Chiesa Collegiata di Santo Stefano, Castelfidardo (near Ancona); Andrea Camassei, *St. John Giving Communion to the Virgin*, 1630s, S. Lucia in Selci, Rome (Marilyn Dunn, "Piety and Agency: Patronage at the Convent of S. Lucia in Selci," *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art,* 1 [2000], 29–59, fig. 6). Of course, the iconography of communion was very popular; see Paris Nogari, *Communion of St. Lucy*, 1580s, Chapel of St. Lucy, Santa Maria Maggiore; Veronese, *The Last Communion of St. Lucy* (1582, stored in Washington, National Gallery of Art); Federico Barocci, *Communion of the Apostles*, 1608, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome; Domenichino, *St. Jerome Receiving Communion*, San Girolamo della Carita', Rome; Baccio Ciarpi, *Communion of St. Lucy*, 1615, S. Lucia in Selci, Rome, Rome: Dunn, "Piety and Agency," fig. 2. Stranger are cases where a tabernacle is depicted on an altarpiece for a high altar, as in Nicolò di Simon Pietro's *The Virgin and Child with Saints Joseph and Nicholas of Bari,* in the Church of the Madre di Dio e San Nicola, Lecce; Michele Paone, *Chiese di Lecce* (Galatina, here 1979), II, 142–44, fig. 225; Cresti, "Altari fiorentini controriformati," 47.

preparatory drawing did not sufficiently anticipate the priest's elevation of the host into the space of the picture.[80]

What is of interest here, however, is how something new occurred—the concession to the massive altar-tabernacle on the high altar affected the altarpiece itself. There are direct ways that this was registered, as when the very architecture of the high altar informed the design of an altarpiece on another altar elsewhere in the nave and brought with it Eucharistic symbolism, as in Vasari's *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (1569) in Santa Croce, which shows a triumphal arch reminiscent of that over the church's own high altar.[81] Yet more importantly for the present discussion, altarpieces also abstractly registered this recognition of the theological and formal power of the Eucharist.

These examples show that the Counter-Reformation altar-tabernacle, especially as it became the partial subject of a genre of painting, was perceived as literally larger than life. In the same sense that the host intercedes for all relics, saints, and even other sacraments, the altar does a similar job within the altarpiece proper. To introduce the altar-tabernacle as subject is to limit the composition *ab initio,* or else to anchor the scene so much in the present that it begins to appear as mere reportage.

The Consequences for Counter-Reformation Painting

There is much more that can be said about the altar-tabernacle. There is for instance a large presence of post-Tridentine pictures that contain sculptures, visions and painted icons. These forms phenomenologically seem to match the presence of the tabernacle, both visually and in the economy of holiness, supplementing for the Host in its absence. To give a brief example of each, one could mention: Cerano's *The Madonna dei Miracoli of Santa Maria presso San Celso venerated by St. Francis and Beato Borromeo* (1610, Turini, Galleria Sabauda),[82] featuring a prominent statue dominating the

80. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 111.

81. Cresti, "Altari fiorentini controriformati," 16; Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 111.

82. Marco Rosci, *Il Cerano* (Milan, 2000), 150-51; c.f. Krüger "Authenticity and Fiction," 53–59. The original context for the work is untraced; it was already in the Sabauda collections by 1635. Represented also are the Madonna of Loreto (Guercino, *Sts. Francis and Bernardino in Prayer before the Madonna of Loreto* [1618, Cento, Pinacoteca Civica], referenced in Denis Mahon, ed., *Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, il Guercino: 1591–1666* [Bologna, 1991], 88–90), Kiev Mary Statue (Francesco Vanni, *St. Hyacinth Rescuing the Host and a Mary Statue from Burning Kiev* [1600, Siena, San Domenico], referenced in Peter Anselm Riedl and Max Seidel, *Die Kirchen von Siena*, 3 vols., [Munich, 1985–2006], *Oratorio della Carita-S. Domenico*, II, no. 128; 664–66.)

center of the painting; Palma Giovane's *The Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas for San Domenico* (c. 1590, Pinacoteca San Domenico, Fano), with the crucifix coming alive;[83] or Francesco Vanni's *Madonna Vallicelliana Adored by SS. Francis and Restituta* (1602, Sora, Santa Maria degli Angeli), with a painted version of the Oratorian icon.[84] In each case, one sees some substantial subject occurring precisely where the Host would be housed in a tabernacle.

The tabernacle on the altar was a virtual presence in the minds of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century artists and their publics whenever approaching an altar. The charge of the relationship between host and taker of communion was very strong, and informed depictions of altars (or suggested altars) in altarpieces. What, then, are the consequences for other works of art? Most importantly, what happens when the viewer does not witness a host-communee relationship within a painting, but rather enters into a Eucharistic relationship with the painting itself? As hinted earlier, side altars became the domain of the painter, where smaller altars (with no permanent, or at least not such a dominant, apparatus for preserving the Host) let the painter engage in his traditional function of expressing the sacramental nature of the represented personages.

No doubt images were important to the post-Tridentine Church. Qualitatively speaking, there was little change before and after Trent, as churches and ecclesiastical buildings continued to be decorated. No doubt the Church's call to move viewers also promoted a mistaking of sign and the signified—depicted saint and real saint—that served an important part of popular devotion and therefore was quite purposeful, even though theologically it was denied. Less sceptically, one could say that the recognition of saints, miracles and visions now had a rigorous apparatus for recognizing sanctity, as the legalistic *processi* well attest.

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83. On the Palma painting, see S. Tomani Amiani, *Guida Storica Artistica di Fano* (Pesaro, 1981), 92–97; and Franco Battistelli, "Precisazioni sulla datazione del 'S. Tommaso d'Aquino' di Palma il Giovane e sul suo committente," in: *Studi per Pietro Zampetti*, ed. Ranieri Varese (Ancona, 1993), 350–52. See further Santi di Tito's *The Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas* for San Marco, Florence (1593), referenced in Jack Spalding, *Santi di Tito* (Ann Arbor, 1976), 299–304, 423–26. See also Santi's painting of the same subject for the Oratorio of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Florence (1569) and Francesco Vanni, *The Crucified Christ speaking to Thomas Aquinas*, 1602, church of San Romano, Lucca; see Belli Barsali I., *Lucca: Guida alla città* (Lucca, 1988).

84. *La Regola e la Fama*, 505–06. Other icons repainted are the *Volto Santo* of Lucca, the *Madonna of Constantinople* (Ascensidonio Spacca), and others. This is not to mention the actual reproduction of icons, like the *Madonna of Santissima Annunziata*, Florence (see versions made by the artists Alessandro Allori, Cosimo Daddi, Ottavio Vannini).

Nevertheless, the goal to move viewers, as effective as it could be for personal discipline and conduct, was not intercessory in the least. Trent taught that art instructed and confirmed the memory of believers so that they "may order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety."[85] Cardinal Paleotti wrote of paintings that: "Their principle end is to persuade persons to piety and order them toward God. . . . The purpose of these images will be to move individuals to the obedience and subjection they owe to God."[86] The *sine qua non* of such painting would be the various martyr scenes that were so popular in broadsheets, and the frescoes, for example, of the various Jesuit national colleges in Rome.[87]

But in the position over an altar, without any of the didactic import relating to the host-communee relationship, one can begin to see why artists in treating their subjects in a post-Tridentine milieu had only two directions available to them: toward imitation of the historicized, reliquary image or sculpture, i.e., archaism; or toward a metaphoric indexing of the fleshy host, i.e., the "Baroque."[88] After Federico Zeri's pioneering analysis of late sixteenth-century painting, archaism has only recently been taken up again as a serious topic.[89] Many of the works of Girolamo Muziano, Scipione Pulzone and Federico Zuccaro fall into this category. As in the paintings of Vanni that recall the absent *Madonna Vallicelliana*, archaizing works gain their power by employing the stylistic choices of a more pious age. But as the foregoing discussion makes clear, it is not simply to partake of a more devout style

85. *Canons and Decrees*, 235.

86. Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, 111; *Discorso*, 214–15: *"il fine di esse prencipale sarà di persuadere le persone alla pietà et ordinarle a Dio . . . lo scopo di queste imagini sarà di movere gli uomini alla debita obedienza a soggezzione a Dio"*; c.f., Stoichita, *Visionary Experience*.

87. Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *The Art Bulletin*, 58, no. 3 (1976), 425–33; Leslie Korrick, "On the Meaning of Style: Nicolò Circignani in Post-Tridentine Rome," *Word & Image*, 15, no. 2 (1999), 170–89; Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, Chapters 2 and 4.

88. The preceding context qualifies this freighted term. It is simply intended to mean a visual technology that blends *disegno* and *colorito*, *chiaroscuro* and color, for maximally convincing illusion: Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of the Baroque Style*, 2nd ed. (Fiesole, 2000).

89. Federico Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma: l'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta* (Turin, 1957). The most important recent discussions are Marcia Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1999); Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art*, 1–22; Lingo, *Federico Barocci. Allure and Devotion*, 14–31; Livia Stoenescu, "Ancient Prototypes Reinstantiated: Zuccari's Encounter of Christ and Veronica of 1594," *Art Bulletin*, 93, no. 4 (2011), 423–48; and Seaman, *The Religious Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen*.

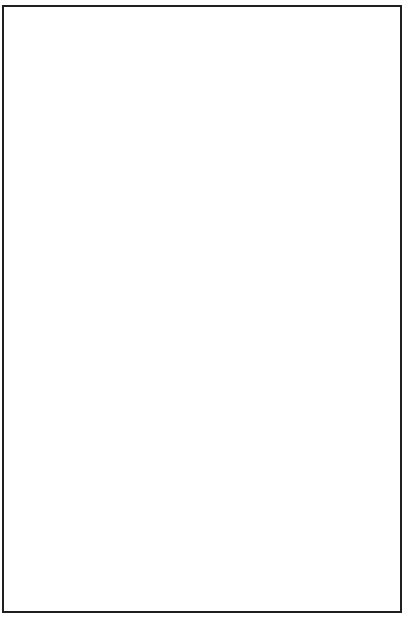

FIGURE 9. Federico Barocci, *Immaculate Conception,* 1577, San Francesco, Urbino, now stored in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

(although this is important) but also to enjoy the authority of pre-Reformation objects that shared in the distributed sacramentality of the Host.

More interesting are the works regarded as proto-Baroque, works by Barocci, Vanni, Cigoli, and the Carracci. Each possesses a style that works through empathic identification. The *carnoso* and *pastoso* flesh of the Carracci, commented upon by Malvasia, is often opposed to the hard, cold flesh of Mannerist works. There is a sense that the Carracci's figures are living, but this can now be seen to be more than a mere rhetorical trope. The figures have to appear alive to the receptive viewer, not just as exemplars worthy of inciting pious devotion, but also as quasi-present stand-ins for sacramental life.[90]

90. In Northern Europe, Karel van Mander's discussion of the "glow," a treatment of flesh that pulsates with life, became another touchstone for a reforming style; Paul Taylor, "The Glow in late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dutch Painting," in: *Looking Through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, ed. Erma Hermens (Leids, 1998).

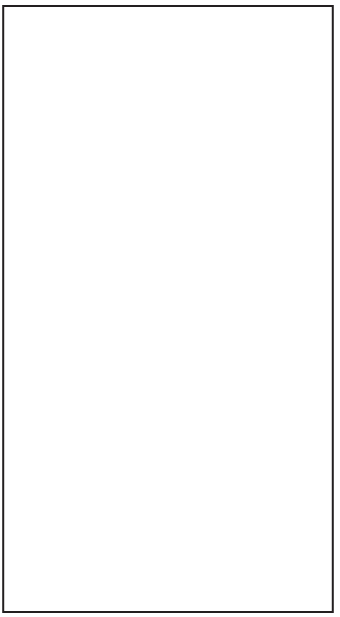

FIGURE 10. Federico Zuccaro, *Immaculate Conception,* 1592, San Francesco, Pesaro.

The choice between the two paths in Counter-Reformation art is dramatically shown in a juxtaposition of two paintings, by two men who knew each other, of the same subject in Franciscan churches in neighbouring towns: Federico Barocci's *Immaculate Conception* of c. 1577 (San Francesco, Urbino, now Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; Figure 9) and Federico Zuccaro's *Immaculate Conception* of 1592 (San Francesco, Pesaro; Figure 10). Barocci's graceful Madonna looks forward to the Baroque type of *Immocalata* while Zuccaro's might be mistaken for a poor provincial work, yet both were valued in their time. However, after about 1600 interest waned in the archaic style in favor of the "Baroque."[91]

As recent research by Stuart Lingo shows, in spite of the optical sensuousness of Barocci's works, the artist was still intensely interested in making his paintings iconic and directly accessible to viewers.[92] Thus

91. An interesting Spanish analogy might be the works of El Greco, so different from those of Pulzone, but in another sense sharing a figured quality of outline that invites intellectual reflection on the part of the viewer. There were no heirs to El Greco's style after his death in 1614.

Barocci's *Perdono*, an optically complex work, is notable for the arrested narrative action of the story—relating to the indulgence granted to Francis—so that Francis's body is presented to the viewer for worship in a centralized, satisfying way (see Figures 9, 10). Thus, one sees an interesting combination of iconic display with rich optical surfaces.

It is true that seventeenth-century artists rediscovered Correggio, with all his intimacy, *sfumato* and expression, and showed the reforming generation how to form the pieces of "Baroque" art. At the same time, however, he also showed them how to make a statement full of soft pathos that would be reserved for Christ's sacrificed flesh, and apply it to any subject suitable for an altar at which Mass was said and at which divine transubstantiation took place. This is the deeper lesson for the rise of what is called Baroque painting. It is variously (and contradictorily) described as emotional, theatrical, and energetic, but what it may be most of all is empathic, and a direct appeal for the sensuous identification of Christ's (and his interceding saints') flesh. Even when Counter-Reformation viewers reflected intellectually on his sacrifice and its enormity, the first, immediate identification with the real Christ is what was most important. And this real Christ was always already present on the altar in the sacramental tabernacle.

92. Lingo, *Federico Barocci*.

Spin off: The Surprising History of the Coriolis Effect and the Jesuits Who Investigated It

Christopher M. Graney and Guy Consolmagno, S.J.*

This paper discusses six astronomers of the Society of Jesus who investigated the Coriolis Effect: the deflection of objects moving at Earth's surface that is caused by Earth's rotation. The paper includes introductory material on what the Coriolis Effect is and how it works, especially as regards the atmosphere of Earth and other planets. Four of the six Jesuits—Christoph Scheiner, Giovanni Battista Riccioli, Francesco Maria Grimaldi, and Claude François Milliet Dechales—worked in the seventeenth century. They envisioned the effect occurring if Earth rotated; they believed that no such effect actually occurred; and thus they investigated the effect as an argument against Earth's motion. The fifth, Angelo Secchi, experimented with the Foucault pendulum, the first clear demonstration of this effect. The sixth, Johann Georg Hagen, the first Jesuit Director of the Vatican Observatory, worked in the early twentieth century. He developed experimental tests for the effect. This paper provides a synopsis of information that recently has been published in books and journals related to physics and the history of astronomy regarding Jesuits and the Coriolis Effect.

Keywords: Coriolis Effect; the motion of the Earth; Jesuit astronomers; Christoph Scheiner; Giovanni Battista Riccioli; Francesco Maria Grimaldi; Claude François Milliet Dechales; Angelo Secchi; Johann Georg Hagen

Introduction

The hurricanes that spin into North America every summer and fall are dramatic, often catastrophic, manifestations of the *Coriolis Effect* that comes from Earth spinning on its axis, so important in weather patterns. However, this effect also played a surprising role in the seventeenth-

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century debates over the Copernican theory and whether or not the Earth actually spins. The surprise is that the astronomers who best understood the Coriolis Effect were those who in fact argued against the Earth's spin.

The Coriolis Effect bears the name of Gaspard-Gustave de Coriolis (1792–1843), as he worked out the detailed mathematics of the effect in the early nineteenth century. Coriolis's name became commonly associated with the effect only in the early twentieth century;[1] George Hadley, who considered the effect of the spinning Earth on winds in a paper of 1735, is often supposed the first to conceive of the Effect—his paper being "cited in every meteorological treatise dealing with atmospheric circulation since the beginning of the 19th century."[2] However, the idea behind the Coriolis Effect was developed well prior to Hadley, largely by members of the Society of Jesus who did not believe that it existed (at least, not on the surface of the Earth).

Spin Cycle

The Coriolis Effect arises because Earth's spin causes its surface to move at different speeds at different latitudes. Earth's circumference is about 25,000 miles, and it spins once every twenty-four hours; therefore, at the equator its surface (and the atmosphere above that surface) moves eastward at a speed of just over a thousand miles per hour. At the poles, however, the surface doesn't move at all; it merely turns around once per day. Thus, with the increase in latitude as one moves from the equator to the poles, the speed of the surface drops from a thousand miles an hour to zero.

If one were to launch an object from the equator toward a pole, conservation of momentum says that the object will continue to move eastward at a thousand miles an hour. As it leaves the equator, however, it eventually passes over ground whose eastward motion is significantly less than its own. Thus the object, outrunning the ground toward the east, will appear to the launcher's perspective to be deflected toward the east. Conversely, if

1. Charles L. Jordan, "On Coriolis and the Deflective Force," *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society,* 47, no. 5 (1966), 401–03; Helmut E. Landsberg and William Ferrel, "Why indeed Coriolis?" *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society,* 47, no. 11 (1966), 887–89.

2. Landsberg and Ferrel, "Why indeed Coriolis?" 887; Anders O. Persson, "Hadley's Principle: Understanding and Misunderstanding the Trade Winds," *History of Meteorology,* 3 (2006), 17–42, here 17–20; Anders O. Persson, "The Coriolis Effect: Four centuries of conflict between common sense and mathematics, Part I: A history to 1885," *History of Meteorology,* 2 (2005), 1–24, on 6–8.

one were to launch the object from the pole toward the equator, the object will *be* outrun by the ground it passes over, and appear to be deflected to the west. Likewise in the atmosphere, air drawn toward a low-pressure zone deflects east if it approaches the zone from the equator, west if from the pole. This sets up a circulation around the "low," i.e. counter-clockwise in the northern hemisphere and clockwise in the southern—in other words, a hurricane's rotation.[3]

But Does the Earth Spin?

The idea that Earth's rotation must produce an apparent deflection of objects traveling across its surface figured in the seventeenth century debate over whether Earth does, in fact, rotate. The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe lived from 1546 to 1601, just between when Nicolaus Copernicus published his theory that Earth orbits the sun, in 1543, and when Galileo started his telescopic observations, in 1609.[4] Brahe admired many aspects of Copernicus's ideas, but he did not accept them for a number of reasons. One of these was that Copernicus required a daily or *diurnal* rotation of the Earth about its own axis, in order to explain the diurnal rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars.

The traditional astronomy and cosmology of Aristotle and Ptolemy said that this diurnal motion of celestial bodies belonged to them by their nature. The Earth, by contrast, was naturally at rest. This view also agreed with the various biblical passages that described the Earth as being at rest and the sun as moving, such as Ecclesiastes 1:5 ("The sun riseth, and goeth down, and returneth to his place: and there rising again"[5]). While "common sense" might suggest that the traditional view must be correct since surely any motion of Earth's surface (at speeds of hundreds of miles per hour) would be noticeable, the counter-argument was that if everything moved together in a uniform fashion then that motion could not be detected.

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3. A complete treatment of the Coriolis Effect involves vectors and calculus and can be found in textbooks, such as Herbert Goldstein, Charles Poole, and John Safko, *Classical Mechanics,* 3rd. ed. (San Francisco, 2001), 174–83, with an outline of the effect in the atmosphere on 177–78; also Jerry B. Marion, *Classical Dynamics of Particles and Systems,* 2nd ed. (Orlando, 1970), 343–356.

4. This discussion of Tycho Brahe draws from Christopher M. Graney, *Setting Aside all Authority: Giovanni Battista Riccioli and the Science against Copernicus in the Age of Galileo* (Notre Dame, IN, 2015), 37–44, as are the English translations of Brahe's writings.

5. Douay-Rheims translation, which seems appropriate for Brahe's time.

Brahe recognized that a rotating Earth implied a difference in motion between the poles and the equator; everything was not moving uniformly together. He felt that this difference should produce observable effects. In his 1601 book *Astronomical Letters* he wrote that "near the poles of the Earth, where the diurnal motion (if such might exist) comes to rest" a ball fired from a cannon should be expected to travel in the same manner regardless of which way the cannon is aimed. On the other hand, "in the middle between each pole at the Equator, where the motion of the circumference of the Earth ought to be fastest," the situation should be different.[6] Brahe did not discuss what exactly he expected to be different between poles and equator. He merely said that, "since these [cannon shots] may come about uniformly everywhere, indeed it is necessary that Earth rest uniformly everywhere."[7] After all, if Earth is immobile, then every place on its surface is equally immobile.

Brahe developed his own ideas about the working of the universe. He supposed the Earth to be indeed immobile, and circled by the sun, moon, and stars. The planets, however, circled the sun (Figure 1). So far as the apparent motions of anything in the solar system are concerned, this arrangement is identical to that of Copernicus; nothing you could see in a telescope like Galileo's of the sun, moon, and planets could tell the two arrangements apart. As Johannes Kepler said, "in Brahe the Earth occupies at any time the same place that Copernicus gives it, if not in the very vast and measureless region of the fixed stars, at least in the system of the planetary world."[8]

Brahe's system offered the advantages of the Copernican system, and got around certain disadvantages. There was no need to explain those cannon ball trajectories discussed above. There was also no need to explain how the "hulking, lazy Earth," as Brahe put it, could be made to move (Newtonian physics was far in the future, and one must recall that the physics of the time assumed celestial bodies like the sun moved naturally). Furthermore, there was no need to explain biblical passages like Ecclesiastes 1:5. This was an issue in the sixteenth century, as the Protestant reformers had complained that the unreformed Church was too lax in how it interpreted the words of the Bible. Thus Brahe described his system as one that "offended neither the principles of physics nor Holy Scripture."

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6. Tycho Brahe, *Epistolarum Astronomicarum Libri* (Nuremberg, 1601), 189–90.

7. Brahe, *Epistolarum*, 189–90.

8. Johannes Kepler, *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy and Harmonies of the World*, trans. Charles Glenn Wallis [Great Minds Series] (Amherst, NY, 1995), 175.

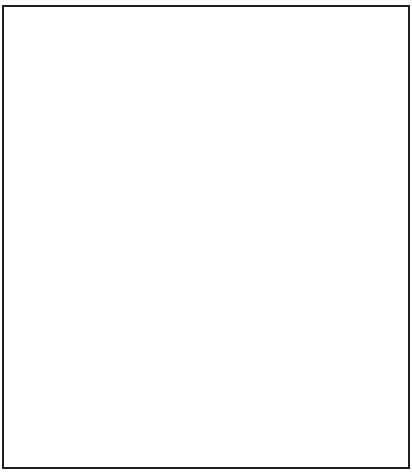


FIGURE 1. Tycho Brahe's system in which the Earth is at rest (and thus having no motion that might affect the flight of projectiles like cannon balls), circled by the sun, moon, and stars, with the planets circling the sun. Illustration, print, Scheiner and Locher's *Disquisitions*, 52, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Alte und Seltene Drucke, [old and rare prints], https://www.e-rara.ch/zut/content/zoom/359318.

Four Jesuits Add Their Spin

A decade after Brahe, another astronomer, Christoph Scheiner (1573–1650) of the Society of Jesus, endorsed Brahe's system as the most elegant and most consistent with observations. (In doing so, however, he said Brahe had appropriated it from the ancient African writer Martianus Capella;[9] the fact that Brahe was a Protestant while Scheiner was a Catholic may have led him to temper his praise.) In a 1614 book entitled *Mathematical Disquisitions*, Scheiner and his student, Johann Georg Locher, also noted the issues that a rotating Earth raised regarding objects moving above its surface at differing latitudes.[10]

However, they focused on objects rising and falling, rather than on projectiles like cannon balls. Starting with the premise that "everyone, even

9. Christoph Scheiner and Johann Georg Locher, *Disquisitiones Mathematicae, de Controversiis et Novitatibus Astronomicis* (Ingolstadt, 1614), 51–53. Also see Scheiner and Locher, *Mathematical Disquisitions, Concerning Astronomical Controversies and Novelties*, English translation, available in Christopher M. Graney, *Mathematical Disquisitions: The Booklet of Theses Immortalized by Galileo* (Notre Dame, IN, 2017), 59–60.

10. Scheiner and Locher, "Disquisition XIV," in: *Disquisitiones Mathematicae*, 28–35.

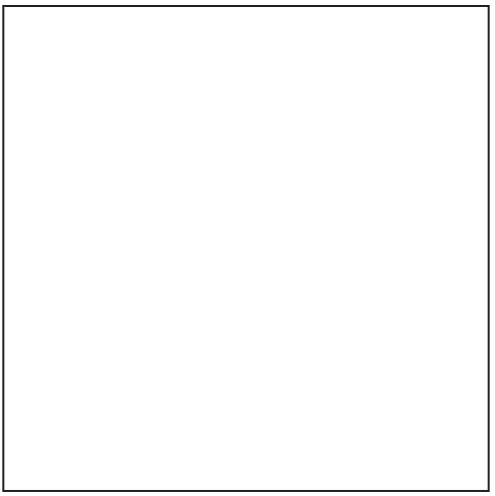


FIGURE 2. Illustration by Scheiner and Locher of the paths of falling bodies on a rotating Earth. The Earth's axis is horizontal, along the line ν-λ. The balls falling from above the equator, above a point at mid-latitudes, and above a pole are objects A (top), ϒ (upper right), and ν (far left). Ball A approaches Earth while it moves with Earth's rotation (perpendicularly to the page), thus describing a spiral on a plane perpendicular to the page. Ball ν moves toward Earth, rotating with Earth on its own axis; thus it describes a line rightward. Ball ϒ approaches Earth while moving perpendicularly to the page, thus describing a spiral on a cone whose vertex lies at Earth's center and whose base faces toward λ, as illustrated by ϒ-Ƶ-α-β-γ-...-c. Illustration, print, in Scheiner and Locher's *Disquisitions*, 30, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Alte und Seltene Drucke [old and rare prints], https://www.e-rara.ch/zut/content/zoom/359296.

Copernicans, acknowledges heavy bodies to be pulled down toward the center of the Earth along a vertical line,"[11] Locher and Scheiner asked their readers to consider three identical balls carried around with the rotating Earth, high above its surface: one above the equator, another above a mid-latitude point, and a third above a pole (Figure 2). When these balls are let fall, they ask, how is it that they each will follow such different paths in order to track that vertical line downward? A vertical line on the equator of a rotating Earth sweeps out a plane as the globe turns; the ball falling at the equator, descending along that vertical line, would therefore follow a

11. "Disquisition XIV," in: *Disquisitiones,* 29: "[. . .] omnes, etiam Copernicos grauia deorsum rapi secundum lineam verticalem ad centrum terrae." English from *Mathematical Disquisitions*, 31.

path that is a flat spiral. A vertical line at the pole of a rotating Earth does not move; the ball falling there simply descends. A vertical line at mid-latitudes sweeps out a cone; the ball falling there describes a conical downward spiral. And at differing heights above the surface any ball not over the pole would have to have differing speeds to maintain the vertical line.[12]

Unlike Brahe, Scheiner and Locher were not concerned about how the "hulking" Earth could move. They had developed an explanation for Earth's orbit, saying that it might be like the fall of an iron ball attached to a bent pole stuck in the ground. When the pole topples over, the ball moves in a circular path.[13] They were not so concerned about scripture, either. They granted that words about the "rising and setting" of the sun might actually describe the horizon "setting and rising" (convoluted as that may seem, they said).[14]

Still, they concluded that the questions they raised argued against any motion of the Earth. "Innumerable absurdities arise" because of that motion in regard to "all things moving up or down," they said, and so "therefore the motion of Earth need not be granted."[15] Brahe, Locher, and Scheiner could see no observable effect of the Earth's spin on either projectiles or falling bodies at different latitudes. To them, this lack of evidence served as an argument for Earth's immobility.

Mathematical Disquisitions made a big impression on Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), and not in a positive sense. He devoted many pages of his 1632 *Dialogue Concerning the two Chief World Systems: Ptolemaic and Copernican* to casting *Disquisitions* in a negative light. He made jokes in the *Dialogue* about the figure reproduced here as Figure 2. And then he contested Scheiner and Locher's statement that everyone agrees that heavy bodies fall

12. "Disquisition XIV," in: *Disquisitiones,* 30–32.

13. Scheiner and Locher, "Disquisition XV (Consectaria 4)," of *Disquisitiones*, 36-38; for further discussion of Scheiner and Locher's orbit explanation, see Christopher M. Graney, "How to Make the Earth Orbit the Sun in 1614," *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 50, no. 1 (2019).

14. Scheiner and Locher, "Disquisition XIII," of *Disquisitiones*, 25: "sidera non terrae, sed terra sideribus oritur occiditque," an idea that must be granted as satisfactory but convoluted ("licet torte satis").

15. Scheiner and Locher, "Disquisition XIV," of *Disquisitiones*, 35; "Motus terrae Copernicanus inducit necessario rebus omnibus tam a centro quam ad centrum latis, motum aliquem circularem, cuius tamen principium . . . assignari absque innumeris absurdis non potest: motus igitur terrae non est admittendus." English from *Mathematical Disquisitions*, 39. Despite the "innumeris," this Disquisition treats a mere twenty specific problems (roughly), or "questions" that arise.

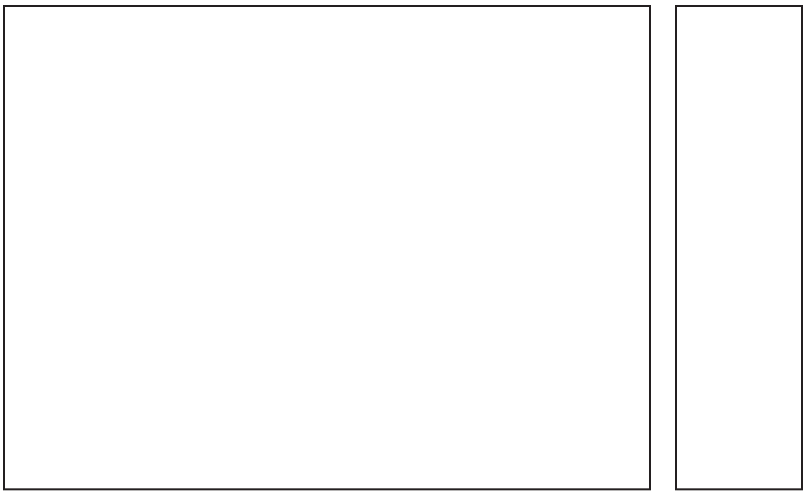
straight down to Earth; he wrote that if Earth rotates then a ball held in a high place would be carried around by Earth's rotation in a larger circle than, and therefore move faster than, the ground to which it falls. So when the ball is let fall, it should "run ahead" of the ground, and be deflected eastward.[16]

Elsewhere Galileo argued for another effect caused by Earth's rotation: a cannonball launched toward a target located due east of the cannon should strike above its intended mark, he said, because the rotation of Earth carries the target downward while the ball is in flight (as the "horizon sets"); conversely, a ball launched west should strike below its mark. Galileo even worked out the magnitude of this effect: one inch of deflection for a ball that takes one second to travel from cannon to target. Since in fact such shots are typically off from their target by up to a yard, he said, this effect is completely unobservable.[17] Both the easterly deflection of falling balls and the vertical deflection of projectiles that Galileo describes do in fact occur (the vertical deflection is now known as the *Eötvös Effect*) but they had not been detected at the time.

In 1651 Giovanni Battista Riccioli (1598–1671), also of the Society of Jesus, took the deflection idea further in his book *New Almagest*. Like Galileo, he argued that on a rotating Earth objects will not fall straight to the ground, but will instead be deflected to the east. Then he discussed projectiles. This discussion shows some in-depth physical thinking (which he attributes to his assistant, Francesco Maria Grimaldi, yet another Jesuit, who would go on to discover the phenomenon of the diffraction of light). Riccioli noted Brahe's argument about Earth's rotation and cannon balls flying at the poles and at the equator. He noted how the speed of the Earth's surface is greater toward the equator and less toward the poles. And then he provided an illustration (Figure 3) of a north-fired cannon ball veering slightly eastward because of changing ground speed. This is, of course, the Coriolis Effect. Riccioli considered the absence of any such observable effect to be a key argument in favor of Earth's immobility—a very useful argument, given that, in the time since Scheiner and Locher's *Disquisitions* had been published, Copernicus's 1543 *On the Revolutions* had been placed on the Index of Prohibited books "until corrected" (until

16. Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems: Ptolemaic and Copernican*, trans. Stillman Drake [Modern Library Sciences] (New York, 2001). Discussion of the Figure 2 diagram begins on 269, with the specific discussion of the ball running ahead of the Earth on 271.

17. *Dialogue*, 206–12.



FIGURES 3a AND 3b. Riccioli's cannon diagram. 3a (*left*): Riccioli writes that if the cannon is fired eastward at a target at B in the Figure, then as the ball is in flight, the Earth's (supposed) diurnal rotation carries the mouth of the cannon from A to C, and carries the target from B to D, so the ball travels from A to I, where it hits the target. If the cannon is aimed northward and fired at a target at E, then as the ball is in flight, the target moves from E to N. However, Riccioli says, the ball travels along the curve AKF, not the straight line AHF, because the diurnal motion is faster at the beginning of the ball's flight. The ball does not strike the target at N squarely, but grazes it or misses it, striking to the right, at G. This analysis is sophisticated enough that the shape of the curve AKF follows modern calculations. 3b (*right*): The cannon travels with the ground and the target, so as seen from the cannon, the ball, expected to travel in a straight line from the mouth of the cannon at C to the end of its travel at F, is in fact seen to veer slightly right, into G. See Riccioli, illustration, print, *New Almagest,* II, 426, stored in the library in the Vatican Observatory; electronic version available at ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, https://www.e-rara.ch/zut/content/titleinfo/140180.

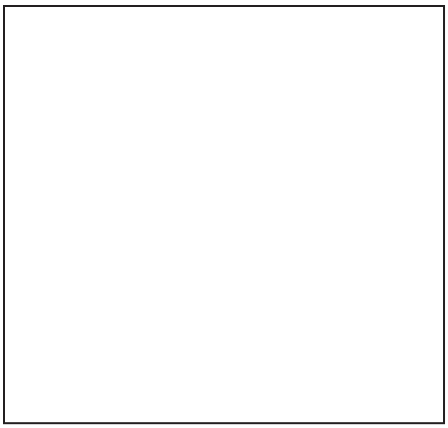
passages speaking of the Copernican system as being more than a hypothesis had been edited) and Galileo had been tried over his *Dialogue*.[18] Riccioli agreed with Brahe's idea that the sun circled the immobile Earth, while planets circled the sun.[19]

18. Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Berkeley, CA, 1989), 28–31, 34–39, 148–49, 200–02, 287–91; Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo, 1633–1992* (Berkeley, CA, 2005), 26–42.

19. Regarding this paragraph, see Graney, *Setting Aside*, 116–20. The matter of Riccioli and the Coriolis Effect touches on a broader question, because various writers over time have

Riccioli worked out much of what we now call the Coriolis Effect, but Claude François Milliet Dechales (1621–78), in his book *Mathematical World* (published in 1674 and again in 1690), wrote an illustrated discus-

asserted that Riccioli did not accept the concept of inertia. Alexandre Koyré stated that "Riccioli, in physics, is rather behind the times and . . . is a partisan of the semi-Aristotelian conception of motion as change produced by an external or internal cause, and . . . understands neither the principle of inertia nor that of the relativity of motion"—see Koyré, "A Documentary History of the Problem of Fall from Kepler to Newton: De Motu Gravium Naturaliter Cadentium in Hypothesi Terrae Motae," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 45, no. 4 (1955), 329–95, on 349. Alfredo Dinis described Riccioli as "unable to accept the principle of inertia"—see Dinis, "Giovanni Battista Riccioli and the Science of His Time," in: *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. M. Feingold (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 195–224, on 220 (although Dinis also has argued against a view of Jesuits that "does not do justice to the complexity of their intellectual and scientific activity in general, and ignores the originality of many Jesuits, Riccioli among them," and has pointed out Riccioli's "quest for truth" and use of research "to provide the objective foundations" for his views and willingness to be flexible regarding Aristotelian opinions. See Dinis, *A Jesuit Against Galileo? The* Strange *Case of Giovanni Battista Riccioli Cosmology* [Braga, 2017], 11, 18–19). Ivana Gambaro wrote that Riccioli "could not accept Galileo's proto-concept of inertia, so he could not imagine, for a falling body, a rotational motion, in common with the Earth, composed with the centripetal and rectilinear motion." See Gambaro, "Geo-heliocentric models and the Society of Jesus: from Clavius's resistance to Dechales's *Mathesis Regia*," *Annals of Science,* 78, no. 3 (2021), 265–94, on 276. It is true that the *New Almagest* contains many ideas that differ from modern physical concepts—it sees objects that rise upward as doing so because they have a positive "levity" driving them (as opposed to the "gravity" of heavy objects that drives them downward); it makes a variety of statements regarding "impetus" of moving bodies, and the force of impact of projectiles, perhaps reflecting the differing views of Riccioli vs. Grimaldi. Nevertheless, the *New Almagest* discussion of the deflection of a falling body and of a northward-traveling cannon ball (and even of rising bodies, see Graney, *Setting Aside*, 249) clearly involves an implicit assumption of the existence of what we today would call inertia. Riccioli's words about AKF and the deflection of a north-moving cannonball that are paraphrased in the caption for Figure 3 read, "At quia et tellus et globus transferri ponuntur Orientem versus, et dum globus nititur versus E praevalente diurno motu deviat ac detorquetur a recta AE, trahiturque per curuam AKF, versus F, (quia in principio motus hic velocior est, et globus fertur ultra rectam AHF, quam describeret si motus esse uniformis). . . . Hinc fieret, vt globus non impingeret in scopum . . . recta in F, sed veluti fugaci ac valde obliquo contactu, qui mereretur potius nomen attritionis aut confrictionis, quam ictus et vulneris, vix feriret scopum N; et si ad latus ipsius N, esset scopus alter in G, dextrorsum versus ventum Graecum collocatum, etiam si in illum non esset directa Bombarda et globus; illum tamen multo maiori impetus feriret globus. . . ." Riccioli, *Almagestum Novum,* 2 vols. (Bologna, 1651), II, 427, col. 1. On the curve AKF in Figure 3 that Riccioli and Grimaldi drew for the trajectory of the cannon ball as seen from the fixed stars matching the results of calculations using modern concepts of inertia and the Coriolis Effect, see Graney, "Contra Galileo: Riccioli's 'Coriolis-Force' Argument on the Earth's Diurnal Rotation," *Physics in Perspective*, 13 (2011), 387–400; also Graney, "The Coriolis Effect Apparently Described in Giovanni Battista Riccioli's Arguments Against the Motion of the Earth: An English Rendition of Almagestum Novum Part II, Book 9, Section 4, Chapter 21, Pages 425, 426-7," arXiv (2010), https://arxiv.org/abs/ 1012.3642.



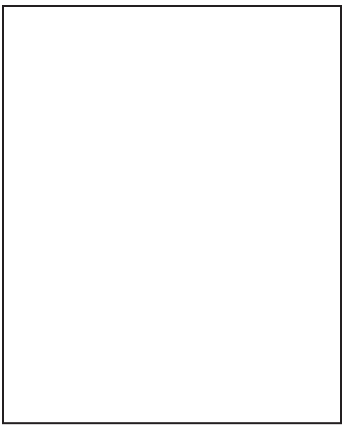


FIGURE 4a (*left*). Dechales's tower diagram. Note curves indicating greater and lesser distances traveled by the top and bottom of the tower. Dechales wrote: "A ball F, hanging from the top of a tower directly above point G, is dropped. While the ball descends, point G is carried [by Earth's rotation] into I. I propose the ball F will be unable to arrive at point G (now at I). This is because the ball when positioned at F has an impetus requisite for passing through arc FH (through which the tower top moves while the ball descends) which is greater than that requisite for arc GI. Therefore, if the ball is dropped, it will not arrive at point I, but will advance forward farther [to L]." Dechales, *Mathematical World,* 4 vols. (1690), IV, 328, stored in the library in the Vatican Observatory; electronic version available at ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, https://www.e-rara.ch/zut/content/titleinfo/2518348.

FIGURE 4b (*right*). Dechales's cannon diagram. Note curves indicating greater and lesser distances traveled by the cannon and the target. Dechales wrote: "Consider a cannon discharged in the direction of one of the poles [of the Earth]. During the time in which the ball would traverse the distance MO, the cannon [originally at M] would be carried to N, while the target [originally at O] would be carried to P. While the ball was at M, it had from the rotation of the Earth impetus able to carry it through arc MN (which is greater than arc OP) during the time required to travel from M to O. But the ball, separated from the cannon, conserves this impetus whole. Therefore, it should run through a distance greater than OP and consequently not hit the target." Ibid.

sion of it that could have come from a textbook of today. In a section entitled "Objections against Copernicus," Dechales (the fourth astronomer from the Society of Jesus in this story!) included an illustration (Figure 4a) of a tower carried by a rotating Earth, and argued that a ball dropped from its top would not fall straight down, but would travel farther toward the

east, because of the greater speed of the top of the tower vs. the ground.[20] He also included an illustration (4b) of a cannon aimed at a target to the north. The diagram shows the cannon and the target both carried to the east by Earth's rotation, but with the cannon carried farther east, and the ball that it fires at the target carried farther east as well, so that it misses the target to the right.[21]

Dechales cites Riccioli in his book. However, his qualitative treatment of these effects is more straightforward than Riccioli's, and his diagrams are clearer. His discussion differs little from modern qualitative discussions of the Coriolis Effect, like the one at the start of this article.[22] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these effects that Dechales treated in a discussion of objections against the Copernican rotation of the Earth would finally be observed directly, in pendulums and in the atmosphere, and become confirmations of that rotation.

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20. The deflection of a falling body is sometimes considered a version of the Coriolis Effect. See Goldstein, Poole, Safko, *Classical Mechanics*, 178–79; Marion, *Classical Dynamics*, 348–53.

21. Claude François Milliet Dechales, "Astronomia Liber Primus: Propositio XVII," in: *Cursus Seu Mundus Mathematicus, Tomus Quartus* (Lugduni, 1690), 328. In the 1674 version this is "Astronomia Liber Primus: Propositio IX" (located in the third volume), where it has the same diagrams, and the language is similar but not identical. Translations in the captions for DeChales' diagrams are from Christopher M. Graney, "Early descriptions of Coriolis effect," *Physics Today*, 70, no. 7 (2017), 12–13.

22. Compare Dechales's discussion of the north-launched cannonball in the caption of Figure 4 to this modern discussion, from Lee M. Grenci, Jon M. Nese, *A World of Weather: Fundamentals of Meteorology* (Dubuque, IA, 2001), in a section labelled "Coriolis Force: As the World Turns" (p. 101): "As you might guess, if points on different latitude circles move at different speeds, something peculiar should result. Suppose a projectile is launched northward from the equator. At the instant before launch, the projectile is moving eastward at 1668 km/hr, courtesy of the rotating earth. Once airborne, the projectile retains its original endowment of eastward momentum. The projectile is like a train robber jumping off a speeding locomotive in an old Western movie. While in the air, the bandit is still moving at a forward speed equal to the train's. Thus, his landing will be rough . . . he will slide and roll and tumble. . . . Think of the projectile's northward flight as a long leap off a train that is travelling east on the equator at 1668 km/hr. Until it hits the ground, the projectile will continue to move east with the approximate speed of the 'train' (the equator). But the projectile is also moving northward. With each passing moment, it moves over ground that has an eastward speed less than its own. In essence, the projectile surges into the lead in this eastward race with the slower-moving ground below. To someone watching from the launching pad, the projectile appears to gradually swerve to the right." Similar discussions are found in many text or reference books—see, for example, James Shipman, Jerry D. Wilson, Charles A. Higgins, and Bo Lou, *An Introduction to Physical Science, 15th edition* (Boston, 2020), 579; Bradley W. Carroll and Dale A. Ostlie, *An Introduction to Modern Astrophysics* (Cambridge, UK, 2017), 731; Erik Gregersen, ed., *The Britannica Guide to Heat, Force, and Motion* (New York, 2011), 121.

A Different Spin: Pendulums and the Precision of Gunnery

The importance of the Coriolis Effect depends on two factors—how fast the object is moving, and how far it moves. Thus it is not surprising that flying cannon balls were often used as examples of such motion, especially in the earliest descriptions of the effect. But astronomers like Riccioli overlooked something that Galileo did not: many other things can deflect the motion of a cannonball and thus overwhelm the Coriolis Effect.[23]

Riccioli believed that the gunners of his time were so skilled that they could place a shot precisely into the mouth of an enemy's cannon. Any difference in the trajectories of cannonballs fired in different directions would certainly have been noticed, therefore. The fact that they had not, indicated to him that Earth was immobile.[24]

Riccioli was not alone in his ideas. John Flamsteed, England's first Astronomer Royal, once described gunners as knowing how to fire a cannon upward so as to make the ball drop right back into the mouth of their own cannon. Italian experimenters in the seventeenth century also

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23. Dechales did not overlook this. Regarding the deflection of a projectile or a falling ball being an objection against Copernicus, he writes in *Cursus* (1674 version, vol. 3, 298) that this is "of no importance, and imperceptible, because if it [the deflection] might happen in the manner which the objection contends, nothing need be concluded against Copernicus, and Copernicus remains uncompelled to admit it [rem nullius esse momenti, et imperceptibilem, vnde si accideret eo modo, quo contendit obiectio, nihil concluderetur contra Copernicum, neque tamen cogitur Copernicus id admittere]." He goes on to say that "indeed he [Copernicus] might concede that the objection would have strength if the motion might take place in a vacuum [concederet enim obiectionem valituram si motus fieret in vacuo]" where the air would not influence the trajectory of the ball. Moreover, "if any difference [of deflection] might exist, in such small distances it will not be of any importance [si quae intercedat differentia, in tam paruis distantiis, non erit alicuius momenti]". This discussion comprises a single, 105-word sentence, punctuated only by commas. It is significantly edited in the posthumous 1690 version of *Cursus*, where it is shortened and divided into three sentences, themselves parsed by semicolons (vol. 4, 329). Still, the point remains: "even if the thing might take place in the manner which the objection contends, the thing might be of no importance, and might be imperceptible. And Copernicus remains uncompelled to admit it; indeed he might concede that the objection would have strength, if the motion itself might be accomplished in a vacuum. . . . [I]f there might be any difference, in such small distances it will not be perceptible to sense. [etiamsi res se haberet eo modo quo contendit objectio, res nullius esset momenti, et imperceptibilis foret. Neque tamen id cogitur admittere Copernicus; concederet enim objectionem valituram, si isti motus in vacua perficerentur. . . . [S]i quae sit differentia, nullo sensu, in tam parvis distantiis sit perceptibilis.]"

24. Graney, *Setting Aside*, 118.

claimed to have been able to fire a cannon vertically and have the ball fall right back to the cannon's mouth.[25]

Even today the precision of gunnery can be overstated. An often-repeated story claims that, during the naval Battle of the Falkland Islands in December 1914, the British initially missed their German opponents by over one hundred yards, because they did not account for the Coriolis Effect operating in the opposite direction south of the equator. But the British and Germans had fought other actions, off Brazil and Chile, earlier in the year, so the story that the British were surprised by something peculiar to the southern hemisphere does not ring true. Moreover, the effect of the Earth's rotation was minor compared to the difficulty of shooting at distant, moving targets from a rocking, moving platform at sea. Reports from the time, such as a book on the battle written during the war by Commander H. Spencer-Cooper with input from those who fought it, do not mention the Coriolis Effect, but *do* mention a variability of *two hundred yards* in a single volley of shots as being evidence of good gunnery![26]

Interestingly, even had gunners been as accurate as Riccioli imagined, they would have noticed no difference between shots sent toward the north or south vs. those sent east or west. A full mathematical analysis of the Coriolis Effect reveals that, at a given latitude, the effect is independent of direction. This is not intuitive; discussions of the effect usually treat only the intuitive examples of objects moving north or south.

The Coriolis Effect can indeed be detected in projectiles; long-distance target shooters have put some interesting Coriolis Effect videos on the web. But the first easily visible demonstration of the Coriolis Effect involved not projectiles or falling bodies, but pendulums.

Remember that in the northern hemisphere a north-moving object deflects east—to the right—while a south-moving one deflects west—also

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25. On Flamsteed, at a 4 December 1679 meeting of the Royal Society, see Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London for Improving of Natural Knowledge, etc.*, 4 vols. (London, 1756–1757, here 1757), III, 513. On the Italian experiments, see William Edgar Knowles Middleton, *The Experimenters: A Study of the Accademia Del Cimento* (Baltimore, MD, 1971), 242. Also see, for example, the correspondence of Descartes, on the failures of such experiments, where the ball might be launched upward and perhaps never be found at all; see René Descartes and Anthony Kenny, *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1984–1991, here 1991), III, Volume 3, *The Correspondence,* 43, 113.

26. Christopher M. Graney, "Wide of the mark by 100 yards: Textbooks and the Falklands Coriolis myth," *Physics Today* Online, 2 February 2022, retrieved 25 January 2023, https://physicstoday.scitation.org/do/10.1063/PT.6.3.20220202b/full/.

right. Now, imagine this occurring, not in a single large movement to the north or south, but in many small repeated movements to the north and south, such as would occur in the case of a pendulum swinging in a north-south plane. Every northward swing yields a tiny rightward deflection. Every southward swing yields another tiny deflection, again rightward.

Each individual deflection is almost negligible. But as the pendulum swings back and forth over the course of a day, these negligible deflections add up, and the plane of the pendulum's swing is altered. Because the Coriolis Effect is independent of direction, the plane continually rotates.[27] This was first demonstrated by Léon Foucault in Paris in early 1851, two centuries after Riccioli's *New Almagest* first described the effect behind it.

Foucault Pendulums are commonly featured in science museums today as a demonstration of Earth's rotation. An early public demonstration of the Foucault pendulum was carried out in May of 1851 by another Jesuit, Fr. Angelo Secchi (1818–78). From the ceiling of St. Ignatius Church in Rome, Secchi suspended a lead ball on an iron wire, repeating Foucault's experiment before "the most distinguished professors of the city," studying the pendulum's motion in great detail and publishing his results.[28]

Final Spin, in the Vatican

It fell to one final Jesuit in the early twentieth century to demonstrate the Coriolis Effect with a slightly different approach—at the Vatican itself.[29] Johann Georg Hagen was born in Austria in 1847. After being ordained a priest in 1878, he was sent to the United States, where he became an American citizen. He taught mathematics at Sacred Heart College at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, where he built a small observatory and began to study variable stars. Then in 1888 he was appointed director of the Jesuits' Georgetown College Observatory in Washington, D.C., where he published the first three volumes of his monumental atlas of variable stars, the Atlas *Stellarum Variabilium*. Finally, in 1906 Hagen was called back to

27. For a full mathematical treatment of the Foucault pendulum and the Coriolis Effect, see Marion, *Classical Dynamics*, 353–56.

28. Ileana Chinnici, *Decoding the Stars: A Biography of Angelo Secchi, Jesuit and Scientist* (Leiden, 2019), 72–75.

29. This discussion of Joseph Hagan draws from Sabino Maffeo S.J., "Stars in our History: A History of the Vatican Observatory (The Rotation of the Earth)," in: *The Heavens Proclaim; Astronomy and the Vatican*, ed. Guy Consolmagno, S.J. (Vatican City, 2009), 63–64; and from Sabino Maffeo S.J., *The Vatican Observatory: In the Service of Nine Popes* (Vatican City and Notre Dame, IN), 75–6, 91, 102–3, plate 33.

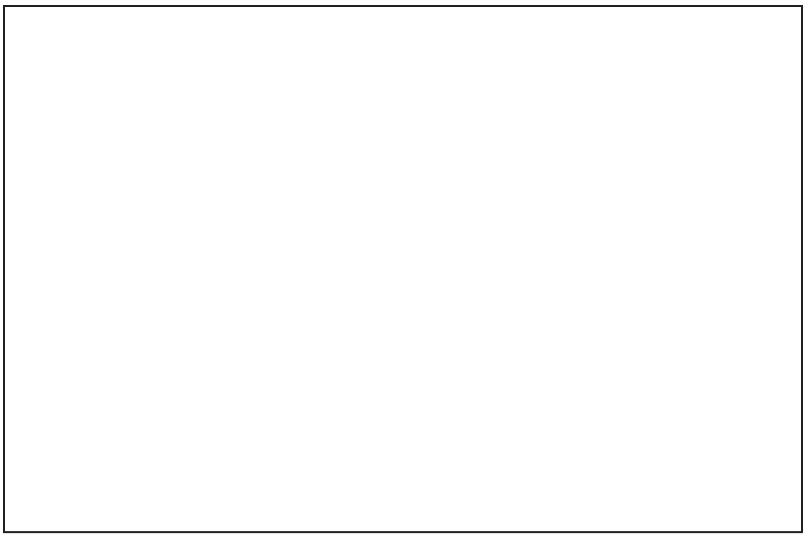

Figure 5. The Isotomeografo of Fr. Hagen. Weights driven along the beam experience a Coriolis effect, causing the beam to be deflected. Image credit: *Isotomeografo,* anon., likely prior to 1911, stored in the Vatican Observatory. (The photographer and precise date are unknown, but the authors suspect the photo was likely taken by Hagen prior to 1911, as the image is similar to one of the plates in *La Rotation de la Terre*.)

Europe to become the first Jesuit director of the Vatican Observatory, then located on the walls surrounding St. Peter's in Rome.

Hagen was fascinated with finding proofs from mechanics for the Earth's rotation. He gathered together and examined all of the attempts made up until that time to measure the Earth's rotation. He took notice of Secchi's experiments with pendulums, and some work by Riccioli (but not the discussions mentioned here), but he did not mention Scheiner or Dechales. Then he invented two experiments of his own.[30]

The first was his "Isotomeografo" which he installed on the basement floor of one of the Observatory's telescope domes. An 8.5 meter horizontal beam was hung by a two-strand steel cord about 7 meters long. Two small lead carriages weighing 90 kilograms (about 200 pounds) each were driven along the beam on symmetrical tracks, from the middle towards the ends

30. J. G. Hagen, S.J., *La Rotation de la Terre ses Preuves Mécaniques Anciennes et Nouvelles* (Roma, 1911), 7, 46, 113–120.

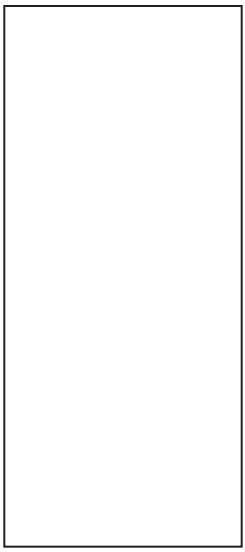

FIGURE 6. This telescope, made by Carpentier of Paris, was installed above an Atwood machine in a tall stairwell at the Vatican Museum to follow the deflection of a falling object due to the Coriolis Effect. Image credit: Guy Consolmagno, S.J., *Telescope,* 2002, Vatican Observatory.

and back (Figure 5).[31] As the carriages moved, the Coriolis Effect would cause the beam to undergo a small but measurable rotation in the horizontal plane. This was only the second experiment to demonstrate that the Earth was spinning, after Foucault's famous pendulum.

The second invention involved setting up a large Atwood machine in a 75-foot high stairwell at the Vatican Museum. (An Atwood machine slows down a falling object by connecting it over a pulley to a counterweight; it allows for a careful study of the falling object's motion.) By using a clever downwards-looking telescope (Figure 6), Hagen was able to follow the path of a falling object as the Earth spun underneath it and measure the spin of the Earth, to better than one percent accuracy.

Hagen published his work in a book printed by the Vatican in 1911.[32] He reported his results at the Fifth International Congress of Mathematicians, held in Cambridge in 1912, where he received an enthusiastic ova-

31. Also see Hagen, *La Rotation*, Plates II–VI.
32. Hagen, *La Rotation*.

tion.[33] The intuition of Scheiner, Riccioli, Grimaldi and Dechales was confirmed—and their conclusions about the spin of the Earth, refuted (not that Hagen, or anyone else, remembered their work[34]).

Spinning Worlds: the Coriolis Effect and Planetary Atmospheres

The motions of high and low pressure systems, especially in hurricanes, are the most dramatic examples of the Coriolis Effect visible on Earth. Alas for the debaters of Galileo's time, the knowledge of such weather patterns was only discovered in the mid-nineteenth century. At that time, naval officers (notably Matthew Fontaine Maury of the US Navy) collected the extensive records of weather patterns from navy vessels traversing the globe to correlate data about winds and currents. Meanwhile, the invention of the telegraph allowed meteorological offices in Europe to collect and correlate weather data at the same time on a continental scale, thus making these cyclonic patterns evident.

Other planets also demonstrated the Coriolis Effect, or its absence. Venus spins so slowly that there is essentially no Coriolis Effect there, and thus no cyclonic systems in its atmosphere (Figure 7). However, thanks to intense solar heating, its atmosphere does feature large convection currents, called "Hadley Cells," that develop to move hot air from the equator to the cooler zones near the poles or the nighttime side. The result of this efficient transport of heat is that the atmosphere of Venus is essentially the same temperature everywhere. By contrast, the spin rate of Jupiter is so fast and its radius so large that its atmosphere is being carried around at a rate that is not only rapid, but rapidly changing with latitude. This brings about the complex patterns of storms and clouds, from the Great Red Spot to smaller cyclonic features, which the recent Juno mission has illustrated so well (Figure 8).

Conclusion

The idea for the Coriolis Effect caused by a spinning Earth (or other planet) had been worked out long before Gaspard-Gustave de Coriolis had

33. Letter from Hagen to Cardinal Pietro Maffi, 2 September 1912, in Maffeo, *The Vatican Observatory*, 102.

34. As noted, Hagen mentions only Riccioli and Grimaldi, but not regarding the material discussed here (*La Rotation*, 7). No mention of Scheiner, Riccioli, Grimaldi and Dechales is found in any secondary source the authors can find, including Jordan, "On Coriolis"; Landsberg and Ferrel, "Why indeed Coriolis?"; Persson, "The Coriolis Effect"; and also Agustín Udías, "Jesuits' Contribution to Meteorology," *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society,* 77, no. 10 (1996), 2307–15 (Udías has written extensively on Jesuits and science).

FIGURE 7 (*left*). A newly processed, contrast-enhanced version of an image of Venus taken by Mariner 10 in February 1974. NASA/Jet Propulsion Laboratory—California Institute of Technology and processed by engineer Kevin M. Gill, *PIA23791: Venus from Mariner 10,* taken February 7, 1974, published June 8, 2020, 2245 pixels × 1096 pixels, *Photojournal,* https://photojournal.jpl.nasa.gov/catalog/PIA23791. Image Credit: NASA/JPL-Caltech.

FIGURE 8 (*right*). Jupiter's northern hemisphere as seen by NASA's Juno spacecraft. Kevin M. Gill, *Tumultuous Clouds of Jupiter,* image created using data from the Juno spacecraft's JunoCam imager, original four images taken May 29, 2019, available at Yvette Smith, "Tumultuous Clouds of Jupiter," NASA, June 27, 2019, https://www.nasa.gov/image-feature/tumultuous-clouds-of-jupiter. Image credit: NASA/JPL-Caltech/SwRI/MSSS/Kevin M. Gill.

even been born, largely by Jesuit astronomers building on the ideas of Tycho Brahe. Methods for detecting the effect were then investigated by other Jesuit astronomers. There is a certain irony in the effect having been described in large part by astronomers who did not think that it existed; they took its apparent absence as evidence that Earth does not spin, so that the theory of Copernicus fell to that of Brahe. But there is additional irony in that the Vatican, which had become infamous for opposing Earth's motion, became the site of two delicate experiments demonstrating that motion.[35] Then there is a final irony that the Coriolis Effect, originally envisioned as something that would not exist anywhere, and thus by its absence would be scientific evidence defending the immobility of Earth and Aristotle's physics of difference between the Earth and celestial bodies, is now seen to exist even on other planets, thus being scientific evidence for how the same physics applies both on Earth and on celestial bodies.

35. Hagen commented on this irony as regards to his experiments in his letter to Cardinal Maffi; Maffeo, *The Vatican Observatory*, 102.

A Servant of Two Masters: Bishop Aloisius Muench and the Debate over Catholic Schools in Postwar Bavaria

Nicholas Misukanis*

In 1946, President Harry Truman sought to reform the German education system and appointed Bishop Aloisius Muench as the Catholic Liaison to assist the U.S. occupational forces. Simultaneously, Muench was appointed as the Vatican's official visitor to Germany. Using these roles, Muench influenced denazification and educational policies in Bavaria. Drawing on unused primary sources from Muench's personal correspondence, OMGUS files, the papers of Lucius Clay, the Christian Social Union Archives, the personal papers of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, and the files from the archives of the archdiocese of Munich and Freising, this article concludes that Muench played a key role in preserving Catholic schools in Bavaria. Muench's case proves that denazification policies were contested and formed by a coalition of secular and religious individuals.

Keywords: Denazification, Aloisius Muench, OMGUS, religious education

Introduction

In 1946, the United States stood victorious from the Second World War but faced the challenges of occupying and rebuilding a defeated and divided Germany. U.S. forces occupied Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Greater Hesse, and a section of Berlin, and debated about how to begin the process of denazification.[1] To do so, U.S. officials sought to reform the education systems in these areas, and eventually decided to establish one

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1. James Tent, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago, 1982), 48.

based on the American public school system: public elementary schools feeding into secondary schools. But the U.S. faced significant resistance to its efforts, specifically in predominantly Catholic Bavaria where the Office of the United States Military Government (OMGUS) planned to close all confessional schools and funnel students into one public education system. In contrast to the United States, confessional schools in Bavaria, which also included Protestant schools, were part of the public education system, which meant they were mainly financed by taxpayers rather than religious institutions. Catholic schools in Bavaria had a long-standing history of teaching with a religious focus in mind, and they now risked losing this independence, considering this U.S.-controlled educational policy.

At the heart of the education debate lay a difference of opinion on how to denazify the education system in Bavaria, where Catholic institutions' relationship with primary schools dated back to the eighteenth century.[2] OMGUS, Catholic Bavarians, and Vatican officials agreed on the importance of denazification, but the U.S. government and the Catholic Bavarian officials had different visions for achieving this. For Americans in the OMGUS, the goal was to encourage democratic ideals and toleration of differences between individuals in hopes of denazification through public education. The American proposal for Bavarian school reform aimed to establish a liberal democratic ideology taught in schools. In contrast, Bavarian Catholics and the Vatican argued that Catholic education focused on the development of one's religious growth while blending this with Bavarian customs, and they argued that their religious education was consistent with the aims of denazification but that Catholic traditions needed to be prioritized.

To drum up support for education reform and assist OMGUS with occupational duties, President Harry Truman appointed Bishop Aloisius Muench to a unique role as the American liaison between OMGUS and German Catholic Churches. Truman selected Muench because of his popularity among Germans and clergymen and for his connections with German Catholics, which Truman thought could be useful in rebuilding postwar Germany.[3] Muench was also selected as the Vatican's Apostolic Visitor to Germany by Pope Pius XII. Using both positions, Muench played a crucial role in the heated debate from 1946–1949 between Bavarian Catholics, American bureaucrats, and Vatican officials over what role Catholic schools should play in the effort towards denazification and in the

2. Marc Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York, 2007), 148.

3. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine,* 30.

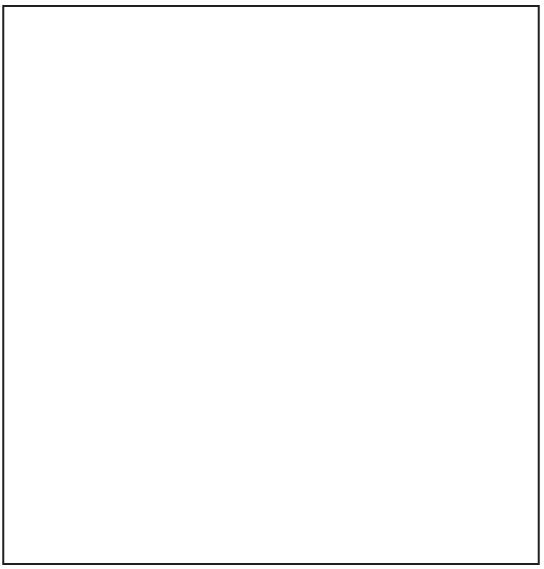

FIGURE 1. Apostolic Nuncio Bishop Aloysius Muench departing for Rome from the Bonn train station. To his immediate left is Hans Josef Maria Globke who was a State Secretary in the Chancellor's office; to his right Heinrich von Brentano di Tremezzo, the West German foreign minister. Rolf Unterberg, *Bahnhof Bonn, Verabschiedung Apostolischer Nuntius*, December 8, 1959, photograph, Bundesarchiv B 145 Bild-F007416-0008, also https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_B_145_Bild-F007416-0008,_Bahnhof_Bonn,_Verabschiedung_Apostolischer_Nuntius.jpg. "This image was provided to Wikimedia Commons by the German Federal Archive (Deutsches Bundesarchiv) as part of a cooperation project. The German Federal Archive guarantees an authentic representation only using the originals (negative and/or positive), resp. the digitalization of the originals as provided by the Digital Image Archive." Available by CC BY-SA 3.0 DE.

discussion over whether Bavarian Catholic schools should continue to exist. Muench utilized his positions and connections to gain information and influence internal conversations within the U.S. Military Government to delay the U.S. officials from implementing an Americanized school system in Bavaria. His position in this debate reveals a complex intersection of foreign and domestic policies in determining what postwar Bavarian education would look like.

This article will demonstrate that by occupying seemingly contradictory roles with the Vatican and OMGUS, Muench utilized his positions and was instrumental in the preservation of the Bavarian Catholic school system.

From 1946 to 1948, OMGUS sought to reform the Bavarian educational system into a more secular and streamlined system reflecting the American public school system. This plan was staunchly and successfully resisted by both Vatican officials, such as Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber and the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU), and politicians, such as Alois Hundhammer and Hans Ehard. Cardinal von Faulhaber and other Vatican officials saw an opportunity in the postwar period to reinstate the Catholic Church's authority over educational affairs and made common cause with CSU politicians who campaigned on the importance of preserving confessional schools as being integral to Bavarian identity and "parental rights." The anti-pedagogical reformist alliance's successful effort to resist OMGUS's educational initiative heavily benefitted from Bishop Muench's consistent provision of information on internal OMGUS conversations, letters to Catholic organizations in the United States to apply pressure on OMGUS, translations of Bavarian articles and protests, and by also internally influencing OMGUS conversations towards eventually resisting larger school reforms. Overall, this article contends that Archbishop Muench was a key member of the anti-school reformists in Bavaria, alongside Cardinal von Faulhaber, Dr. Alois Hundhammer, and Hans Ehard, and his consistent information and efforts within OMGUS proved crucial in the anti-school reformist's ability to quickly respond and mobilize dissent to OMGUS efforts and eventually resist an American inspired pedagogical overhaul.

Historiography

Historiographically, Muench's case brings together many of the previous studies to show that local religious institutions and officials played key roles in the decisions that shaped denazification in postwar Germany. There currently exists a small historiographical field surrounding Cardinal Aloisius Muench and his writings on the idea of collective guilt and the Holocaust. Previously, historians such as Suzanne Brown-Fleming and Michael Phayer had analyzed Muench's intellectual efforts to cover Vatican anti-Semitism but neither had analyzed Muench's efforts in steering the Bavarian confessional school debate. Another relevant historiographic field that Muench's story highlights is the Vatican's efforts to shape denazification and rebuilding policies in Catholic parts of Europe after the Second World War.[4] James Tent, Carolyn Eisenberg, and Mark Ruff have

4. See Michael Phayer's *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965* (Bloomington, 2000), which discusses Muench and his dual-appointment and consistent effort to serve Vatican interests in postwar Germany. Phayer does not go into too much detail on what actions Muench actually took to aid the Vatican's efforts when it came to the Bavarian school

analyzed how American educational and denazification policy developed in different regions, but none have looked at the importance of Catholic clergymen and Bavarian politicians in the efforts to preserve Bavarian confessional schools. There is also an extensive historiography about Bavarian education and the role of the Catholic Church in Bavarian educational policy.[5] Oliver Braun and Winfried Müller have looked at the history of key Bavarian actors or ministries and the efforts to rebuild the Bavarian educational system after the war, but neither addressed the role Muench played with other key officials.[6] The last historiographical field this article will engage with is that dedicated to American occupational policy, educational debates and their relationship to denazification efforts.[7]

While some historians have analyzed the life of Aloisius Muench, Muench's direct role as a source of information to Bavarian and Catholic officials in the postwar educational debate has often been overlooked. This author's historiographical interjection is that all of these previous studies provide a lens into the educational debates and other key figures, but none have analyzed the *key role* that Aloisius Muench played in the Bavarian

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debate. See Mark Edward Ruff's *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany 1945–1980* (Cambridge, 2017) for a discussion on how Pope Pius XII and other Vatican officials worked in the educational debate in postwar Germany.

5. See See Stefan Samerski *Deutschland und der Heilige Stuhl: Diplomatische Beziehungen 1920–1945* (Munich, 2019); and Stefan Samerski, *Schuld und Sühne? Bischof Carl Maria Splett in Krieg und Gefangenschaft* (Bonn, 2000). Samerski's analysis looks at the continuity of the Vatican's influence on German educational policy, among other elements in society, throughout the twentieth century. Winfried Mueller's *Schulpolitik in Bayern im Spannunsfeld von Kultusbuerokratie und Besatzungsmacht, 1945–1949* (Munich, 1995), looks extensively at efforts to rebuild the Bavarian school system from the CSU perspective. Lastly, Oliver Braun's *Alois Hundhammer: Konservative Existenz in der Moderne: Das politische Weltbild Alois Hundhammers (1900–1974)* (Munich, 2006), focuses on Alois Hundhammer and his efforts to defend the Bavarian school system from OMGUS, but does little to mention Muench and the role he played in providing information of OMGUS' intentions.

6. See Suzanne Brown-Fleming's *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience: Cardinal Aloisius Muench and the Guilt Question in Germany* (Notre Dame, IN, 2006), for her analysis on Muench and his stances on the question of collective guilt for German citizens after the Holocaust and Second World War. See Barry Coleman's *American Nuncio: Cardinal Aloisius Muench* (Collegeville, 1969), for a commissioned biography by Muench. While these works have analyzed Muench's role in the larger debates in the postwar period, neither of them focus in particular on how he sought to influence educational policies in postwar Germany.

7. See James F. Tent's *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany.* Tent's analysis looked at the debates within the American occupational authorities' offices. Brian Puaca's monograph *Learning Democracy: Education Reform in West Germany, 1945–1965* (New York, 2009) analyzes how many regional educational systems remained similar to their prewar conditions despite the goals that Western Allied officials had for denazification.

education debate of providing information to other actors such as Cardinal von Faulhaber and Alois Hundhammer and his perspective blending all of these fields.[8] This paper's argument is rooted in the analysis of letters from Muench and other officials that were not used by these historians and were discovered by searching through Muench's personal papers and records located at the Catholic University of America archives. In addition to Muench's personal files, this article utilizes OMGUS records, the personal papers of General Lucius Clay, the head of OMGUS during this educational debate, letters from Catholic Clergymen and American Catholic officials, and minutes from meetings that Muench was a part of. The author has also analyzed the personal papers and diaries of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber in the Archiv und Bibliothek des Erzbistums München und Freising, and the papers and memos of Alois Hundhammer and the Christian Social Union in the Hanns Seidel Stiftung. By using these previously unused records, this article sheds light on how the formation of Bavarian education progressed in the post-World War II period and Muench's key role.

Historiographically, this study also contributes to the understanding of the denazification process by demonstrating that, in many cases, OMGUS sought not only to teach democratic principles to Germans but also directly make decisions in the efforts towards uprooting the traditions of National Socialism. In this case in Bavaria, grassroots democratic efforts and Bavarians voting to keep the existing Catholic educational structures directly clashed with OMGUS' vision for a pivotal element of denazification in Bavaria: secular liberal public schools. State-building in this instance was not a clean-cut process and often local politicians and religious officials clashed with OMGUS authorities. Muench recognized the cultural and religious tensions at play in this debate and continually manipulated conversations, leaked information, and became a confessional pleader to favor the survival of Catholic schools in Bavaria. This case also reveals the multifaceted relationship between nation-building in occupied Germany and religion in the German state of Bavaria, and demonstrates that religious institutions played a significant role in education development in Bavaria after the Second World War and resisted OMGUS' efforts.

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8. Other works that were relevant to the background historiographical conversation were: Marc Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2007); Kevin Spicer, *Resisting the Third Reich: The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin* (DeKalb, Ill., 2004); and Frederic Spotts, *The Churches and Politics in Germany* (Middletown, CT, 1973).

It is also essential to note that Bavaria was a special case because of its long relationship between Catholic institutions and primary schools. Bavaria as a kingdom had signed Concordats with the Vatican prior to being absorbed into the German Empire. After the First World War, another Concordat was signed between the state of Bavaria and the Vatican that was led by Eugenio Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII. This Concordat discussed the Church's authority on issues of education and contributed to the belief that pedagogical matters fell into the local diocese's jurisdiction. Other regions of Germany that were occupied by the U.S. did not experience as much pushback and adopted similar models to American public schooling. One last note worth pointing out is the important difference between Vatican interests and local Bavarian Catholics' interests. The Vatican and its official diplomatic office were relatively silent about this issue, but Vatican officials in Bavaria, like Muench, and Bavarian Catholics were vocal about educational reform. Consequently, the system that Muench and other anti-reformists sought to uphold was a system that operated independently from the state government in how it evaluated its teachers and formed its curriculum, but still received funding from the state.[9] The instructors tended to either be priests or those with close ties to the Catholic Church, but the Bavarian system offered a unique component because its curriculum stressed the importance of Bavarian cultural and Catholic identity being linked together. This cultural and religious synchronization was different from how other Catholic confessional schools in Germany operated because this educational system was so much more widespread in Bavaria; furthermore, Vatican officials were quite protective of this system, as it had developed over hundreds of years. This system came under attack during the Nazi Gleichschaltung, and Catholic and Vatican officials actively resisted the Nazi efforts to remove Catholic schools.[10] The fight over confessional school independence also represented an effort to resist authoritarianism for some Catholics in Bavaria. With the defeat of the Third Reich, and OMGUS' uncertainty regarding educational policy, Vatican and Bavarian Catholics recognized an opportunity to capitalize on OMGUS' lack of preparedness and strengthen their confessional educational system.[11] Consequently, Muench found his position at the nexus of the Vatican, OMGUS, and Bavarian efforts and utilized the series

9. Oliver Braun, "Alois Hundhammer," in: *Christliche Demokraten gegen Hitler: Aus Verfolgung und Widerstand zur Union*, eds. Günter Buchstab and Brigitte Kleinmann, (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2004), 304–12, here 308.

10. Ibid., 309.

11. Walter Hudson, *U.S. Military Government and Democratic Reform and Denazification in Bavaria, 1945–1947* (New York, 2001), 113.

of events in the Bavarian school debate from 1946–1949 in favor of local Catholic and Vatican interests.

Aloisius Muench

Aloisius Muench was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1889 to German immigrants.[12] Muench's parents came from the devoutly Catholic region of Bavaria in Germany, and this influenced his upbringing.[13] Muench gained international recognition in the U.S. and in Germany when he published his work *One World in Charity* in 1946.[14] In this Lenten Pastoral, Muench advocated for the importance of reconciliation and mercy towards the defeated German people. Muench was careful with his words not to openly condemn the position of the Allied governments towards the defeated Germans, but he used the language of the gospels to emphasize that the Germans were the enemy worthy of love.[15]

Muench wrote *One World in Charity* by synthesizing his Lenten sermons, and his pamphlet made him quite popular within the Catholic clergy and with German Catholics.[16] Muench also gained supporters in the upper echelons of the Vatican in the form of Archbishop Samuel Stritch, who communicated the importance of Muench's message to Pope Pius XII. Stritch was the archbishop of Milwaukee in the 1930's and eventually became the archbishop of Chicago before being elevated to Cardinal.[17] He personally knew Pius XII, as they had studied together in Rome, and had worked closely with Muench as a fellow Bishop in the American Midwest. Stritch invited Muench to travel with him to the Vatican for Stritch's installation as a cardinal.[18] During this trip, the newly appointed Cardinal Stritch met with Pius XII and recommended that he appoint Muench to

12. Barry, *American Nuncio*, 314.

13. Ibid., 220.

14. Muench, Aloisius, "One World in Charity," appendix to: *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience,* ed. Brown-Flemming, 139–57.

15. Throughout his letters, Muench emphasized that it was pointless to try and isolate these atrocities based on what the killers' aims were. Muench was also critical of the Nuremberg Trials and felt that the Allied powers were defining too many people as war criminals. Muench wrote in his diary that while he agreed that war criminals were the persons committing medical experiments and brutal acts, killings under orders were different and circumstances in the war were difficult. For Muench, criminalizing too many people would make it difficult for a smooth transition in postwar Germany.

16. Ibid.

17. Barry, *American Nuncio,* 111.

18. Brown-Fleming, *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience*, 116.

the position of Apostolic Visitor[19] to Germany for his compassion and popularity among German Catholics.[20] This position would require Muench to report on the status of Catholic Institutions in Germany to the Vatican. Pius XII met with Muench on February 23, 1946, and formally confirmed Muench for the position on March 3.[21]

While Muench was in Rome, officials in the U.S. sought to address the question of what an education curriculum should look like in Germany. Due to the focus on winning the war, the question of education and occupation had not received much attention until 1943.[22] President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had agreed that designing an education curriculum was important, but he assigned two departments to address this issue: the Department of State and the War Department.[23] In 1945, both departments proposed differing positions and different plans for what the aims of an education curriculum should be and who should carry it out.[24] As Truman was being sworn into the Presidency in 1945, shifting political appointments meant that the U.S. approached the occupation without a cohesive plan in place to address the question of an education curriculum in Germany. Upon hearing of the division between the Department of War and the State Department's education plans, Truman expressed the importance of the two branches working together.[25] Overall, this meant that there was no central authority in the U.S.'s occupational organization and no cohesive plan to address the education question as it shifted to occupation.

Considering Truman's decision for cooperation, the Secretary of War, Robert Patterson, wrote to the general secretary of the National Catholic

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19. Normally the position of Apostolic Nuncio is given for this role, but because Germany was no longer recognized as a country, the position was changed to Apostolic Visitor.

20. Barry, *American Nuncio,* 118.

21. Ibid., 124.

22. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine,* 14.

23. Carolyn Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944–1949* (Cambridge, UK, 1996), 22.

24. The Secretary of War Henry Stimson argued that the Department of War's plan should be imposed by the Military Government that would eventually occupy German territory. The War Department's plan envisioned American military officials involved in German universities and schools to observe and report on the curriculum. In contrast, the plan put forward by Archibald MacLeish, the Assistant Secretary of State, sought to establish a curriculum dedicated to denazification, but one that worked in conjunction with local elements to adapt the curriculum to local customs. For more on the interdepartmental rivalry, see Tent, *Mission on the Rhine,* 15.

25. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine,* 17.

Welfare Conference (NCWC) in March of 1946.[26] The NCWC was important because it was one of the largest Catholic organizations in the U.S. that members of the Catholic Clergy would use to meet and issue Catholic stances on American policies. Patterson requested that the NCWC's general secretary recommend Catholic officials who would be willing to go to the U.S. occupation zones and assist the occupational government in Germany in gauging public sentiment. Truman agreed to appoint a Catholic Liaison and the liaison was selected when the newly appointed Cardinal Stritch, the chairman of the board of NCWC and the same man who advocated for Muench's Papal appointment, recommended Muench.[27] Stritch viewed Muench as a protégé and as a result, Muench received both this Catholic Liaison on behalf of the U.S. government and his appointment as Apostolic Visitor for the Vatican due to Stritch's direct involvement.[28] On May 22, the Secretary of War approved Muench for the government liaison position. Muench found himself serving both the Vatican and the U.S. government simultaneously.

Due to the concern regarding Muench's dual roles in Germany, his instructions from the OMGUS reflected strict responsibilities and duties. OMGUS had a clear idea for what it envisioned for representatives. They were to:

> Provide information to the Military Government as to developments in the area of spiritual life and reconstruction of German churches; and . . . [assist] in making available to the German churches whatever information or service pertaining to clerical functions of the churches which [the] Military Government might possess; confer with German church leaders relative to problems relating to the field of clerical functions of the German churches.[29]

Therefore, U.S. officials viewed these liaisons as tools to inform OMGUS of the status of affairs for religious officials in Europe, and to also help them in the transition towards a democratic society and potentially use religion as a basis for denazification.

In addition to his duties and responsibilities, Muench's instructions also outlined what he was *not* to do. OMGUS officials were aware of Muench's dual appointment and explicitly stated "The liaison representa-

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26. Brown-Fleming, *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience,* 37.
27. Ibid., 38.
28. Barry, *American Nuncio: Cardinal Aloisius Muench*, 22.
29. Ibid., 137.

tive shall not: become spiritual pleaders to the Military Government for the churches of Germany; assume responsibilities in the functional fields of operation now directed and supervised by Religious Affairs officers of the Military Government."[30] Under these instructions, Muench was not supposed to become a spiritual pleader on behalf of the Catholic Church to the Military Government. By 1946, Aloisius Muench found himself serving in the American occupation zone in Germany as both the OMGUS' Catholic Liaison and as the Vatican's Apostolic Visitor to Germany.[31]

Muench and Catholic Education

Muench arrived in Germany and immediately began to network with the prominent German clergy members. Muench met with Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber in July 1946, and von Faulhaber recorded in his diary that they quickly agreed on the potential for Muench's role in Germany. Von Faulhaber encouraged Muench to also be a last-minute attendee at the annual Bishops conference the following month and share his role with the other bishops.[32] Muench spoke at the annual Catholic Bishops Conference in the German town of Fulda in August 1946 and stated, "I have come to Germany as apostolic visitor. . . . It will always be my earnest and firm endeavor to safeguard and protect the interests of the Catholic Church in collaboration with you, most esteemed brethren."[33]

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30. Ibid., 138.

31. While OMGUS officials were suspicious of Muench serving in seemingly contradictory roles and provided instructions against it, there was also a strong belief that utilizing Christianity as the basis of denazification policy could be effective in Bavaria. Many priests and Vatican officials already had a deep theological foundation for rejecting National Socialist ideology in favor of Catholic theology based on human dignity. Lucius D. Clay was among those OMGUS officials who were suspicious of Muench's true loyalties but the focus in 1946 was to get policies in place and Muench's appointment was not challenged. For more on OMGUS denazification policy and Catholicism, see Brian Puaca: *Learning Democracy: Education Reform in West Germany.*

32. Aloisius Muench, "Gesprächsprotokoll, 24.–27. Juli 1946," [Conversation Log, 24–27 July 1946], in: Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, *Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber*, Kritische Online-Edition der Tagebücher Michael Kardinal von Faulhabers (1911–1952) [Critical online edition of the diaries [of] Michael Kardinal von Faulhabers (1911–1952)], Archiv und Bibliothek des Erzbistums München und Freising (Hereafter referred to as EAM), der Nachlass Faulhaber (hereafter referred to as NL Faulhaber) 09265, Fol. 373, available under: https://faulhaber-edition.de/BB_09265_0373r.

33. Aloisius Muench, "Address to the German Bishop's Conference, Fulda, 20–22 August 1946" (Fulda, August 1946), stored in Washington, D.C., Special Collections of the University Libraries at The Catholic University of America (hereafter referred to as ACUA), The Cardinal Aloisius Muench Papers (hereafter referred to as CAMP), Box 57, Folder Citation: 185/5.

Muench intended to use his positions to benefit the Catholic Church's interests and continued on how he intended to use the networks as a liaison for this task. Muench exclaimed:

> The providence of God has ordained that I was requested by President Truman . . . to accept the position of a liaison consultant for religious matters in order to render possible a better contact between the German hierarchy and the military government. *The position provides for access to higher officers. Thus it was possible for me in Berlin to discuss various important matters with General Clay and his political adviser, Ambassador Murphy.* [emphasis added]

Muench revealed that with this role, he had direct access to important officials within the OMGUS chain of command. Muench's statement implied that he was the contact person for Catholics if they had concerns, and that he would plead with higher ups on their behalf, a direct violation of his OMGUS orders. Muench's statement reflects his diplomatic and networking abilities, but also reveals that Vatican and Catholic concerns took priority over his liaison role on behalf of OMGUS. Furthermore, just one month after the conference, Cardinal von Faulhaber wrote to the Bavarian Episcopacy and notified the other clergymen that "I assume that the Most Reverend Bishops have also received or will receive the questionnaire from Apostolic Visitator Muench. Concerning point four 'school and education' I would like to take over the work from the Most Reverend Sirs."[34] Consequently, Muench and von Faulhaber would begin corresponding and meeting regularly on the question of school and education.

By December 1946, OMGUS was still drafting a coherent plan for an education curriculum, and Muench sought to capitalize on the absence of a policy by advocating for maintaining autonomous Catholic schools and teachings. He revealed his background and intentions for the coming year in a meeting with Cardinal von Faulhaber on December 3, 1946. Von Faulhaber wrote in his diary that Muench "speaks perfect German and his grandparents had emigrated from the Upper Palatinate, now he has to stand up for relatives who are being harassed. . ." and that Muench's actions and writings in the emerging education discussion reflected a genuine drive to maintain Catholic autonomy in Bavarian schools.[35] By December 1946,

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34. Michael von Faulhaber, "Faulhaber an den bayerischen Episkopat—111" in: *Akten Kardinal Michael von Faulhabers,* ed. Heinz Hürten, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 2000-02, here 2002), III, 211, stored in the Archiv und Bibliothek des Erzbistums München und Freising.

35. Alois Muench and Ivo Zeiger "Gesprächsprotokoll, 03.12.1946/28.04.1947" ["Minutes of conversation, December 3, 1946/April 28, 1947"], in: Cardinal Michael von

FIGURE 2. Photograph of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber (center of the photo) and Bishop Aloysius Muench (right of von Faulhaber), entitled: *Michael Faulhaber with Aloysius Muench leaving a church in a crowd with flags,* c.1948–1952, photographer unknown. Preserved in the Archiv und Bibliothek des Erzbistums München und Freising which grants permission for its reproduction.

Muench had revealed his intentions to Cardinal von Faulhaber and the two would begin working closely to preserve Catholic interests in Bavaria.

The Education Debate Emerges

In December 1946, after a series of tense debates about Bavarian state authority with OMGUS that resulted in vetoing a series of articles, a Bavarian state constitution was ratified.[36] Bavarians received the right to vote and organize political parties to create a state government. OMGUS officials felt that it could achieve major strides towards denazification if it could work with a legitimate democratically elected body of Bavarian officials. Lucius D. Clay, the U.S. Military Commander of German Occupied territory, was optimistic that despite a tense series of negotiations about the

Faulhaber, *Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber*, Kritische Online-Edition der Tagebücher Michael Kardinal von Faulhabers (1911–1952), EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 09265, pp. 371–72, available under: https://faulhaber-edition.de/BB_09265_0371r.

36. Robert Neumann. "New Constitution in Germany," *The American Political Science Review,* 42, no. 3 (1948), 448–68, here 454.

Bavarian Constitution, building a stable and democratically elected Bavarian government would be a smooth process. Clay worked with the State Department and the War Department to organize a comprehensive education curriculum plan. Clay wanted to work with Bavarians to see it implemented rather than enforce it and asked the Bavarian State Government to organize a ministerial position dedicated to Culture and Education. The party that won the majority was the Christian Social Union and they immediately established ministerial positions, but tensions quickly emerged. The CSU appointed Dr. Alois Hundhammer to the position of Minister for Culture and Education. Hundhammer was known for protesting the Nazi party, spending time in a concentration camp, and was an ardent Catholic.[37] Clay was optimistic that his office could work with Hundhammer to establish a reformed education system and curriculum, but this optimism quickly faded when the education debate became one of many flashpoints between OMGUS and Bavarian officials in the following months.

In January 1947, Clay and OMGUS made their first official proposal for school reform in Bavaria. At the time, there were multiple options for education in Bavaria. One could go to *Katholische Schule* (Catholic School), *Grundschule* (General School), or the *humanistisches Gymnasium* (Humanistic Secondary School). At the *Katholische Schule,* one would be educated with a theological focus. These schools had operated independently for hundreds of years and had designed their own curriculums.[38] *Grundschule* operated as schools for most students who did not intend to become priests or intellectuals and focused on basic education, vocational training and a Catholic education. Lastly, the *humanistisches Gymnasium* served as the intellectually rigorous schools and trained future intellectuals for German universities.[39] To complicate matters, the German *Länder* school system also included provisions where confessional schools were covered by public taxes. Each school had their own freedom to design their curriculums and this system had been affirmed in Bavaria in article 23 of the 1933 *Reichskonkordat*, which the Vatican argued was still in effect.[40]

Clay and his office disliked the complexity of this system and argued that a common experience for the students was essential to instilling dem-

37. Oliver Braun, *Alois Hundhammer: Konservative Existenz in der Moderne*, 351.

38. See Bernd Zymek, "Schulen, Hochschulen, Lehrer," in: *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, eds. Dieter Langewische and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, 6 vols. (Munich, 1996–98, here 1998), V, 155–208.

39. Ibid.

40. Ruff, *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany,* 54.

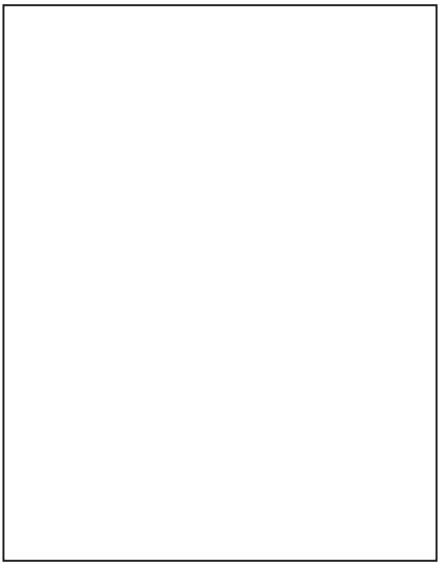

FIGURE 3. *Dr. Alois Hundhammer,* photograph, taken at the Christian Social Union party conference on October 16–17, 1970 in the exhibition park Theresienhöhe in Munich. Photographer unknown. Preserved in the Archive for the Christian Social Union of the Hans Seidel Stiftung which grants permission for its reproduction. HSS-ACSP/Photo Josef A. Slominski.

ocratic values. Clay and OMGUS officials based their proposal on a report from a committee of ten U.S. educational experts.[41] This Educational Mission outlined their suggestions and argued that if denazification were to be successful, a radical curriculum and personnel reform was necessary.[42] First, the complex Bavarian system would need to do away with so many

41. The Committee was chaired by Dr. George Zook and included Bess Goodykoontz, the United States Office of Education; Henry Hill, George Peabody College for teachers; Paul Lambert, YMCA College; Earl McGrath, Dean of the University of Iowa; Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor at the Union Theological Seminary; Reverend Felix Newton Pitt, Secretary of the Catholic School Board in Louisville Kentucky; Lawrence Rogin, Director of Education at the Textile Workers' Union; T.V. Smith, Professor at the University of Chicago; and Helen White, Professor at the University of Wisconsin.

42. The members of the Committee arrived in the American occupational zone in August 1946 and traveled to Greater Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, and Bavaria. There they spoke with instructors, American officials, and parents before preparing their report for Lucius Clay in September 1946. There does not seem to be any record of the Committee meeting with Muench or any of the prominent Vatican officials who would go on to protest Clay's plan.

schooling options. Instead, the students should be funneled into a primary and secondary school system that would expose them to students of all intellectual capabilities and backgrounds.[43] Second, OMGUS officials proposed that any teachers that were part of the Nazi Party were to be dismissed. Those who were not National Socialists but taught during the Third Reich's existence were to take a survey that would gauge their loyalty to the previous administration and their devotion to democratic ideals.[44] The Educational Committee proposed that new lessons prioritizing democratic ideas and attacking concepts such as the *Führerprinzip* ideas were essential as well as new textbooks.[45] Lastly, the report took a hard stance regarding religious education and argued that the religious divisions in Germany risked undermining the goal of a democratic and denazified education curriculum. The report stated that "toleration must be guaranteed not only for believers but for disbelievers as well. . ." and criticized the prevalence of confessional schools.[46] Consequently, the report made major recommendations to Clay and OMGUS regarding the school system and its role in denazification in the American zone.

Taking the recommendations from the report, Clay and his team sought to create a system where students would funnel from public elementary schools into public secondary schools. OMGUS officials believed this system taught what they called "democratic toleration," which was a major goal of denazification. At public schools, children would interact with students from different backgrounds and learn to be tolerant and accepting of different religious, socio-economic, and racial backgrounds.[47] Consequently, this meant that Catholic Schools would either need to convert to public schools or close. Clay and OMGUS envisioned that a timetable could be established, but that their intent was to begin removing

43. United States, Education Mission to Germany, and George Frederick Zook, *Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany,* [United States Department of State Publication 2664, European Series 16] (Washington, 1946), 6.

44. Ibid., 18. The Committee did recommend that due to the shortage of teachers in the American occupation zone, there should be a probationary committee created to offer teachers an opportunity to appeal their termination and show that they no longer believed in the Nazi ideology. The Committee encouraged a parole option and leniency when it came to evaluating teachers and either reinstating them without parole or giving them a year to reorganize their political beliefs and curriculum. Lastly, the Committee felt that while private schools should be offered and protected, they recommended a firm and solid public educational system to address denazification.

45. Ibid., 20.

46. Ibid., 13.

47. Puaca, *Learning Democracy,* 39.

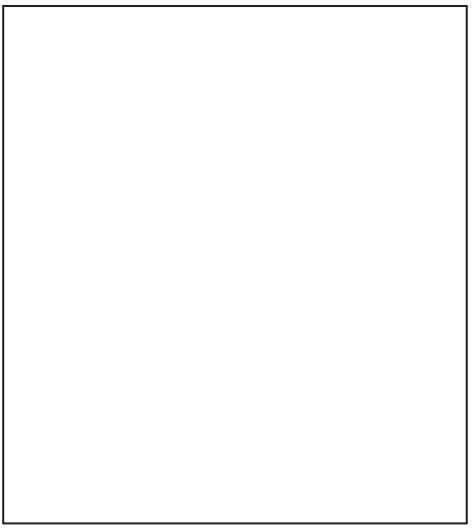

FIGURE 4. U.S. Army, *General Lucius D. Clay, retiring U.S. Military Governor of Germany, visits the Pentagon, Washington, D. C., following his return from Germany,* May 17, 1949, photograph, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GEN_Lucius_D._Clay_portrait_(cropped).jpg. This image has been made public domain in the United States by the U.S. federal government.

confessional schools so that all students would eventually enter this Americanized system. For the time being, however, Clay and his team argued that all teacher's backgrounds needed to be evaluated and began dismissing teachers based on their survey results or political background. The pupil-to-teacher ratio grew exponentially to 79:1 by the beginning of 1947.[48]

Upon seeing OMGUS' plan, Hundhammer was incensed by the idea of what he called "Americanizing" the Bavarian school system and felt that the Americans were simply imposing their vision and acting as conquerors. Hundhammer stated, "Our Bavarian system of education was entirely contrary to American educational personnel who entertained more liberal views. We Catholics presuppose this attitude toward religion in our brothers in the faith. . . . Parents decide what type of school the child will attend. . . ."[49] Furthermore, Hundhammer and other Bavarians pointed to the disastrous

48. Ibid., 34.

49. Alois Hundhammer, "Letter to Murray Van Wagoner," appendix to: *American Nuncio: Cardinal Aloisius Muench*, 337.

denazification protocols in Hesse which resulted in nearly 65% of Hessian teachers being dismissed due to their party affiliation or their results on the OMGUS survey.[50] In addition to these remarks, Hundhammer claimed the American efforts were a renewed *Kulturkampf* and urged Bavarian newspapers to express their support for Catholic schools.[51] In March 1947, Hundhammer wrote in his school reform plan that "the highest educational goals are the fear of God, respect for religious conviction and the dignity of man, self-control, a sense of responsibility and willingness to take responsibility" and that under the CSU plan "the pupils are to be educated in the spirit of democracy in love for the Bavarian homeland and the German people and in the spirit of reconciliation among nations."[52] If OMGUS's plan was implemented, he argued, it would remove the crucial religious and cultural elements that were unique to Bavaria and so for this reason, "the Bavarian educational administration must fail to implement the OMGUS plan of the differentiated unified school in general."[53] Hundhammer's counter-proposal left most of the complex tiered school system intact and emphasized the continued existence of Confessional Schools. OMGUS rejected this plan and sought to find ways to negotiate with the Bavarian government.

On July 25, 1947, Hundhammer raised the issue of the American plan for education reform with Cardinal von Faulhaber and requested assistance. Von Faulhaber's diary reveals that Hundhammer sought to raise the alarm and discussed the situation of catholic schooling and what was at risk with the American plan.[54] Vatican officials and Catholic clergymen began mobilizing against the effort to close confessional schools. In October 1947, a meeting of Bishops was called in Frankfurt to discuss the growing concern surrounding the American reform plan efforts. Muench did not attend; however, the protocol notes state that Father Ivo Zeiger was sent to the meeting explicitly on Muench's behalf. In the meeting, Father Zeiger expressed "the opinion of the Apostolic Delegate [Muench] [is] that the Germans sometimes lack activity and that in their all too submissive attitude toward the government they

50. Puaca, *Learning Democracy*, 34.

51. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 129.

52. Alois Hundhammer, "Erziehungsplan auf Weite Sicht," stored in Munich, the Hanns Seidel Stiftung Archiv für Christlich-Soziale Politik (hereafter referred to as ACSP), Josef Müller Folder 16, p. 1.

53. Ibid., 6.

54. Michael von Faulhaber, "Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber" 25, July 1947, EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 10026, pp. 79. https://faulhaber-edition.de/10026_1947-07-25_T01

often put up with things which, from the Catholic conscience, deserve condemnation."[55] Muench was clearly calling for the clergymen to resist these curriculum changes.

In December 1947, the anti-reformists continued to coordinate their efforts for the following year and how to effectively resist OMGUS' educational plans. First, Von Faulhaber wrote to Pius XII to inform him of the situation regarding the education debate. He praised Muench and wrote that "Excellency Alois Muench, who will come here again the day after tomorrow, has earned the sympathy of the German bishops by his amazing speed of work, by his canonistic rectitude, and by his vigor in the matter."[56] After meeting with Muench, Von Faulhaber's diaries reveal that on December 14, Prof. Stanley Bertke, Muench's personal assistant, von Faulhaber, and Hundhammer met for two hours "because of [the] school question."[57] The team ultimately discussed whether Muench should make a plea directly to General Clay or if more letters from Bishops and politicians would showcase the support of their efforts against OMGUS. They decided that they would pursue both courses of action in January and send drafts to one another.

Muench also began informing Catholics in the US about the prospect of closing down Bavarian Catholic schools. In a letter dated December 23, 1947, Muench wrote to his colleague Archbishop John McNicholas of Cincinnati, about his concerns with the OMGUS education reform plan. Muench acknowledged the need for a new education system, but his contention lay with the secular emphasis that the American forces wanted and their desire to close Catholic schools. Muench wrote that the development of democracy in Bavaria would depend upon "the awakening and realization of the concepts of human dignity and right [rather] than upon structural reorganization of the German school system. In other words, they consider their school system a part of Bavaria's culture, and think they have

55. Generalvikar Kastell, "Protokoll des Frankfurter Treffens von Vertreten der Bistuemer Fulda, Mainz, und Limburg," ["Minutes of the Frankfurt meeting of representatives of the Bishops of Fulda, Mainz, and Limburg,"] in: *Akten deutscher Bischöfe seit 1945. Westliche Besatzungszonen 1945–1947*, [Files of German bishops since 1945. Western zones of occupation 1945–1947,] ed. Ulrich Helbach, 2 vols., [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Series A: Quellen, 54] (Paderborn, 2012), pp. 1338–1339.

56. Michael von Faulhaber, "Faulhaber an Pius XII—131" in: *Akten Kardinal Michael von Faulhabers,* III, 242–43.

57. Michael von Faulhaber, "Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber," December 14, 1947, EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 10026, pp. 150. https://faulhaber-edition.de/10026_1947-12-14_T01.

a perfect right to retain that culture"[58] Muench argued that the key to denazification lay in teaching people about human dignity in the view of Catholic doctrine and this concept was best taught in schools that operated under Catholic officials.

Early January 1948 saw the anti-reformists continue their campaign to secure Catholic schooling rights and Muench and Von Faulhaber began communicating more with politicians like Hans Ehard, the head of the CSU. Muench first corresponded with Cardinal Faulhaber and began relaying the Cardinal's concerns directly to OMGUS officials. On January 7, 1948, Muench and Hundhammer received a letter from von Faulhaber which stated,

> The Bishops therefore ask that the Am. Milt. Gvt. recognize that matters pertaining to the education and school questions in Bavaria are the responsibility of the Bavarian gov. They insist it would be contrary to natural law if Am. Mil. Gvt. would enforce a certain school system in a besieged country. This would contradict true democracy and certainly weaken the people's faith and believe [sic] in democracy.[59]

Muench forwarded these issues and offered his own opinion in a letter dated January 17 to OMGUS leadership. Muench wrote,

> In his administration, General Clay has manifested a spirit of fairness toward the German people that has evoked much favorable comment among the people with whom I have come into contact. . . . In view of this policy I trust that it will be possible to grant all interested parties a thorough airing of a subject that affect very seriously the rising generation of youth in Bavaria.[60]

Muench was projecting himself as a middle man while really relaying carefully coordinated messages from the Vatican and Bavarian Catholics directly to American decision makers.

On January 8, 1948, just one day after Muench had received Cardinal Faulhaber's letter, Muench began actively undermining OMGUS efforts in Bavaria. Muench wrote to Howard J. Carrol, the General Secretary of

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58. Aloisius Muench, "Letter to Archbishop McNicholas," December 23, 1947, stored in Washington, D.C. ACUA, CAMP, Box 57, Folder Citation: 185/7.

59. Michael von Faulhaber, "Letter to Aloisius Muench," January 7, 1948, stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP, Box 38, Folder Citation: 124/6.

60. Aloisius Muench, "Letter to Murray Van Wagoner," January 17, 1948, stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP, Box 38, Folder citation: 124/3.

the NCWC, to express his frustration with the American school plan and to undermine the image of OMGUS' competence back in the United States. The NCWC had a large network system among American Catholics. Muench was aware of this when he wrote

> A serious conflict threatens in Bavaria and in order to prevent it, if possible, I thought the enclosed news release might put the brakes on the MG [Military Government]—Bavaria by War and State. . . . Under no circumstances must my name be connected with the release. The date line should be Munich Jan, 7, 1948.[61] [Emphasis original]

Muench himself underlined the statements and location in this letter. He enclosed articles from local German newspapers as well as translations of Alois Hundhammer's speeches in which he critiqued the American occupiers as a "new dictatorship" with their efforts to enforce an education curriculum and the increasing concerns of so many teachers being dismissed. Muench continued in the letter,

> The suggestion might be made to War and State that a Special Commission be set up for further study of the problem and for working out a plan of reform that will do justice to all parties concerned. Americans and Germans who know the history, traditions, and problems of education in Bavaria should be represented on a commission. . . . I am sending a copy of this letter to Archbishop McNicholas. You will want to confer with him before going into action.[62]

Muench was now actively undermining OMGUS by asking for his name to not be attached to press leaks that disparaged the American efforts in Bavaria. Furthermore, Muench was requesting Catholics in the U.S. to petition the government to get others with a similar aim of protecting Catholic schooling appointed to positions that could help the Catholic Bavarians' efforts.

The anti-reformists continued to utilize the opening months of 1948 to showcase their unity and increase pressure on OMGUS. On January 12, 1948, Cardinal von Faulhaber recorded a meeting with Alois Hundhammer in his diary in which they agreed to continue mounting pressure on OMGUS' efforts. Von Faulhaber noted that they discussed "the school reform, the American dictatorship letter, my letter to Muench. . ." and that

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61. Aloisius Muench, "Letter to Monsignor Carrol," January, 8 1948, stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP, Box 38, Folder citation: 124/3.

62. Ibid.

von Faulhaber would inquire about more information about OMGUS with Muench.[63] Von Faulhaber followed up with Muench on January 22 in which he recorded that they discussed "the height of the struggle for school reform. What I wrote to Bishop Muench on behalf of the Bavarian bishops is publicly mentioned on the radio and in Minister Hundhammer's radio speech."[64] Furthermore, von Faulhaber praised Muench for his assistance and noted that Muench's efforts in translating their petitions into English for American audiences and German for German audiences was yielding results, as Hundhammer continued to receive more and more letters of support. The two met once again on February 2 and were joined by Father Zinkl, Auxiliary Bishop Neuhäusler, and Father Zeiger, in a day-long meeting regarding "questions of school reform."[65] Cardinal von Faulhaber also requested Muench's presence at an upcoming Conference of Bavarian Episcopacy in March to lay out the situation directly to other priests to which Muench attended.[66] Von Faulhaber and Muench agreed upon the importance of a unified approach between Vatican officials and Bavarian Catholic politicians, and they were not alone in this regard. The CSU was also reflecting this theme in internal conversations that were shared with OMGUS. In a memo dated February 11, 1948, directly from Hans Ehard, the Prime Minister of Bavaria called for unity in the CSU regarding the school reform plan and emphasized that the party was not alone in its position. Ehard wrote "As you know, Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Munich as well as the Bavarian Catholic Bishops and the Papal Delegate Excellency Bishop Muench as well as the Bishop of the Evangelical Church in Bavaria have pointed out the serious objections they have to the planned school reform."[67] Therefore, by the spring of 1948, OMGUS was now facing a coordinated front of Vatican officials, Bavarian politicians, and an increasingly upset populace, and Muench had been a key factor in these developments.

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63. Michael von Faulhaber, "Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber," December 12, 1948, EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 10027, pp. 13. https://faulhaber-edition.de/10027_1948-01-12_T01.

64. Michael von Faulhaber, "Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber," January 22, 1948, EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 10027, pp. 19. https://faulhaber-edition.de/10027_1948-01-22_T01.

65. Michael von Faulhaber, "Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber" February 2, 1948, EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 10027, pp. 25. https://faulhaber-edition.de/10027_1948-02-02_T01

66. Michael von Faulhaber, "Protokoll der Konferenz des bayerischen Episkopates – 201," March 17, 1948, in: *Akten Kardinal Michael von Faulhabers,* III, 361–65, here 361.

67. Hans Ehard, "Schulereform," February, 10, 1948, stored in Munich, ACSP, Josef Müller Folder 16, pp. 16.

Muench's Loyalty is Challenged

OMGUS leadership was hopeful that 1948 would bring success in the school curriculum negotiations if they changed their approach. Consequently, General Clay decided to rotate some of his staff in hopes that they could achieve better results with Hundhammer and the CSU. Clay turned to the former Governor of Michigan, Murray D. Van Wagoner, in hopes that his political experience would aid in finding a compromise about the education debate. Van Wagoner arrived and immediately expressed his concerns about the work and loyalty of Archbishop Muench. On May 22, 1948, Van Wagoner wrote a detailed letter to General Clay, explaining his frustrations with Muench. Van Wagoner stated:

> I am taking this means of inviting your attention to the activities of Bishop Muench. . . . His representations here and his dealings with certain Bavarian ministers, Catholic bishops and Cardinal Faulhaber have not been any help to the Military Government. On the contrary, he has obstructively interfered with the very delicate negotiations we have been conducting for the attainment of school reform.[68]

Van Wagoner argued that Muench had a consistent pattern of leaking his conversations with military officials to the German press or his Catholic colleagues.[69] In addition to these accusations, Van Wagoner accused Muench of supporting Hundhammer, which represented a direct violation to his duties as a liaison for OMGUS. His most reproaching remarks stated:

> The fact that Dr. Hundhammer continually raises religious issues in connection with the school reform plan and the fact that points raised by him parallel comments and observations of Bishop Muench lead us to believe that he aids and abets Dr. Hundhammer, instigates fears, and endeavors to create difficulties for Military Government in connection with school reform. . . . *I am convinced, however, that Bishop Muench is in active opposition to our plan* [emphasis added].[70]

Van Wagoner's suspicions turned out to be correct as Muench's diary also reflected that he had multiple breakfast appointments with Dr. Hundhammer. In one meeting on July 17, 1948, in his notes, Muench stated that the meeting's goal was to "bring in fundamental principles over the Education

68. Murray D. Van Wagoner, "Letter to General Lucius D. Clay," May 22, 1948, stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP, Box 57, Folder citation: 185/6.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

debate—Safeguard rights of Church education—religion."[71] Muench's meetings with both Hundhammer and von Faulhaber confirm that Van Wagoner's suspicions were correct.

Muench's actions in the Bavarian Catholic school debate were escalating tensions in OMGUS circles. General Lucius Clay responded to Van Wagoner later in the summer, but with the Soviet Union's decision to cut off supplies to Berlin and the beginning of the Berlin Airlift in June 1948, OMGUS's focus quickly shifted to this crisis, and all Clay could hope to do was calm internal tensions. Clay responded to Van Wagoner regarding Muench and stated, "I have had a long talk with Bishop Muench. . . . He thinks that Military Government has misjudged him because he has expressed to us views other than those we sponsor. . . . I trust that we will find sufficient progress soon so that this problem no longer continues to be our number one irritation."[72] General Clay also indicated that while he recognized the conflict of interest in Muench's positions, there was no way to find a replacement if they hoped to resolve the curriculum debate by the end of the year. General Clay's response revealed that while he continued to trust in Muench, it was not blind trust, and that given their situation, OMGUS would need to continue using the information that Muench relayed in finding a compromise on the ideas of a school reform.

Despite Van Wagoner's formal complaint, Muench continued to advocate for the importance of Catholic Schools and their continued existence despite OMGUS's plan. Following along with the plan discussed in December between the anti-reformists, Muench wrote a long and detailed letter to General Lucius Clay on June 21, 1948, just three days before the beginning of the Berlin Airlift. In this letter, Muench tried to convey the negative consequences of a fully secular school system in Bavaria, and that many other Catholics were concerned with the U.S.'s policy. Furthermore, the CSU was the majority party in parliament, and OMGUS imposing its will on Bavaria would undermine support for democracy. Muench conveyed that Cardinal Faulhaber was becoming a leading advocate about the concept that education should be decided by parents, not imposed by an occupying army. Muench wrote, "I urged that serious consideration be given to the Cardinal's contention that the people, through their constitutionally elected representatives, should assume the responsibility for achieving school

71. Aloisius Muench, "Muench Diary—Entry 17 July 1948," stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP, Box 1, Folder 8, pp. 49.

72. Clay, "Letter to Murray D. Van Wagoner," appendix to *American Nuncio: Cardinal Aloisius Muench*, ed. Colman, 298–99, here 299.

reform. Education, he [Cardinal von Faulhaber] maintained, is an internal cultural matter which lies beyond the competence of occupying powers."[73] Muench's remark here suggests that if OMGUS were to force its American system of schooling onto Bavaria, many would have seen this as anti-democratic and another forced mandate on the local education system.

The Educational Debate Reaches a Climax

In July 1948, as tensions continued to escalate, it was becoming increasingly clear that a West German state and constitution would be established, and so the anti-education-reformists recognized that if they could delay a reform until the end of the year, it would be left for discussion in the West German constitution. Muench relayed this suggestion to Hundhammer and requested he discuss it more with Cardinal von Faulhaber. On July 19, von Faulhaber recorded a meeting in his diary with Hundhammer and wrote that Hundhammer reported that "Bishop Muench wants a preliminary discussion for the constitution of the West German state."[74] Furthermore, the anti-reformists recognized that there was now a target date in sight and that if they could maintain pressure on OMGUS until West German constitutional talks had been held, they had a chance of retaining Catholic confessional schools. On the very same day as his recorded meeting with Hundhammer, Cardinal Faulhaber wrote a letter to Murray D. Van Wagoner[75] and expressed his concerns about the education debate. Faulhaber emphasized the irony of a democracy imposing its will on a defeated people. He argued that:

> It would be against the natural right and outside the legitimate claims of an occupation government if they were to force a school-system on a vanquished people and a vanquished country. Such an interference, though explained with the intention of democratizing the educational system, would entirely contradict the spirit of true democracy and annihilate the belief in democracy. . . .[76]

Von Faulhaber sent a copy of this letter to Muench, but he also included a copy in a letter to Robert Leiber, a close advisor to Pope Pius XII, and stated

73. Ibid.

74. Michael von Faulhaber, "Diary of Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber," July 19, 1948, EAM, NL Faulhaber, File 10027, pp. 87–88. https://faulhaber-edition.de/10027_1948-07-19_T01.

75. Faulhaber, Michael, *Letter to Murray D. Van Wagoner, 19 July 1948*, stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP Box 57, Folder Citation: 186/1.

76. Ibid.

that while he did not ask the Pope to intervene on the matter yet, he would keep him informed.[77] Muench, Von Faulhaber, and their allies felt that victory was within their grasp, but prepared to call on the Papacy if necessary. Nevertheless, von Faulhaber wrote again to Van Wagoner on August 11 and emphasized that if OMGUS officials continued to insist on their plan, "I see the hour coming when the Bavarian bishops will have to publicly defend the Bavarian people's own right and the tradition of the Bavarian school system in addition to other differences in the school reform."[78]

In August 1948, the issue surrounding education reform reached its decisive moment. After meeting with Muench for multiple breakfast appointments, Hundhammer agreed to stand his ground and dismissed all of OMGUS' suggestions in his newest proposal. His educational plan retained Catholic confessional schools and Bavaria's complex system. Hundhammer recognized that the CSU's majority in parliament allowed it to rule without a coalition and that if OMGUS officials fired him or imposed their own plan, this would spark major outrage and undermine Bavarians' support for democratic principles.[79] General Clay recognized the potential for a public relations disaster and weighed whether to directly dismiss Hundhammer and enforce the American school system, or try and find a compromise. Muench wrote a letter dated August 28, 1948 to his friend Archbishop McNicholas and stated

> Excitement is running high. Comments such as "democracy through dictatorship" are heard on all sides. Sentiment in favor of democracy has not been at so low an ebb as now. . . . The bishops are aroused over the whole affair. They fear for their private schools. . . . They talk of "deliberate persecution."[80]

For Muench it appeared as though the campaign for Catholic schools had support from Vatican officials, himself, and Bavarian politicians, and had forced OMGUS into a no-win scenario.

In late August, General Lucius D. Clay personally acted.[81] Clay expressed his concerns that firing Hundhammer would sour relations

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77. Michael von Faulhaber, "Faulhaber an Leiber—210," 24 July 1948, in *Akten Kardinal Michael von Faulhabers* , III, pp. 38.

78. Michael von Faulhaber, "Faulhaber an Van Wagoner—214," August 24, 1948, in: *Akten Kardinal Michael von Faulhabers,* III, 388–89, here 388.

79. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine,* 156.

80. Aloisius Muench, "Letter to Archbishop McNicholas," August 28, 1948, stored in Washington, D.C., ACUA, CAMP, Box 57, Folder citation: 186/5.

81. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine,* 156.

between OMGUS and Bavarians and proposed a compromise. Clay wrote to Hans Ehard, the Minister-President of the Bavarian *Landtag* in which he also offered to negotiate financial terms in which OMGUS funds could be allocated to cover Bavarian school tuition and new textbooks for two years if Ehard would agree to meet with Clay and negotiate rather than force the issue into the public with "action of the Landtag."[82] Furthermore, Clay had been outmaneuvered and would not impose an education system and allow the question to be decided by both German and American officials in a conference for the fall of 1948.[83] Ehard, recognizing the importance of good relations with OMGUS officials, agreed to not pass any proposals in the Bavarian *Landtag* and Hundhammer remained in his position as Minister.

In October 1948, American, Bavarian, French, and British officials met in Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, to discuss education guidelines and the progress that had been made. The agreement from this conference was that imposing an education system would seem like a conqueror imposing their will on a conquered people. General Clay stated, "There always is a temptation to use arbitrary powers . . . when we are struggling for what we consider a vital educational reform, there is a temptation to regret that we did not order it, although I think most of us know here that if we had ordered it, we would not have laid a sound foundation for an enduring structure."[84] The resulting decision was one that maintained the traditional Bavarian systems, and Catholic schools remained intact. The efforts by Muench had been key to eventually outmaneuvering OMGUS alongside the efforts of Cardinal von Faulhaber, Alois Hundhammer, and Hans Ehard. In the end, OMGUS made the decision to *not* implement an American based school system in Bavaria, and a large degree of autonomy in educational freedom was recognized in Article 7 of the West German constitution.

Conclusion

Muench's efforts alongside von Faulhaber, Hundhammer, and Ehard made him a celebrity among Vatican officials and German Catholics. In

82. Lucius Clay. "Educational Reform in Bavaria: CC5763," in: *The Papers of General Lucius D. Clay*, ed. Jean Edwards Smith (Bloomington, IN, 1974), 797.

83. Ibid., 158.

84. Office of the Military Government of the United States: Educational and Cultural and Relations Div., "Education Reconstruction in Germany: Berchtesgaden Conference, 7-12 October 1948," stored in Muncie, IN, Ball State University, University Libraries. Archives and Special Collections, Robert R. LaFollette Papers, RG.04.01.05, Box 4, Folder 0, p. 32.

November 1948, Father Otto Lüfolding wrote a letter to another archbishop, commenting that the Munich "team" of "CSU, Prime Minister Ehard, Minister Hundhammer, Cardinal von Faulhaber, and Bishop Muench" had been instrumental in getting the best possible solution for Catholic schools.[85] Muench eventually went on to become the official diplomat to Germany for the Vatican in 1949. He continued to reflect the position that a local government should be allowed to decide educational matters, but would soon find himself arguing from the opposite perspective. In 1953, the Lower Saxon *Landtag* passed an anti-Confessional school law and Muench petitioned for Adenauer to directly intervene to protect Christian educational principles.[86] Clearly, his arguments were flexible if the interests of the Vatican were served. OMGUS's decision to not do away with confessional schools was also significant as it allowed the Catholic confessional school system to remain intact and effective until a major series of school reforms were introduced across Bavaria in the 1960s.

Muench's role as both the U.S. Liaison for Catholics and the Apostolic Visitor to Germany during the U.S. occupation of Bavaria allowed him to play a significant part in the debate surrounding Bavarian education. By occupying these roles, Muench utilized his positions and connections to gain information, communicate Catholic positions, influence internal conversations within OMGUS, and delay the U.S. officials from implementing a similar American school system in Bavaria. Perhaps the most blatant example of Muench's undermining of American efforts can be seen in his letter to Howard J. Carrol on January 8, in which he supplied newspaper articles that were intended to embarrass OMGUS officials and showcase their inability to provide an education system in Bavaria. Furthermore, Muench was in constant contact with Cardinal Michael Faulhaber and Alois Hundhammer and coordinated efforts to take advantage of the fine line between relaying Catholic sentiment and becoming a spiritual pleader. Therefore, from Muench's and Von Faulhaber's personal writings and the memos, diary entries, and other correspondence from those around them, it can be concluded that Muench was a loyal servant to the Vatican above all, as well as a Bavarian patriot, as he indicated to Cardinal Faulhaber in there meeting in December 1946. The work of Suzanne Brown-Fleming demonstrates that Muench was actively prioritizing Vatican interests, and this article has built on her fine work and demonstrated

85. Otto Lüfolding, "Lüfolding an Berning—122," in: *Akten deutscher Bischöfe seit 1945: Westliche Besatzungszonen und Gründung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1948/1949,* ed. Annette Mertens, 60 vols. (Paderborn, 1974–2022, here 2010), LV, 364.

86. Ruff, *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany,* 70.

that the case of the Bavarian education debate offered Muench a way to serve both Vatican and Bavarian interests. This episode also reveals that Muench seemed to care little about the United States' aims and vision.

Muench's position also reveals a complex intersection of foreign and domestic policies in occupied Germany in determining what postwar Germany would look like. Muench's efforts brought him into conflict with officials such as Murray Van Wagoner, reflecting his priorities in this debate. The U.S. military officials constantly debated about whether to enforce this plan or allow it to receive democratic support, and Muench played a key role in organizing support to delay OMGUS officials until the question would be decided by the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany. From these actions, we can conclude that Muench, while an official for both the U.S. and the Vatican, constantly worked against OMGUS efforts in the postwar Bavarian school debate.

By looking at OMGUS files, Muench's personal papers from the Catholic University of America, the personal papers of General Lucius Clay, the private diaries and papers of Cardinal von Faulhaber, and the archives of Christian Social Union, however, we learn that Muench was a key player because of the roles he occupied as he sought to keep Catholic teachers and clergy members influential in Bavarian communities by retaining the traditional Catholic schooling system. Other historians had looked at Muench and his role in amnesty trials and his role in perpetuating Catholic anti-Semitism, but his role as an informant to Vatican and CSU officials had yet to be discussed in-depth. At the core of this debate was the relationship between denazification and education and what system offered the best opportunity for this process. OMGUS officials believed that a system like the United States' public school system that prioritized secular liberal principles would lead to a stronger democratic identity for future Bavarians. Vatican and Bavarian officials believed that the key to denazification lay in the Catholic teachings regarding individual dignity, and that the United States imposing its will against the Bavarian consensus was all too like the Third Reich's efforts to co-opt the educational curriculum for political needs. Furthermore, Muench's perspective also reveals how open for debate the term "denazification" was in postwar Bavaria. While Americans thought it meant a completely overhauled educational policy, Bavarian Catholics and Vatican officials sought to implement a vision of denazification where Catholic education returned to the parameters laid out in the 1933 *Reichskonkordat*. Muench saw firsthand how these cultural and religious tensions were playing out and used his position within OMGUS and as Vatican official to aid Bavarian Catholics.

A broader contribution that this article also suggests is that religion and politics were quite influential in postwar Bavaria and brought OMGUS and Bavarian officials to the brink during the occupational state building crisis. As U.S. government liaison and Apostolic Visitor, Muench was located at the intersection of foreign relations, local politics, and the divide between religious and secular policy in occupied Germany. His position within the education debate between 1946 and 1949 helps explain the complexities involved in the rebuilding of a divided Germany in the postwar period and the importance of local cultural and religious traditions in the establishment of postwar institutions.

Bracero-Priests: The Vatican's Response to Mexican Migration, 1942–1964

Madeleine Claire Olson*

This article examines Operation Migratory Labor (O.M.L.), a cross-border collaboration between the Mexican and United States Catholic hierarchies, guided by Vatican authorities, from 1953–1964, which brought Mexican priests into the United States to tend to Bracero migrants and to protect them from Protestant missionization. Employing Vatican sources in tandem with Mexican documentation, this article demonstrates the geopolitical ramifications of this surge of migration in distinctively religious terms. O.M.L. heralded a new era of transnational migratory pastoral care and revealed how intertwined the institutional and pastoral concerns of the Mexican Catholic Hierarchy were during the 1940s and 1950s.

Keywords: Braceros Program [Mexican Farm Labor Program], Operation Migratory Labor, Mexican priests, Pius XII's Exsul Familia Nazarethana, Jose Garibi y Rivera, Robert E. Lucey

Introduction

Wiry and thin-faced, Pastor Augustín Álvarez had a working day that began at sundown and sometimes lasted until 2:00 a.m. Born in Volcanes, Jalisco, Álvararez entered the seminary in Baja California, but then moved to the United States after being ordained a priest.[1] A member of a young Mexican congregation, the Missionaries of the Holy Spirit, Álvarez was invited by the Archbishop of Los Angeles to undertake a mobile apostolate. Chaplain to four thousand Mexican guest workers, dubbed Braceros, between 1956 and 1959, Álvarez traveled between twenty-four labor camps within Ventura County, an agricultural hub that rimmed the sea between

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1. Augustin Alvarez, "Alien laborer's identification card (back)," stored in the Bracero History Archive, online archive, Item #1028, http://Braceroarchive.org/items/show/1028, accessed September 7, 2021.

fashionable Malibu and Santa Barbara.[2] The archdiocese provided him with a car and living quarters at St. John's Major Seminary, located in Ventura. And so, at sundown, Pastor Álvarez followed El Camino Real toward camps like Buena Vista, which housed one thousand workers. His arrival at camp lured the Braceros back to the hall, where a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe greeted the workers, fresh flowers adorning the beloved icon. Still in their work clothes, they filled the benches of the hall and recited the Rosary with Father Álvarez. He preached a short sermon, which provided catechetical instruction. A multitude of confessions followed, the men confiding in Álvarez all their sins and miseries until well after midnight.

Álvarez's ministry to the Braceros came about from a conjuncture of state policies, migration patterns, and ecclesiastical initiatives. Seasonal migrations of Mexicans to the United States were nothing new, but they accelerated during the Bracero program from 1942–1964. Officially called the Mexican Farm Labor Program, the Bracero Program was a bilateral agreement between the United States and Mexico that allowed American growers to contract Mexican citizens for seasonal work on farms and ranches. In response, during the summer of 1953, members of the Mexican Catholic hierarchy, in collaboration with the United States' Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking (B.C.S.S.), launched "Operation Migratory Labor" (O.M.L.). O.M.L. was a cross-border missionary program that brought priests from Mexico to provide Spanish-speaking ministry in the United States to Mexican agricultural laborers.[3] It was a partnership

2. Al Antczak, "His Rectory An Auto, Parish a Country, As Priest Cares for Migrant Workers from Mexico," October 1, 1956, 4–5, stored by the Catholic Research Resource Alliance, online archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=cns19561001-01.1.68&srpos=6&e=————en-20—1-byDA-txt-txIN-Bracero————, accessed September 13, 2021.

3. For the Bracero Program, see Alberto García Maldonado, "Regulating Bracero Migration: How National, Regional, and Local Political Considerations Shaped the Bracero Program," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 101 no. 3 (2021), 433–60; Deborah E. Kanter, "Mexican Priests and Migrant Ministry in the Midwest, 1953–1961," *U.S. Catholic historian* 39, no. 1 (2021), 93–112. Deborah Cohen, *Braceros: Migrant Citizens and Transnational Subjects in the Postwar United States and Mexico* (Berkeley, CA, 2011). Gledhill's primary focus is the ejido created from the expropriated *hacienda* of Guaracha, Michoacán, but he does note that many ejidatarios sought to migrate after the early failures of the collective ejido. John Gledhill, *Casi Nada: A Study of Agrarian Reform in the Homeland of Cardenismo* (Albany, N.Y., 1991); Michael Snodgrass, "The Bracero Program, 1942–1964," in: *Beyond La Frontera: The History of Mexico-U.S. Migration* (New York, NY, 2011), 79–102. For the OML, including Stephen A. Privett, S.J., *The U.S. Catholic Church and its Hispanic Members: The Pastoral Vision of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey* (San Antonio, TX, 1988), 102–10; Gina Marie Petti, "'A Ghastly International Racket': The Catholic Church and the Bracero Program in California, 1942–1964," [Working Paper Series 33, no. 2] (working paper, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, Fall 2001).

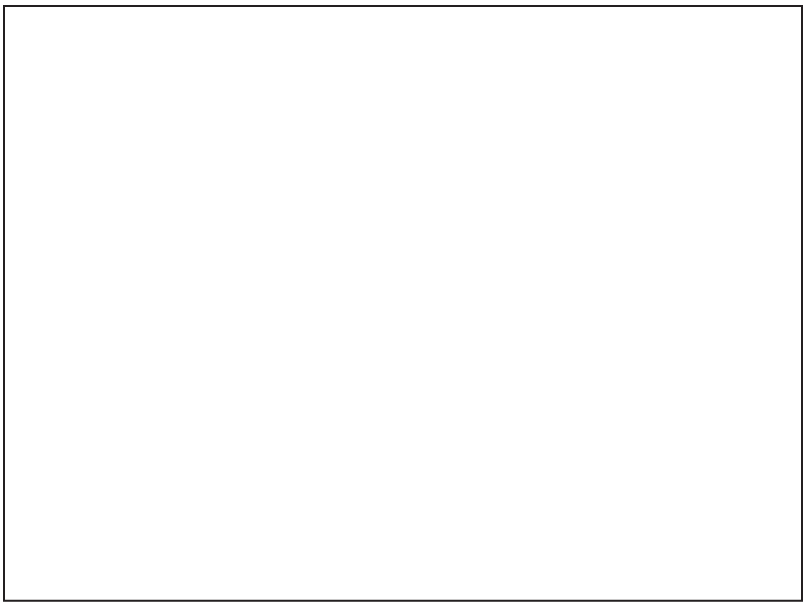

FIGURE 1. Los Angeles Times, *Mexican workers await legal employment in the United States, Mexicali, Mexico,* February 8, 1954. Photographer unknown. Photograph is in the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MexicaliBraceros,1954.jpg

between the Mexican and U.S. hierarchies to station Mexican missionary priests among Braceros—and other Mexican seasonal migrant farmworkers—in the United States.

For its part, the Mexican Catholic Church was especially worried about Protestant proselytizing, as well as the threat of moral decay among Mexican citizens while they labored abroad.[4] To counter these threats, new

4. In the eyes of the Catholic Church, the argument of "moral decay" linked long-standing fears that secularism was undermining traditional sources of moral authority. For instance, many Catholic organizations worked to perfect the religious and moral work of the nation, principally in public and home life. The Church's aim was to attack philosophical bases of the spiritual corruption and immoral attitudes of the people. Historians such as Ana Elizabeth Rosas and Deborah Cohen have recently explored how the migration of unaccompanied men to the U.S engendered economic, social, and emotional turmoil in the hometowns and families they left behind. Ana Elizabeth Rosas, Abrazando el Espíritu, *Bracero Families Confront the US-Mexico Border* (Berkeley, CA, 2014). Deborah Cohen, *Braceros: Migrant Citizens and Transnational Subjects in the Postwar United States and Mexico* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011).

teams of Mexican priests came to the U.S. through O.M.L. every summer beginning in 1953. In any one year, the total number of priests rarely exceeded twenty-five, peaking at thirty priests in 1958 for 400,000 Braceros dispersed across the United States. By 1961, the regional office's annual reports to the hierarchy ceased making any reference to O.M.L., suggesting that the once-celebrated program had been allowed to fade away quietly. Despite O.M.L.'s limited effectiveness in either stemming the tide of Protestantism or in moralizing Braceros, the program holds a crucial historical importance. O.M.L. was the first binational Catholic program between Mexico and the United States that aimed at ministering to Mexican and Mexican American seasonal migrants in the twentieth century.

Human mobility represented a particular concern for the hierarchical organization of the Catholic Church during the early twentieth century. Arriving ethnic minorities needed a specific type of pastoral accompaniment according to their language, culture, and community expressions of faith, which included rites, hymns, processions, and sacraments.[5] Working from the position that every Catholic has a home parish that is responsible for their religious journey, the Church established certain policies regarding what happens when congregants migrate.[6] However, questions remained. Who was responsible for these congregants when they were north of the border? Was it the U.S. hierarchy, or did the Mexican hierarchy still bear responsibility, as the migrants planned to return? The peculiar border-crossing existence of Braceros challenged the existing ecclesiastical magisterium toward this form of migration. It also laid bare to what extent the Catholic Church existed as *both* a nation-bound institution and a universal religious authority.

An examination of the history of this cross-border missionary program also helps to illuminate some essential features of the Mexican Church's changing apostolate to its members, both citizens and emigrants, in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Both the Mexican hierarchy and the Vatican paid a zealous interest in the spiritual welfare of displaced per-

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5. Jorge E Castillo Guerra, "Contributions to the Social Teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on Migration," *Exchange,* 44, no. 4 (2015), 122.

6. By the Church, the author is referring here to the institutional Catholic Church acknowledged by canonical law, including the Vatican, state hierarchies including the Mexican and United States hierarchies, and bishops as well as parish priests. The analysis here regarding the motivations of the bishops with respect to their work with migrants is based primarily on internal memoranda, public statements, reports, and other documentation that originated at the Vatican Archives. Bishops are not monolithic in their thinking, however and are often guided by more regional concerns.

sons, mainly because the "foreign Protestant infiltration" was a threat to migrants' spiritual sovereignty. Vatican documents are replete with detailed instructions about how to negotiate these different ways of organizing the Church's ministry toward migrants.[7] Via an analysis of the policy and policy changes toward the Braceros, this article traces the continuities and changes in the interplay between three branches of the Church—the Vatican, the Mexican Hierarchy, and the U.S. Hierarchy. As the Bracero Program progressed, the Mexican Hierarchy, in collaboration with Vatican officials and the United States and Canadian Hierarchies, shifted its pastoral emphasis from discouraging migration to ministering to migrants and actively developing policy to support moving persons. Operation Migratory Labor (O.M.L.) was the Mexican Hierarchy's response to the demands and concerns emanating from the Vatican, from state and municipal governments, from the Braceros themselves, and from the North American Hierarchy.

The Catholic Church's unique capacity to attend to international migrants who cross nation-state boundaries draws attention to its transnational qualities. However, taking the Catholic Church at face value as a universal institution that transcends national divisions obscures how transnationalism is paradoxically often nationalistic. While O.M.L. heralded a new era of transnational Catholic pastoral care, it also laid bare the nation-centered orientations within both the U.S. and Mexican Catholic hierarchies. Given these demands, the Mexican and United States episcopates were not able to achieve a cross-border collaboration to respond to migration due to these internal disagreements between leaders in the Church and national divisions between hierarchies. Thus, the failures of O.M.L. demonstrated the geopolitical ramifications of this surge of migration, particularly in terms of challenging existing ecclesial formulations to go beyond a nation-centered pastoral model.

This article begins with a brief examination of the Catholic Church's migration policy before the Bracero Program to explain the role of the Vatican in creating transnational collaboration at the episcopal level. The question of migration, particularly the conservation of souls outside the home nation, had long generated debate in the Church, but the official policy had

7. Examples include major papal Encyclicals such as *Exsul Familia Nazarethana* as well as personal correspondences. In 1952, Pope Pius XII founded the Superior Council for Emigrants, a special division with the Vatican responsible for populations subject to relocation. David Fitzgerald, *A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico Manages its Migration* (Berkeley, CA, 2009), 24.

never extended much beyond discouraging prospective migrants from traveling. The discussion then shifts focus to Catholic responses to the Bracero Program during several distinct periods: the program's first years when the Mexican hierarchy first started to craft policy toward it, dubbed the "Bracero Priest Campaign" (1942–1946); the period in which the Bracero Program extended past its initial purpose after World War II, when ecclesiastical authorities, faced with a lack of priests, were fully tasked with recruiting Bracero priests (1946–1953); the promulgation of Pius XII's *Exsul familia* (1953) which shifted both the Mexican and U.S. Hierarchies' goals and methods; and, finally, the program's concluding ten years, 1954 to 1964, when the emphasis focused on how to protect Mexican Braceros from converting to Protestantism. By foregrounding the transnational aspects of Catholicism and its structural similarities between a nation-state and a national branch of the universal Church, this analysis explores how Mexican Church policy has influenced the shape of Mexico-U.S. migration.

Catholic Social Teaching and Migration

The Church tradition of defining human rights as "expressions of human unity and dignity that flow from being created in the likeness of God" had existed since the early sixteenth century. Catholic thinking on human rights began to converge with secular political models of rights during the papacy of Leo XII (1878–1903).[8] Thus, in terms of the Catholic Church's policy toward migration, the accepted starting point is Pope Leo XIII's encyclical entitled *Rerum novarum* ("Of New Things"). Published on May 15 of 1891, the encyclical responded to the anticlericalism of the French revolution, the social effects of the industrial revolution, capitalist individualism, Italian emigration, and the growth of Communism.[9] In it, Pope Leo declared that migrants were not to be seen merely as "inanimate cogs greasing the wheels of capitalist supply and demand. They [were] human beings, made in the image of God, needing spiritual succor."[10] Thus, the Church needed to care for Catholic persons migrating to foreign nations, often taking great care to preserve Catholic migrants when they

8. Paolo G. Carozza and Daniel Philpott, "The Catholic Church, Human Rights, and Democracy: Convergence and Conflict with the Modern State," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, 15, no. 3 (2012), 15–43, here 18.

9. Muehlebach, *The Catholicization of Neoliberalism: On Love and Welfare in Lombardy, Italy*, 2013.

10. Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII on the Condition of Labor* (Vatican City, May 15, 1891); Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, "Rerum novarum en México: cuarenta años entre la conciliación y la intransigencia (1891–1931)," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 49, no. 3 (1987), 170.

found themselves in the context of a Protestant majority. These ministries worked for the pastoral well-being of migrants, as well as to improve the livelihood of immigrants while they sojourned in a foreign land. Special care was likewise established in migrants' home nations. Church authorities assigned ecclesiastical structures—parishes and dioceses—in both sending and receiving areas to offer guidance regarding the problematic situations that migrants would encounter when traveling abroad.[11] In the years after *Rerum Novarum*, other initiatives emerged to increase the ecclesial response to the challenges of emigration. For example, in 1914, Pope Pius X (1903–1914) proposed the foundation of a specialized seminary to form priests to be assigned to Italian migrants. The Sacred Consistorial Congregation published a decree in 1914 stating that missionaries for migrants had to complete studies in ethnography to prepare for the *ad quam* (receiving) Church that tended to these persons in their destination country.[12]

As early as March 1937, the Holy See recognized the importance of protecting those who emigrated specifically from Mexico, either temporarily or permanently. In the papal encyclical *Firmissiman Constantiam* (On the Religious Situation in Mexico), Pius XI (1922–1939) directly commented on the Mexican case, ordering Mexican and American bishops to work together to minister to Mexican migrants.[13] He clearly emphasized the threat of conversion to Protestantism, noting the necessity of "the assistance for Mexicans who have emigrated to other countries, who, torn away from their country and their traditions, more easily become prey to the insidious propaganda of the emissaries seeking to induce them to apostatize from their faith."[14] Thus, so that Mexicans who migrated to foreign countries might not become "the prey of the enemies of Christ," nor lose the Christian ways of their fathers, Pius XI urged the Mexican Bishops to confer with their brother bishops in the United States and appealed for the cooperation of Catholic Action groups. Using more conciliatory language than the usual condemnations of migrants, the letter claimed they "have had to estrange

11. Leo XIII, *Encyclical Quam Aerumnosa: On Italian Immigrants* (Vatican, December 10, 1888); Angelo Negrini and all "La Santa Sede y el fenómeno de la movilidad humana," *People on the Move,* 88–89 (2002), 1–14, here 4.

12. Eduardo Barua, "Movimientos migratorios y derechos de los fieles en la Iglesia," *Ius Canonicum,* 43, no. 85 (2003), 51–86.

13. Pius XI, *Firmissiman Constantiam: On the Religious Situation in Mexico: To the Venerable Brethren the Archbishops, Bishops, and Other Ordinaries of Mexico: In Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See* (Rome, March 28, 1937), accessed September 11, 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370328_firmissimam-constantiam.html.

14. *Firmissiman Constantiam*, §18.

themselves from the motherland," implying that migrants were forced into leaving by circumstances at home, rather than because they were dupes or adventurers.[15] Thus, in the process of creating a migration theology, the Vatican began to chart roads of collaborations for the Mexican and U.S. hierarchies to develop active responses toward the movement of people.[16] In 1939, Mexican and U.S. church authorities agreed to ensure that Mexican, or at least Spanish-speaking, priests could minister to Mexicans in the United States.[17] Parishes in sending areas of Mexico were urged to form committees to help repatriates find work. The same year, the Mexican episcopate urged parish priests to develop registries of emigrants in the United States that could be used to send them invitations to the patron saint fiestas and exhortations to keep their religious obligations.

Firmissiman Constantiam, in fact, was but one articulation of the deep concerns brewing in the Vatican regarding Mexican Catholic vulnerability to Protestant evangelization. Eugenio Pacelli, Vatican Secretary of State under Pius XI (later Pope Pius XII, 1939–1958), constantly spoke about the issue in his expositions to the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs (the papal commission that deals with relationships with civil states).[18] From the early 1930s, Pacelli argued that Protestant agents were plotting a revolution in Mexico. New reports reached the Secretary of State corroborating this view, affirming that "authentic Evangelicals" were taking over Mexican government offices and the "ultimate aim of the Mexican government is to create a new non-Catholic generation," by migrants returning as Protestant converts and missionaries. [19] Rather than adopting a wait-and-see approach, the Vatican Secretary of State along with the Secretariat on Atheism participated in a project it termed "enlightening public opinion on the danger of Protestant penetration in

15. Ibid.

16. This paper uses the terms "papacy," "Holy See," and "Vatican" interchangeably, following Vaillancourt's argument that "in practice the distinction has little value for the researcher, since it is used mostly by Church officials to cover the political nature of many of the papacy's activities."

17. David Fitzgerald, "Uncovering the Emigration Policies of the Catholic Church in Mexico," Migration Policy Institute, May 21, 2009, accessed February 20, 2023, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/uncovering-emigration-policies-catholic-church-mexico.

18. The Secretary of State is responsible for all the political and diplomatic functions of the Holy See and Vatican City. The Cardinal Secretary is appointed by the Pope and serves as one of the principal advisors to the papacy.

19. Informe from Enrique de Jesús Ochua to Leopoldo Ruíz, September 30, 1939, stored in Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (hereafter A.A.V.), busta 119, fasc. 545; Todd Hartch, *Missionaries of the State: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, State Formation, and Indigenous Mexico, 1935–1985* (2006).

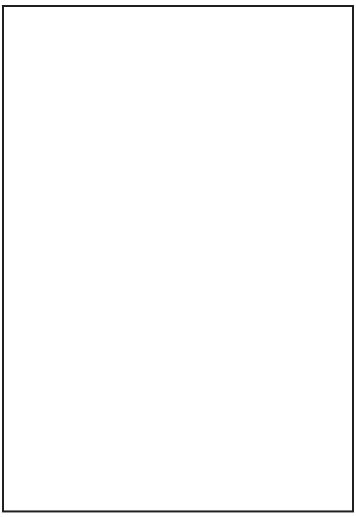

FIGURE 2. Michael Pitcairn, *Pius XII with tabard*, 1951, photograph (retouched). Photograph is in the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pius_XII_with_tabard,_by_Michael_Pitcairn,_1951.png

Mexico."[20] Drawing on questionable information culled from local sources, Pacelli argued that Soviet agents were actively spreading "communistic and protestant propaganda" through the Mexican school system and among Mexico's lower classes—ignoring the fact that Mexico had broken off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1930.[21] Archives suggest that many of Pacelli's interlocutors in these critical reports were Jesuits, whose letters were forwarded to the Vatican Secretary of State via Wlodzimierz Ledôchowksi, the Jesuits' Superior-General with whom Pacelli had a long-standing personal relationship.[22] Ledôchowksi and his backers within the Jesuits were also convinced that a wave of Protestant, Communist, and anti-Catholic revolution was spreading from the Soviet Union to Spain and the United States and, from there, to Mexico. Migrants, therefore, became more important in the eyes of Rome. As

20. The Secretariat on Atheism was the Papal office established to be the center of counter-Propaganda against atheism and other non-Catholic ideologies. Letter from Enrique de Jesús Ochua to Leopoldo Ruiz, September 27, 1937, A.A.V., busta 119, fasc. 545.

21. Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931–1939* (Princeton, NJ 1965).

22. A.A.V., Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, (henceforth A.E.S.) quarto periodo, pos. 474 P.O., fasc. 482.

potential carriers of Communist propaganda and Protestant doctrine, according to Pacelli and Ledôchowksi, there was a growing urgency to create policies toward border-crossing peoples.

Notwithstanding Pacelli's alarm, time and the vicissitudes of world war conspired to soften Pacelli's stance on migrants. In a radio broadcast on the feast of Pentecost, June 1, 1941, the newly-appointed Pius XII gave a much more extensive articulation of a Catholic migration theology, which insisted upon the right to migrate, acquire a living wage, and preserve the unity of one's family.[23] Referring to *Rerum Novarum,* Pius XII emphasized that allowing the migration of families in this way meant that emigration "attains its natural scope," or, as the Pope clarified: "We mean the more favorable distribution of men on the earth's surface suitable to colonies of agricultural workers; that surface which God created and prepared for the use of all."[24] He emphasized that a positive and open attitude to such migration would benefit all individual families, the societies into which they moved, and the prosperity and stability of humankind.[25] He paid particular attention to Catholic social doctrine's insistence upon the family as the core unit of human society.[26] The Pope insisted, in short, that migration provided a route to stability and property security for those families who could not obtain it in their home areas.

At the end of the Second World War, Pius XII showed his immediate concern for the plight of refugees and asylum seekers. In 1944 he established the Pontifical Commission for the Assistance of Refugees under the direction of Msgr. Ferdinando Baldelli, and in 1946, Pius XII launched the Office for Migrations inside the Secretariat of State, which divided its focus between "voluntary migration" and "forced migration."[27] Other national initiatives immediately followed the example. Between 1947 and 1948, the Bishops Resettlement Council in the United States, the Catholic Committee for Relief Abroad in the United Kingdom, the Catholic Com-

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On American fears of "Mexican Bolshevism," see Goodall, *Loyalty and Liberty,* Chapter 5; and Matthew A. Redinger, *American Catholics and the Mexican Revolution, 1924–1936* (Notre Dame, IN, 2005).

23. Catholic Association for International Peace, compilers, *Pius XII and Peace 1939–1943: Excerpts From Selected Messages* (Washington, DC, 1943), 22, 35, 52.

24. Pius XII, *La Solennità: Radiomensaje de su Santidad Pío XII en el 50 Aniversario de la Rerum Novarum* (Vatican City, June 1, 1941).

25. Ibid.

26. C.A.I.P., *Pius XII and Peace, 1939–1943,* 31.

27. Montini to Luis María Martinez, July 16, 1947, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 81, fasc. 424.

mittee for Aid to Immigrant Canada, and the *Missio Vaticana* in Germany were all established. As the Church developed institutionalized ministries for migrants, it also developed a documentary heritage. On August 1, 1952, Pius XII published the Apostolic Constitution, *Exsul Familia Nazarethana.* The document can be considered the Magna Carta of the pastoral care of migrants, a compendium of historical information, doctrinal principles, and pastoral indications.

Although the Church understood itself as addressing the needs of Catholic migrants throughout history, *Exsul Familia* served as the first extensive Papal document dealing exclusively with migration issues. In contrast to previous popes, Pius XII did not write a social encyclical, which meant that *Exsul Familia* has been excluded from most sources detailing the development of the Church's social teaching. However, it does reveal his interest in the social questions of his time and his application and development of social teaching.[28] *Exsul Familia* came four years after the promulgation in 1948 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which specified in Articles 13 and 14 the right to circulate freely and the right to asylum as universal rights. In addition to advocating for these articles, the Pope also urged implementing a border policy based on the common good and natural rights. Pope Pius XII declared that natural law and devotion to humanity required international migration to be opened to people forced from their countries by revolutions, unemployment, or hunger. The Vatican's principles helped establish universal regulations for the Catholic Church, especially in providing "ethnic" ministry to immigrants and their children.[29] *Exsul Familia* "identified emigration, immigration and family reunification as basic human rights."[30]

Pope Pius XII explicitly stated that migration was a human right and directly addressed the migration between Mexico and the United States by citing with approval the actions of American bishops who responded to Pope Benedict XV's (1914–1922) plea that those fleeing religious persecution in Mexico find refuge in the American Church. *Exsul Familia* repre-

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28. John P. Langan, "The Christmas Messages of Pius XII (1939–1945)," in: *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries & Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes (Washington, D.C., 2005), 175–91.

29. Card. Stephen Fumio Hamao, "Address to the Holy Father," (Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, December 2004), accessed February 20, 2023, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/migrants/pom2004_96/rc_pc_migrants_pom96_om-hamao.html.

30. Pius XII, *Exsul Familia Nazarethana* (apostolic constitution, given at Castel Gandolfo, August 1, 1952).

sented a significant advance in the social teaching of the Catholic Church because it regarded emigration as a natural right, a right depicted clearly in Chapter 2 of Matthew's gospel narration of the exile of the Sacred Family.[31] These core aspects of ecclesial concern for border policies shaped a common thread in the Vatican authorities' concern for the topic of frontiers, as well as how the social teaching of the Catholic Church pertains to migration. Thus, in terms of doctrinal support for clergy involvement in labor and migration issues, clergy closest to Mexican and Mexican-American farmworkers were quite prepared to draw upon these encyclicals to both guide and defend their activities.

"Muchos Problemas Religiosos": The Episcopate's First Response

Following the repatriation of an estimated 400,000 Mexicans in the 1930s, the 1942–1964 Bracero guest worker era renewed the challenge of emigration for the Church. The onset of the Bracero era intensified the rate and pattern of Evangelical Protestant growth in both countries. As the migratory stream shifted northward again, Mexican Catholics joined their countrymen, searching for better economic opportunities. While living on the border, these Catholics often had repeated contact with Evangelical preachers who offered social services as well as classes on reading and writing, Christian doctrine, and even courses in violin and music theory.[32] This became an attraction for those who could not read or write and brought many Braceros under the fold of Evangelical Protestantism. As newly-converted Braceros returned home from their stints in the United States, they invigorated or established congregations in Mexico, often bringing their entire families into the new faith.

For several years, Catholic leaders on both sides of the border focused the bulk of their efforts on providing the sacraments and sufficient pastoral care to the Braceros. The vision and mission of two Catholics Archbishops, Luis María Martínez and Robert E. Lucey, shaped the Church's early response to the Bracero Program.[33] The main threat was not the inhumane

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31. Pius XII, *Exsul Familia Nazarethana,* para. 100.

32. Ibid., 141.

33. For a detailed survey of Archbishop Lucey's work with the B.C.S.S., see Stephen A. Privett, S.J., *The U.S. Catholic Church and its Hispanic Members: The Pastoral Vision of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey* (San Antonio, TX, 1988). Saul E. Bronder, *Social Justice, and Church Authority: The Public Life of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey* (Philadelphia, PA, 1982), 25–30, 74. For more on the Catholic Church's apostolate of assimilation to the Hispanic Church in the mid-twentieth century, see Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto Miguel Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900–1965* (South Bend, IN, 1994).

living and working conditions, however, but instead conversion to Protestantism. In correspondences between Luis María Martínez and the U.S. Apostolic Delegate Amleto G. Cicognani in Washington, D. C. in 1944, Martinez lamented about Protestants in the United States, stating that missionaries met workers on the border, offering them goods and services to gain favor with them as they began the process of conversion. Ignorant and poor migrant workers could fall victim to Protestant "perversion," Martínez informed Cicognani, because large Protestant denominations funded these missionaries. Reiterating the Mexican hierarchy's earlier anxieties, Martinez also explained that because of their exposure to "Protestant propaganda," returned migrants, or "northerners," had become a severe problem in Mexican cities and towns where, he claimed, they taught "Protestantism or hatred of religion or indifferentism."[34] Martínez proposed a remedy: Mexican bishops could dispatch priests from their dioceses to accompany their migratory compatriots to and throughout the U.S., providing them with the sacraments in their native tongue, thereby protecting their faith until they returned home.[35] However, first, they would need to obtain the consent of the government and bishops of various dioceses as they recognized that there would be jurisdictional disputes between parish priests in the United States and visiting priests from Mexico.[36]

Other Mexican Catholic leaders were anxious to protect the souls of the faithful at home, as well as those in the U.S, but their only strategy often seemed to be simply to dissuade Mexicans from making the journey north. For instance, Archbishop of Guadalajara José Garibi y Rivera told priests in Jalisco to warn prospective migrants of the spiritual and material dangers facing them in the United States "so they will not abandon their homes, families, work, and motherland for this adventure. The public should be warned that illegal immigrants went hungry waiting for false promises of contracts."[37] Even the legally contracted migrants, Garibi y

34. Rivera, Minutes of November 12, 1952, Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Bishops of the United States, 1947–1954, stored in Washington DC, Archive Catholic University of America (ACUA), National Catholic Welfare Conference's Social Action Department (S.A.D.), box 90A, folder 18.

35. Monsignor Michael J. Ready to Samuel Cardinal Stritch, November 18, 1944, S.A.D., stored in Washington, D.C., A.C.U.A., box 90A, folder 17; Apostolic Delegate Amleto Cicognani to Archbishop Edward Mooney, October 27, 1944, S.A.D., stored in Washington, D.C., A.C.U.A., box 90A, folder 18.

36. Luis María Martínez to Amleto G. Cicognani, June 19, 1944, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 79, fasc. 409.

37. José Garibi y Rivera to Robert R. Lucey, December 4, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 119, fasc. 543.

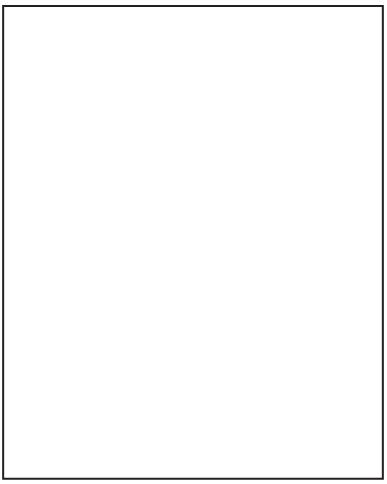

FIGURE 3. *Archbishop Robert E. Lucey,* n.d., photograph. Photographer unknown. Archdiocese of San Antonio, "Remembering Archbishop Robert E. Lucey," *Today's Catholic,* January 29, 2019, https://satodayscatholic.org/remembering-archbishop-robert-e-lucey/. Image is property of, and used with the permission of, the Archdiocese of San Antonio and *Today's Catholic.*

Rivera emphasized, "live in miserable pigsties, face high costs, are taken out by brute force to work on rainy days, and are given opportunities to spend what they earn on vices."[38]

Archbishop Martínez was more astute. His simultaneous appeal to both Apostolic Delegates—in Mexico and the U.S.—reflected his concern that his American brethren might not receive his suggestion with the appropriate enthusiasm. When members of the American hierarchy considered Martínez's proposal in early 1945, their response was not overly optimistic or energetic, owing perhaps to the nascent condition of the American Bishops' national infrastructure for ministering to Hispanic Catholics. Martínez's suggestion arrived as the U.S. hierarchy was beginning to respond constructively to the nation's growing number of Mexican

38. The parish priest of Arandas took the initiative to reprint a thousand copies of the Archbishop's warning (published May 10, 1951, stored in Guadalajara, Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara [hereafter A.A.G.], Gobierno: Parroquia-Arandas). Paul Taylor documented that some twelve hundred Arandenses emigrated to the United States in the years between 1926 and 1929, arguing that the Cristero wars accelerated emigration in places where it had already existed.

immigrants, but these efforts were still in their infancy.[39] Furthermore, the U.S. hierarchy in the late 1930s was determined to prioritize the numerous Catholics of Mexican heritage in the U.S. rather than new arrivals. Martínez wrote that the circumstances of migratory labor meant that Mexican workers neglected their religious duties through a combination of their carelessness, their geographical remoteness from centers of population, and their lack of access to Spanish-speaking priests.[40]

To remedy this, Luis María Martinez instructed parish priests to form a Pro-Emigrant Section of the Acción Católica Mexicana (A.C.M.). Section members were asked to work through their friends and family to find addresses of those living in the United States or other parts of Mexico. Secretaries scoured notary records looking for migrants who had asked for copies of their church records. Once a directory had been compiled, the parish sent migrants local news, invitations to join pious associations, and town images to revive their memories.[41] In Jalisco, the section sent patron saint fiesta programs to more than 300 families in 1942, 700 in 1943, and 1160 in 1944. Migrants living in the United States, Mexico City, Guadalajara, and León were asked to establish a mutual aid fund and form religious study groups. Pro-Emigrant Sections throughout Mexico were active through the 1950s, sending migrants letters calling on them to unite with them "not as foreigners or strangers . . . but rather forming with us one town, a single flock, a single-family," albeit a transnational one.[42] With improved communication between migrants and the local clergy, absentees shared intimate details of their lives that facilitated clerical intervention. Priests reunited several marriages, separated couples living in free union, and even "pulled three of ours out of the bosom of Protestantism who had affiliated with that sect, one of whom was already a pastor."[43] All involved in the program agreed that thanks to the Pro-Emigrant Section's reawakening of hometown sentiments, "repatriates and absentees make the needs of the parish—its enterprises and projects—their own, showing themselves

39. Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Bishops of the United States, 1919–1935, September 24, 1924, stored in Washington DC, Archive Catholic University of America (ACUA), National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), p. 8.

40. Luis María Martínez, Correspondence with the Apostolic Delegation in the United States, 1943, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 78, fasc. 408.

41. Luis María Martínez to C.E.M., March 2, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

42. Sacra Congregatio Concilii (S.C.C.) to Guillermo Piani, June 27, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

43. Boletin Ecclesiastico, July 22, 1944, Mexico City, Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de México (hereafter AHAM), caja 0018, exp. 42.

to be extremely generous in the donations they voluntarily offer for diverse purposes."[44] As time progressed, contributions from those living outside of their home parish became another source of parish economic revitalization.

Thanks to the efforts of Archbishop Martínez and the Pro-Emigrant Sections of A.C.M., the Church's policy shifted from simple dissuasion to a campaign that prepared Braceros heading north for the dangers—moral and spiritual, according to Mexican Church leaders—they would face. Thus, in 1945, the *Conferencia del Episcopado Mexicano* (C.E.M., the body that coordinates the Mexican Church's social and pastoral policy) published a pastoral letter, calling on the civil authorities and all social classes to develop a solution. The C.E.M.'s joint pastoral letter alluded to a changing strategy in dealing with migration.[45] By developing a standardized policy for diocesan migrant programs and the exchange of priests, the C.E.M. determined which bishops were authorized to send and receive Bracero-priests. The bishops recognized that simply telling workers not to leave was an ineffective policy, but that it was also the responsibility of parish priests to tend to Braceros and those who returned to Mexico.[46] The new campaign included a "Manual for Braceros," special masses and charity in Mexican contracting centers, and a "Bracero Hour" radio broadcast about conditions in the United States. The trend continued toward a greater emphasis on managing migration's effects rather than hindering departure.

As the Archbishop of Guadalajara, Garibi y Rivera, served as head of the C.E.M.'s Committee on Migration, recruitment was concentrated in Guadalajara.[47] Throughout the 1940s, Garibi y Rivera recruited around six priests per year to serve in the United States from six to twelve weeks in the summer.[48] Priests came from Acatic, Arandas, Cocula, Jalostotitlán, and Tamazula, where colonial-era churches loomed over their Mexican

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44. Boletin Ecclesiastico, July 22, 1944, stored in Mexico City, A.H.A.M., caja 0018, exp. 42.

45. Letter from Pedro Velazquez to Piani, September 19, 1954, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825; Dictamen from Archbishop of Durango, March 2, 1944, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 103, fasc. 466.

46. Based on interviews in Los Altos, Espinosa suggests that some priests even encouraged poor men to participate in the Bracero program so they could help finance Church projects. See Víctor M. Espinosa, "El día del emigrante y el retorno del purgatorio: iglesia, migración a los Estados Unidos y cambio sociocultural en un pueblo de Los Altos de Jalisco," *Estudios Sociológicos,* 17, no. 50 (1999), 375–418.

47. Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto Hinojosa, eds., *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900–1965* (Notre Dame, IN, 1994), 30.

48. Boletin Ecclesiastico, 1953, 1955, 1959, stored in Mexico City, A.H.A.M., caja 0277, exp. 34.

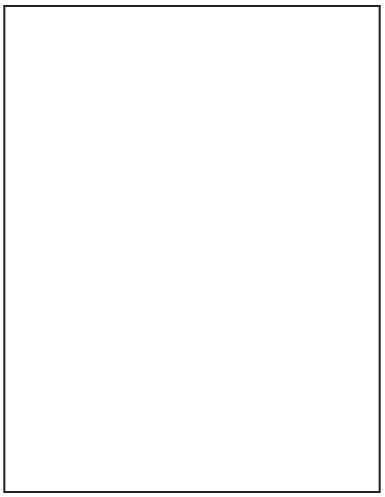

Figure 4. Jack de Nijs for Anefo, *Cardinal Jose Garibi y Rivera,* June 30, 1961, photograph. Image from the Nationaal Archief, the Dutch National Archives, donated in the context of a partnership program. This file is made available under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jose_Garibi_y_Rivera_(1961).jpg

towns. In rural areas especially, these priests could significantly influence the local Bracero applicants (*aspirantes*) sent to the Mexican government. The young Bracero-priests formed a unique cohort. Many were born in the 1920s, at the height of the Mexican government's Church repression; they were likely baptized in secret. Memories of priests martyred in the Cristero Rebellion (*La Cristiada*) remained fresh. The *Bracero-misioneros*, like much of Mexico's hierarchy, worried about the endless waves of male parishioners heading north. The Mexican priests wanted the adventurers to return to their families, their parish, and their nation to avoid, in the words of one priest, "*muchos problemas religiosos*."[49]

"*Pan y Catecismo*": Vatican Redirection

When it became clear, after the conclusion of World War II, that Mexico and the United States would renew the Bracero program, the

49. J. Francisco Muñoz, letter to Archbishop José Garibi Rivera, Newaygo, Michigan, August 5, 1955, stored in the Archivo de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara (A.A.G.)., section "Migrantes," subsection 1940–2001, p. 1.

migrant committee of the C.E.M. met to plan the Church's response. The volume and characteristics of the post-war Bracero program exacerbated every problem highlighted by the Catholic social critique of the importation of Mexican migrant workers. Church leadership understood that migration patterns were already beginning to change from circular migration—movement back and forth across the border—toward permanent settlement in the United States.[50] As early as 1951, the C.E.M. renewed meetings about the spiritual care of the Braceros. One of the main challenges arose regarding priests leaving their dioceses to tend to the Braceros, as there were not enough priests to tend to Mexican Catholics at home and on the border. In a letter to the C.E.M., the Archbishop of Guadalajara noted the need for far more priests than the Archdiocese of Guadalajara could provide. He asked not to bear the burden alone, but that the invitation to supply priests for the Braceros be extended to all other dioceses and the regular clergy.[51]

In January of 1952, the C.E.M. began an official study of the conditions of Braceros. The study concluded that overarching issues of lack of organization and preparation, combined with a lack of knowledge of the English language, left many open to exploitation. One submitted report described the conditions in vivid detail: laborers were told if they wanted to eat, they must work first, and were paid minimal wages while the price of goods in camps were overpriced, even as they worked under the blazing sun without breaks.[52] Some of the main causes noted by the C.E.M. included misery, insecurity, and *caciquismo*, and they recommended that campesino organizations help. While stopping short of calling for an end to the importation of labor entirely, U.S. Catholic lay critics insisted that it was in the national interest for the federal government to manage this movement across its borders by controlling legal migration and curtailing the use of illegal laborers. This justification for control of the nation's borders in the interests of domestic workers echoed arguments made by the public on both sides of the border. Increasingly, it was becoming clear that there needed to be better guidance on navigating the contours of migration.

As the 1950s unfolded, Catholic advocacy towards Braceros matured. In response to the results of the study, on February 2, 1952, the Bishop-

50. David FitzGerald, *A Nation of Immigrants,* 85.

51. Garibi Rivera to C.E.M., December 4, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 119, fasc. 543.

52. Piani to C.E.M., March 17, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

President of the C.E.M. called upon U.S. clergy to request that eighteen missionaries be sent from Michigan for the spiritual care of the Braceros between June 1 and October 1 of that same year.[53] Cardinal Secretary Domenico Tardini offered practical solutions on how to move forward—including delegating bishops to make the assignment of priests to this position. He also recommended that the C.E.M. create a special committee dedicated to the care of the Braceros. While Garibi y Rivera and Robert Lucey were in constant contact, particularly regarding the recruitment of Mexican priests to send to the border, on April 9, 1952, the C.E.M. voted to appoint Pedro Velázquez Hernández, the director of the *Secretariado Social Mexicano* (S.S.M.), as lead representative and coordinator between Mexican and United States Episcopates.[54] Tardini spoke very highly of working with Robert E. Lucey as they were old friends—Lucey had studied under him at the *Propaganda Fide*, and they presented at conferences together in Rome in 1949.[55] In a 1952 review of the previous year, the C.E.M. expressed their satisfaction with the work carried out during the year, particularly in protecting Mexican emigrants from the dangers of Protestant missionaries, and called on Robert E. Lucey, Bishop of San Antonio, Texas, and Matthew Kelly, Executive Secretary, to renew the contracts of Mexican priests. Specifically, the congregation asked to send twenty priests during the summer months of June to September for the following year, 1953.[56] Additionally, the C.E.M. decided to cancel the Catholic Radio Hour, instead opting for each bishop to supply ten dollars to fund Catholic propaganda to send to the Braceros.[57]

By June and July of 1952, a Catholic Rural Life delegation led by Father Joseph B. Gremillion visited Mexico City to develop further social action collaboration with their across-the-border counterparts, including the development of the Pan American Congress on rural life problems. During this visit, the group met with Archbishop José Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara and aired their concerns about the spiritual wellbeing of Mexican immigrant laborers in America's fields. Gremillion asked whether laymen belonging to Catholic Action in Mexico could travel to the U.S.

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53. D. Luis Stepinac Minutes from C.E.M., February 2, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 533.

54. D. Luis Stepinac, Minutes from C.E.M., April 9, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 533; the executive secretary was Matthew Kelly.

55. Tardini to Piani, March 2, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

56. Minutes from C.E.M., December 29, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 533.

57. Minutes from C.E.M., April 9, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 533.

and act as intermediaries who would "draw the workers closer to the Spanish-speaking priests and thus see to it that they do not neglect their religious duties."[58]

Archbishop of San Antonio, Robert E. Lucey, on behalf of the U.S. hierarchy, wrote to Jose Garibi y Rivera asking if he could send priests to the U.S. to assist Lucey's ministry to Spanish speaking Catholics. Specifically, he asked about the number of priests in the *Comunidad de Los Misioneros del Espiritu Santo*, a new congregation in Mexico, that he hoped would come to the U.S. that same year. Jose Garibi y Rivera informed Piani of the initial results of the "draft," saying that the maximum amount, twenty-four more priests, could be sent to tend to Mexican migrants on the border. For those priests that did not leave their dioceses, ecclesiastical authorities recommended that they keep in contact with those who had left their diocese to work on the border via letter and telegram. The C.E.M. provided these priests with various leaflets and other Catholic propaganda to send in these communications. Considering these issues, in a meeting on October 9 and 10, 1952, the council concluded that Archbishop Martinez needed to write to Piani about moving forward.[59]

In the early 1950s, Pius XII's *Exsul Familia* continued to influence Catholic thinking on migration. Matthew Kelly, secretary of the Bishop's Office for the Spanish-Speaking, published a manual for U.S. clergymen tending to the Braceros, called "Priestly Care for Mexican Nationals" (1952). The manual took seriously Pius XII's call for pastoral care of migrants in both their home country and the land to which they emigrated. Kelly's "Priestly Care for Mexican Nationals" was one of the first examples of the U.S. Catholic Church's expanded advocacy, although modest in scope, of immigrant rights. Kelly's pamphlet urged the clergy to take a zealous interest in the spiritual welfare of displaced people in the document's opening sections. Then, he moved on to the perceived Protestant threat, noting that some Mexicans converted to Protestantism, saying, "Let us not deceive ourselves. Mexicans do become Protestants—sometimes very active Protestant church workers. Let us not be complacent and say that they will call the priest when death approaches."[60] Despite Protestants spending mil-

58. Tardini to Piani, March 2, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

59. Minutes from C.E.M., October 9–10, 1951, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118 fasc. 534 .Letter from Garibi Rivera to Piani, March 18, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V. busta 119, fasc. 543

60. S.C.C. to C.E.M., March 25, 1954, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 536.

lions for missionary work, Kelly argued in his manual, their main asset was kindness and free social services—including health clinics, medical aid, and nurseries for young children. Yet Kelly held out hope that Mexican religious traditions would have a lasting influence, as he argued that Mexican national customs were all dearly loved.[61] The solution to the Protestant attraction, Kelly argued, was "*pan y catecismo*" ("bread and catechism"). Drawing upon an earlier suggestion from Piani, Kelly asked Mexican ecclesiastical authorities to produce more propaganda which would inform Mexican citizens of the dangers of Protestantism, as well as make sure to extend catechism centers from the cities, where the majority resided, into the countryside. Taking a cue from Protestant missionaries, Kelly contended that by offering hungry migrants portions of bread and secure shelter they would be more willing to come into these Catholic centers.[62]

A consensus was growing. *Exsul Famili*a provided theological grounding, and Vatican backing, for migrant pastoral care. Matthew Kelly's publication of "Priestly Care for Mexican Nationals" laid out practical strategies for beating Protestants at their own game. Then, Pedro Velázquez, director of the S.S.M., endeavored to bring the threads of theology and practical ministry together. In front of the C.E.M., Velázquez proposed a plan, dubbed Operation Migratory Labor (O.M.L.) by reiterating the Vatican's calls for U.S. and Mexican hierarchies to create a centralized organization to tackle "the Bracero Problem." One of the major issues, Velázquez knew, was that priests needed the correct documentation to obtain visas to work in the United States.[63] And, he noted, that many priests struggled to balance the social and spiritual needs of migrants. A report from ecclesiastical officials in Michigan in 1953, reported by Velázquez to C.E.M., showed that while Mexican priests were instructed to "work directly for souls," they were becoming "entangled" with farmers and companies over the migrant workers' social condition, an aspect of the problem that had been assigned to U.S. priests only. Father Velázquez closed his speech by nominating himself to lead a commission to study and solve the matter to the best of his ability.[64] Pedro Velázquez's project aimed to adjust the activities of the Mexican priests who, at the request of

61. Matthew Kelly, "Priestly Care for Mexican Nationals," 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 536.

62. Circular from C.E.M. #15 (1951–53) July 31, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V. busta 120, fasc. 547.

63. "Project to Solve the Bracero Problem," January 23, 1952, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

64. Minutes from C.E.M., July 28, 1954, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 533.

the North American hierarchy, would attend to the Braceros. Velázquez drew connections between *Exsul Familia* and Pope Pius XI's 1936 proclamation, *Firmissiman Consantiam*, stating that the Pope had begun to point out the problem as early as 1936 and that Pius had nominated Miguel Darío Miranda as coordinator. Velázquez concluded by asking Archbishop Miranda—who was then Bishop of Tulancingo and a member of C.E.M.—and the rest of the committee to review the project and request guidance from the Sacra Concilia Constantiam (S.C.C.).[65]

When Operation Migratory Labor was launched in the early summer of 1953, it brought twenty-four priests to minister to Mexican migrants.[66] During meetings with Archbishop Octaviano Márquez of Puebla, Father Velázquez, and others, the C.E.M. agreed to a series of changes in the manner of selecting, preparing, and conveying Mexican priests to the U.S. This involved permitting the missionaries to stay in the U.S. for a full three to four months, ensuring that they learned "a modicum of English," and that they would be provided with a series of "classes . . . so as to prepare them for effective work and help them avoid the pitfalls."[67] They attempted to funnel all O.M.L. priests from Mexico through San Antonio before assignment to host dioceses, but the priests' staggered arrivals stymied the plan. While some priests arrived several weeks early and some several weeks late, others failed to make it to San Antonio. To make matters worse, the regional office's point person in Mexico City, Father Pedro Velázquez, "disappeared . . . and could not be located for two weeks."[68] Reports also appeared revealing that Lucey and the regional office found priests from religious orders challenging to direct, mainly because of the conflicting direction of Velázquez. Informing the C.E.M., Kelly noted that even when Velázquez was in contact, by letter, telegram, or phone, it was bristling with difficulties and his own personal views that did not reflect the perspective of the Catholic hierarchy. There were bureaucratic complaints, which included the inability of Velázquez to follow the numbers and names of missionaries sent, creating unnecessary delays with the U.S. embassy in Mexico City.[69] Therefore, the C.E.M. asked Velázquez to step down, naming Miguel

65. (Italian: *Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale*). Minutes from C.E.M., October 9–10, 1954, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 533b.

66. Robert E. Lucey, "Migratory Workers," *The Commonweal*, January 15, 1954, 372.

67. Matthew Kelly, Memorandum on "Mission to Mexico," January 11, 1954, stored in University of Notre Dame (U.N.D.A.), Robert E Lucey Papers (C.L.U.C.), box 19, folder 2.

68. Letter from Robert E. Lucey to Márquez, December 9, 1953, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825. Father Matthew Kelly, Memorandum on "Mission to Mexico," January 11, 1954, stored in U.N.D.A., C.L.U.C., box 19, folder 2.

69. Ultimas Noticias, May 4, 1953, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 825.

Darío Miranda as interim coordinator. There was little reference to these logistical issues in later annual reports, indicating perhaps that the difficulties were remedied or became less critical to O.M.L.'s perceived success.

In 1957, only twenty to thirty U.S.-based priests were assigned to care for Braceros in about three thousand labor camps in California. Alarmed by the shortfall and the bureaucratic issues, Lucey resorted to the same tactic used by Archbishop Martínez in the 1940s and appealed to the Holy See and to Apostolic Delegate Cicognani to exert pressure on the Mexican hierarchy to encourage their continued support for O.M.L. In December 1954, Lucey wrote to Márquez, bringing his attention to communication between Cicognani and Cardinal Adeodato Piazza of the Vatican's Sacred Consistorial Congregation "relative to the difficulties which we have been encountering in obtaining the services of Mexican missionary priests for Spanish-speaking workers in American agriculture." Lucey noted that "his Eminence expressed confidence that these difficulties would be overcome" and proposed meeting Márquez in Mexico City to discuss the difficulties. Diplomatically, Lucey praised the "excellent" work of the Mexican missionary priests, which was "greatly appreciated by the American Bishops." "We hope," he urged, "that far from permitting it to grow less, we may by prayer and diligent action cause this work to grow and increase for the salvation of souls."[70] Lucey's efforts seemed to have borne fruit, as the intake of around twenty-five priests per year for O.M.L. was steady for the remainder of the 1950s, but by this time, even his desire to expand the program appears to have waned. However, by the late 1950s, it was evident that Lucey's guidance of the committee had led them toward consistent and robust expressions of concern for the worker that went far beyond fears of Protestant proselytism.

Miguel Dario Miranda, who led the C.E.M. committee tasked to study the Bracero problem, presented his findings and suggestions in front of the C.E.M. in October of 1955. Five resolutions came from this. First, the Episcopal Committee needed to present the problem to the S.C.C. as soon as possible to receive instructions on how best to move forward. If the S.C.C. did not respond, following instructions from the Apostolic Delegate, Mexican priests would continue to provide religious assistance for the Braceros. Next, the C.E.M. needed to appoint two representatives from the Mexican

70. See, "A Preliminary Report on the Work of Mexican 'Chaplains' for Migrants in the Michigan Area," 1953, stored in U.N.D.A. box 19, folder 6. Report to the American Hierarchy on the work of the Regional Office of the B.C.S.S., November 17, 1954, stored in U.N.D.A.; C.L.U.C., box 13, folder 8.

hierarchy to hold conversations with representatives from the U.S. hierarchy, furthering the Mexican-U.S. collaboration. In response to *Exsul Familia*, Miranda highlighted the need to appoint a national delegate of missionary priests. The C.E.M. nominated and approved Javier Hernández (bishop of Chilapa) to carry this out. Finally, considering previous experiences, and to be as productive as possible, the C.E.M. resolved to create a spiritual preparation guide to the next cohort of priests attending the Braceros.[71]

In 1955, the Seventh Regional Congress between the U.S. and the Mexican Hierarchy commenced, centering around their plan for Braceros. Several conclusions emerged, which were then sent to Cardinal Secretary Domenico Tardini.[72] First, the agreement between North American and Mexican governments would be extended for another season. At the same time, a committee of United States senators and deputies would study the problem of all work in the fields, trying to find a permanent policy for field workers, who were primarily disorganized and who had very little de facto protection from existing legislation. Since many farmworkers provided their services on ranches that were, in fact, factories, they argued that farmworkers should have the same protection as other factory workers in terms of wage hours, social security, and the right to organize. In addition, the Bishop's Council for the Spanish Speaking urged its members in the Southwest to actively support legislation and organization in favor of the Spanish-speaking peasant workers.[73] Since migrant farmworkers frequently did not vote, were disorganized, and were poorly protected by law, the B.C.S.S. recommended its members to form local committees of citizens to represent the interests of those same citizens. Even if foreign labor was necessary for the U.S. economy during World War II, it was a mistake to make this temporary solution a permanent problem, according to the Seventh Regional Congress. In addition, the U.S. and Mexican Bishops agreed that a newsletter be distributed to its members to report on the progress of O.M.L. In this context, despite the protracted struggle to launch and sustain the cross-border Mexican apostolate, the program became increasingly irrelevant and obsolete, and needed to be reformed to match the changing conditions of laborers on the border.

For moral, social, and philosophical reasons, it appears O.M.L. was no longer appropriate for the Mexican Church's apostolate. Apostolic Dele-

71. Minutes from C.E.M., October 13–15. 1955, stored in A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 535.

72. Minutes from C.E.M., October 13–15. 1955, stored in A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 535.

73. Letter from Angel Gonzalez to the C.E.M., August 10, 1955, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 160, fasc. 824.

gate Piani reiterated this feeling, writing to the C.E.M. on October 13, 1955, to create a permanent organization tasked with following Mexican Catholics living abroad.[74] This organization would represent Mexican Catholics on an international stage and coordinate with the Mexican hierarchy. He discussed the problems of the modern world that were "contaminating" Catholics, including Protestant heresy and other spiritual ills, calling upon priests to be the first line of defense against its spread in the communities. Just as Pope Pius XII called for reform of consciousnesses, he [Piani] called for an intense campaign for the sanctification of the clergy, beginning with the revision of the spiritual ministry to the Braceros to be more effective.[75] Writing on behalf of the S.C.C., Piazza responded to the C.E.M. in early 1956, asking for an effort to increase influence, not on the lower migrant classes but the intellectual class, saying, "These people are more pliable to the whims of the hierarchy and can exert a considerable amount of influence on society and civil wellbeing."[76] In addition to setting up social centers to apply Catholic social doctrine, this meeting developed a manual for missionary priests that departed to tend to these people.[77]

At a national level, by 1960, sixteen Mexican priests attended to the Braceros for twelve-to-sixteen week stretches, hardly adequate for a Bracero population that year of more than 315,000, not to mention a probably higher number of unauthorized workers.[78] Articles posted in newspapers in Mexico and around the American Southwest highlighted the sheer dearth of priests tending to the Braceros. One priest working out of California estimated that less than five percent of Mexican nationals had a chance to attend Catholic Mass. Priests moved from grower to grower, region to region, crop to crop, and stayed in the State as short a time as forty-five days or for as long as eight months, the length of the entire crop

74. Letter from Piani to the C.E.M., October 13, 1955, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 535.

75. Letter from Piani to the C.E.M., October 13, 1955, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 535.

76. Letter from the S.C.C. to the C.E.M., February 16, 1956, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 118, fasc. 535.

77. Letter from the S.S.M. to Cardinal Adeolato Piazza, December 4, 1956, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 119, fasc. 543.

78. Manuel Garcia y Griego, "The Importation of Mexican Contract Laborers to the United States, 1942–1964," in: David G. Gutiérez, *Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Wilmington, DE, 1996), 45–85. Joyce Vialet, "Temporary worker programs, background and issues: a report, Congressional Research Service, prepared for the Senate Committee on the Judiciary" (1980), accessed March 3, 2023, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d00817043c&view=1up&seq=1.

cycle.[79] Those who did attend to these labor camps often led mission churches—equipped with trailer chapels. Most, however, only carried a mass kit with them, offering Mass as early as 3:30 AM and as late as 8:00 PM. Relying on local parishioners for transportation, priests moved from camp to camp, holding Mass or evening services for whomever would attend. With as few as twenty to thirty U.S. priests per several thousand Braceros, priests spread their efforts so thin that migrants remarked that they were "here today, gone tomorrow."[80] In a 1960 meeting between the episcopate's migrant affairs committee and U.S. Catholic leaders, participants agreed that American priests would come to Mexico to learn Spanish and the "mentality of the Mexican people." The C.E.M. developed a standardized policy for the exchange of priests, in which bishops in both sending and receiving areas were required to give their authorization.

The slow bureaucratic process was resisted by parish priests, seeking the right to make brief visits North without authorization by the hierarchy. For instance, Vatican officials made it clear that without prior authorization, no national or international charitable organization was allowed to collect money or aid outside of their country, limiting priests to only collect money in Mexico.[81] The hierarchy drew further regulations for long-term exchanges of priests between the United States and Mexico in 1969, 1985, and 1991.[82] In the minds of Mexican Catholic leaders, the Mexican hierarchy's efforts weren't sufficient at ameliorating the profound problems of the Bracero Program. The Mexican Church hierarchy claimed that between 1942–1957, the Bracero Program caused the dissolution of one million Mexican families. And the Braceros were only part of the migration of Mexican workers to the United States. For example, there were only 4.6 million Bracero contracts, but 5 million apprehensions by the U.S. Border Patrol from 1942–1964.

Conclusion

Father Álvarez was not only a chaplain in Ventura County, California during the latter half of the Bracero Program. In addition to preaching for

79. Ted Le Berthon, "The Church and the Bracero," *The Catholic Worker*, 24, no. 2, (September 1, 1957), 6–8.

80. Ted Le Berthon, "The Church and the Bracero," *The Catholic Worker*, 24, no. 2 (September 1, 1957), 6–8.

81. Letter from Montini to Luis María Martínez, July 16, 1947, stored in Vatican City, A.A.V., busta 81, fasc. 424.

82. For post-Bracero Program migration, see Jesus Arroyo Alejandre de León Arias, *Migración rural hacia Estados Unidos: Un estudio rural de Jalisco* (Mexico City, 1991); Cámara and Van Kemper, ed., *Migration Across Frontiers* (New York, 1979).

his mobile apostolate, he created two radio programs: one called "La Voz Guadalupana" that was broadcasted over two local stations, as well as a daily talk radio program in nearby Santa Paula, California. The programs, predominantly funded through donations by the Braceros themselves, offered spiritual guidance, sermons, as well as Catholic-centered news updates. In an interview about these new programs, Álvarez expressed that the greatest value of his work overall was "the testimony it gives men that the Church has their welfare at heart, even when they are in a strange land."[83]

Father Álvarez's story exemplifies the two major priorities that guided Mexican Catholic policy during the Bracero Program: providing pastoral and material needs as well as advocating for fellow Catholics. At the behest of the Mexican Hierarchy and through sustained efforts by Archbishop Lucey, the Mexican Church experimented with a cross-border apostolate of Mexican "Bracero priests" designed to provide spiritual and material support to migrating laborers with access to the sacraments, mass, and spiritual guidance. Despite the stated goals of transnational cooperation between Episcopates, in practice, both the U.S. and Mexican episcopates struggled to share responsibility for Bracero spiritual accompaniment due to its inability to go beyond a nation-centered pastoral model. Ultimately, national politics both within the Church and the Mexican and U.S. governments, as well as efforts to ensure the stability of the Mexican Catholic Church as an institution, constrained both episcopates from fully achieving their goals to tackle this migratory stream. By examining Operation Migratory Labor (O.M.L.), this article shows how intertwined the institutional and pastoral concerns of the Mexican Catholic Hierarchy were during the 1940s and 1950s.

Given that bishops are not monolithic in their thinking and hold differing priorities and opinions, additional research could examine the motivations of individual bishops in their responses towards migration. Likewise, the lived experiences of these Bracero-Priests has only begun to be resurrected from the historical narrative. For instance, the Bracero History Archive has compiled oral histories from those who lived and worked during the Bracero Era and has only begun to be mined. These appear to be good potential avenues for further research on this matter.

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83. Al Antczak, "His Rectory An Auto, Parish a Country, As Priest Cares for Migrant Workers from Mexico," October 1, 1956, 4–5, stored by the Catholic Research Resource Alliance, online archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=cns19561001-01.1.68&srpos=6&e=————-en-20—1-byDA-txt-txIN-Bracero————-, accessed September 13, 2021.

Review Essay

Guillaume Cuchet on Catholicism in France: Sentiment, Eclecticism, Collapse, and Future

Stephen Schloesser, S.J.*

Le Catholicisme a-t-il encore de l'avenir en France? By Guillaume Cuchet. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2021. Pp. 256. 21,00 €. ISBN 9782021472745.)

Une histoire du sentiment religieux au XIXe siècle. By Guillaume Cuchet. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2020. Pp. 424. 24,00 €. ISBN 9782204135023.)

Comment notre monde a cessé d'être chrétien. Anatomie d'un effondrement. By Guillaume Cuchet. (Paris: Points, 2020 [Éditions du Seuil, 2018]. Pp. 288. 8,80 €. ISBN 9782757877623.)

Le Crépuscule du purgatoire. Le souci du salut dans les mentalités catholiques (XIXe–XXe siècles). By Guillaume Cuchet. (Paris: Points, 2020 [Armand Colin, 2005]. Pp. 448. 11,00 €. ISBN 978-2757881118.)

Guillaume Cuchet is a professor of contemporary history at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne specializing in the history of religions. Although Cuchet has been a prolific scholar over the past twenty years, his visibility has grown exponentially following his 2018 book provocatively titled *How Our World Ceased Being Christian: Anatomy of a Collapse*. (His pinpointing 1965 as the decisive turning moment—the year of Vatican II's closure—has been enthusiastically embraced by the Council's critics.) In 2020, along with a new pocket edition of that work, two other books were republished: a pocket edition of his first monograph surveying *The Twilight of Purgatory* (2005); and a revised enlarged edition of *Faire de l'histoire religieuse dans une société sortie de la religion* (*Doing Religious History in a Society Exiting from Religion*, 2013), the title playing on Marcel Gauchet's thesis of Western Christianity as representing a "religion of exit [or departure] from religion" (*la religion de la sortie de la religion*). In

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2021, Cuchet published a collection of essays (serving as a sequel to the 2018 blockbuster) posing the anxious question: *Does Catholicism Still Have a Future in France*? As Cuchet (b. 1973) arrives this year at his half-century mark, he is widely associated with contemporary anxieties about Catholicism's future fate, both within and beyond France.

Although Cuchet's unusually broad range of interests resists synthesis, a useful entry point is the prism of cultural attitudes toward death. Cuchet's historical method is indebted to Philippe Ariès (1914–84), a towering postwar medievalist who applied the Annales school's "*histoire des mentalités*" (lit. "history of attitudes") to the history of private life. In a recent interview, Cuchet invoked Ariès's work, most notably *The Hour of Our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes Toward Death over the Last One Thousand Years* (1977; tr. 1980). "Religious history," remarked Cuchet, "is, from one perspective, a derivative of the history of attitudes toward death, and hence also towards life." ("I came to history by way of Philippe Ariès," he quipped, "and I have kept the birthmarks!") This entry point helps synthesize Cuchet's varied interests—from his 2002 doctoral dissertation on attitudes toward the doctrine of purgatory from 1850–1935 to his study a decade later of nineteenth-century spiritualism, seances, and the use of table-turning to access spirits of the deceased. (See Cuchet, *Les Voix d'outre-tombe: Tables tournantes, spiritisme et société au XIXe siècle* [*Voices from Beyond the Grave: Turning-Tables, Spiritualism, and Society in the 19th Century*], 2012.)

Cuchet's most recent monograph surveys *A History of Religious Sentiment in the Nineteenth Century: Religion, Culture and Society in France, 1830–1880*. While the title calls to mind Henri Bremond's monumental twelve-volume *A Literary History of Religious Sentiment in France from the End of the Wars of Religion Up To the Present* (1916–1936), it also evokes one of the most influential novels of the nineteenth century, Gustave Flaubert's *Sentimental Education* (1869). Beginning already with the late-eighteenth-century reaction against Enlightenment rationalism (and industrial revolution), Romanticism exalted sentiment, feeling, and emotion. (Flaubert famously noted in 1864: "I want to write the moral history [*l'histoire morale*] of the men of my generation—'sentimental' [« *sentimentale* »] would be more accurate.") Arguing against common conceptions of the nineteenth century as an era of religious decline (or even disappearance) in the face of rationalism and scientific positivism, Cuchet instead surveys a fifty-year period (1830–80) of creative religious ferment that waxed and waned, ebbed and flowed in tandem with turning points of political fortunes.

Up until the July Revolution of 1830, "Catholicism still lived largely on its heritage from the Ancien Régime." Even as it was re-founded after the Revolution by those formed in the eighteenth century, Catholicism still imagined "a time when it could be restored to its previous state" (pp. 21–22). Around 1880, at the opposite end of Cuchet's timeline, theology underwent a neo-scholastic "re-professionalization" following the First Vatican Council (1869–70), the beginning of Leo XIII's papacy (1878), and most acutely the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879). Even as theology became more technical and scholarly, it also became "more disconnected and less in contact with its time" (p. 22).

Between these two endpoints, Cuchet also notes that the years 1850-70 (beginning with the 1850 Falloux Law) were dominated by recurring clashes between "liberals" and "intransigents." He colorfully observes that this undeniable ideological division has "somewhat hypnotized historiography," and encourages focusing attention instead on the less predetermined and predictable "diversity of constitutive areas of Catholicism, the conditions of transaction with the modern world, their social interests, dominant ideas, its emotions (*affectivité*), its pedagogies, its fashions" (p. 22). Viewed from this standpoint, it often turns out that the "moderns" were not those we might reflexively assume.

Cuchet divides his study into three parts: "Portraits" (pp. 25–181), "Debates" (pp. 183–291), and "Tendencies" (pp. 293–393). "Portraits" features four persons with eclectic makeups now largely forgotten to time. In Chapter 1, Jean Reynaud (1806–63) represents the "democratic theologian and laicist saint." A French mining engineer, Saint-Simonian socialist philosopher, and co-founder of the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, Reynaud shared his contemporaries' critical views of the doctrine of hell as "barbaric" and "medieval." By contrast, the doctrine of purgatory—which made a great comeback in 1855–60 (the early Second Empire)—responded (in Reynaud's words) "to the most generous and elevated aspirations of human thought" (p. 41). Reynaud also shared his epoch's fascination with reincarnation and interstellar metempsychosis, a vogue spurred by discoveries of Brahmanism and Buddhism earlier in the century (pp. 55–60).

In Chapter 2, "mystical eclecticism" is represented by Alphonse Gratry (1805–72), Catholic priest, Sorbonne theology professor, and member of the Académie Française (occupying Voltaire's one-time seat). (Compare *Penser le christianisme au XIXe siècle* [*Thinking About Christianity in the Nineteenth Century*, 2017], Cuchet's edited collection of Gratry's "Journal of My Life" and other texts). In sharp contrast to co-religionists

who belittled the value of speculative reason, Gratry instead feared skepticism in philosophy: "The world lacks reason more than religion" (p. 76). Gratry defended a paradoxical conception of mystical reason, a "force that seeks faith" grounded in the "intimate feeling" (*sens intime*) the mind has of God and its final destination (pp. 78, 79). His blockbuster *On the Knowledge of God* (1855) was an extended argument against scientific positivism (cf. Auguste Comte's *Course in Positive Philosophy* [1830–42] and *General View of Positivism* [1848]). Surviving sales figures show that, between 1853 and 1857—i.e., during the years of bitter ideological opposition between "liberals" and "intransigents"—the eclectic Gratry was one of the best-selling religious authors (p. 87). Perhaps not surprisingly, a quarter-century prior to *Aeterni Patris*, Gratry was one of the first voices insisting on the necessity of retrieving Thomas Aquinas—Aquinas who was "unknown to us, because he is too large" (p. 85).

In Chapter 3, Henri Perreyve (1831–65) represents the "liberal theologian" with friends like Henri Lacordaire (1802–61), Frédéric Ozanam (1813–53), and Charles de Montalembert (1815–70). An Oratorian priest and Sorbonne church history professor, Perreyve admired fellow Oratorian John Henry Newman whose approach to doctrinal "development" had shown that "Catholicism was capable of evolving and adapting to new times" (p. 122). Perreyve's premature death at age thirty-four, just six months after Pius IX's publication of the *Syllabus of Errors* (December 1864), strikes Cuchet as a symbol of the "failure" or at least the "extremely embryonic character" of French liberal theology in the mid-nineteenth century (p. 135).

Chapter 4 investigates the phenomenal popular reception of *On Life and Christian Virtues Considered in the Religious State* (1874) by Charles Gay (1815–92), regarded by contemporaries as an archetypally modern "mystic of the nineteenth century," ascetical theologian, and eventually bishop who attended Vatican Council I. Cuchet highlights Gay's sympathetic readings of François Fénelon (1651–1715), the archbishop associated with seventeenth-century quietism. At the same time, Gay—yet another promoter of purgatory—was thoroughly rooted in the culture of his own century. Describing Gay's literary style marked by "a certain Romantic pathos, restrained yet sensitive at times to the 'anguish' and despair' of the contemporary soul with almost Kierkegaardian accents" (p. 157), Cuchet draws a counterintuitive conclusion. In matters of spirituality, sometimes the most daring of anti-modernists—either because of their anti-Jansenism (i.e., promoting sentiment and emotions) or for pastoral reasons—unexpectedly ended up sharing the most in common with the

affectivity that marks modernity (*l'affectivité moderne*) (pp. 159, 160). The "Portraits" section concludes with Chapter 5, a departure from the previous four largely unremembered figures. It recounts the celebrated Victor Hugo (1802–85), here in a lesser-known role as spiritualist and necromant, motivated by profound grief over the tragic death of his daughter Léopoldine, drowned at age nineteen in the Seine River.

"Debates," the book's second part, has three chapters with themes more self-evident than "Portraits." Chapter 6, "A Forgotten Theological Revolution," recalls the significant shift in 1850s Catholic discourse about the number of "elect" [*élus*] chosen for salvation—a shift from few to many. Chapter 7 treats the controversy over "historical naturalism" between the years 1856 and 1860. Chapter 8 asks whether there was "A First Wave of Neo-Buddhism in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century?"

"Tendencies," the book's third part, has four chapters, again with more self-evident themes. Chapter 9 surveys the "Saint Sulpician" turn in the 1850s in both publications of pietistic literature and the outpouring of particular devotions and mass-produced devotional objects. Dismissed by religious elites as sentimental kitsch, Cuchet asks instead whether religion's entry into this "first age of mass culture" should be interpreted as reflecting a "spiritual revolution." Chapter 10 investigates "The Religion of Mourning and Communication with the Beyond." Topics include the shift in terms from the timeworn "heaven" (*ciel*) to the more evocative "beyond" (*l'au-delà*), the cult of the dead, heightened devotion toward purgatory, and the birth of spiritualism. In Chapter 11, Cuchet considers Blessed Frédéric Ozanam's (dates above) approach to religion, sickness, and death as a "witness to the history of attitudes toward death" (note here citations of Ariès, pp. 342–43, 356, 357–58). Like Perreyve, Ozanam died prematurely, and the reader of Ozanam's correspondence "cannot help but be struck, at first sight, by the omnipresence of mentions of death" (p. 344). For Cuchet, Ozanam's brief life in the century's first half represents a transitional spiritual figure, "traditional enough" in his theology but "already modern in his affectivity" (*déjà moderne par son affectivité*) (p. 362). Chapter 12 concludes the book with "Esotericism and Revolutions. Insurgents and Initiates in 1848." The mid-century resurgence of the esoteric, located within the larger context of 1848's social revolutions, suggests a surprising link between the "double interest" of religion and politics.

What connections might be drawn between Cuchet's nineteenth and twentieth centuries? An important bridge may be found in Cuchet's *The Twilight of Purgatory. Anxiety of Salvation in Catholic Mentalities*

(Nineeenth-Twentieth Centuries), reprinted in 2020 in a pocket edition. The title consciously echoes *The Birth of Purgatory* (1981; tr. 1986), the seminal work by Jacques Le Goff (1924–2014), a towering figure (like Ariès) of the French Annales school. Le Goff argued that the "birth" of purgatory, catalyzed by incipient capitalism's first stirring, offered a sort of safety valve for Christian usurers. At the other end of purgatory's long career, Cuchet argues that its twilight (*le crépuscule*) began following the catastrophe of the Great War (1914–18). In light of the massacre of millions of youth in indescribable misery—a veritable hell on earth—it became difficult to believe in yet more purgative suffering after death, especially for the war's venerated sacrificed generation.

This massive shift in attitudes toward death prefigures a more overarching one Cuchet identifies at the conclusion of *How the World Ceased to be Christian*. There he underscores a "crisis of preaching" about the traditional "four last things" (*fins dernières*)—Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. This crisis placed in question "The End of Salvation?" ("*La fin du salut?*") itself—playing on the meanings of *fin* ("end") as both conclusion (end of the line) and teleological aim (end-in-view). Although Cuchet traces the trajectory of this "crisis of preaching" back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he sees its twentieth-century form as having been latent since at least 1939–45—yet another experience of hell on earth. It then shot up to the surface in the 1960s following the Algerian War (1954–62), France's traumatic analogue to the USA's Vietnam and the USSR's Afghanistan. While Cuchet's specification of the year 1965 as the definitive turning point in French Catholicism's "collapse" relies on multiple evidentiary sources, his fundamental *mentalités* method maintains this linkage: the study of religious history as derivative from the history of attitudes toward death. Hence, the deeply destabilizing effects of the end of preaching about the four final things implicitly deriving from "The End of Salvation?"

Finally, these same tropes recur in Cuchet's anxious interrogation published during Covid: *Does Catholicism Still Have a Future in France?* (2021). This collection of essays (including some previously published) opens with one about the "baby boomer" generation. Their disappearance announces the question: "How to Die Without Believing?" This essay is immediately followed by "The Ideal of a Light Death"—*légère* meaning "light" in the sense of lightened, simplified, less weighted or freighted—a look at "transformations of the contemporary funerary scene." Today's scene mirrors the eclectic juxta-positions Cuchet finds in the nineteenth century: seeming contradictions that nevertheless coexist with relative ease

and lack of self-conscious reflection or anxiety. The nineteenth-century Buddhism vogue makes a twentieth-century return in "The Buddha is More Popular than Jesus," an essay investigating the "new Western quietism." In yet another essay, in spite of Vatican II's "de-diabolization," the devil's retreat from the popular imagination has been slow and delayed. (Compare today's contemporary vampire craze.)

Does Catholicism have a future in France and beyond? Cuchet's strict attention to chronology, periodization, and non-linear development keeps the door ajar. Just as ninetenth-century religiosity's eclecticism defied determinism and predictability, so too does the globalized postmodern hybridity. Cuchet concludes his essay "Spiritual but not Religious?" with a subtle nod recalling the quietism of both the nineteenth-century Gay and the seventeenth-century Fénelon. Although no one can predict with certainty the future of the twenty-first century's new quietism, "one thing is sure: our religious history is not finished" (p. 96).

Book Reviews

General and Miscellaneous

The "Sense of the Faith" *in History: Its Sources, Reception, and Theology*. By John J. Burkhard, OFM Conv. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press Academic. 2022. Pp. xiv, 442. $59.95. ISBN: 9780814666890).

John Burkhard taught ecclesiology at the Washington Theological Union from the 1990s until the Union's closure in 2015, with service as its President in 2006 and 2008–09. Theologians will know Burkhard's ample bibliographies of post-Vatican Council II studies of the *sensus fidei* published in *Heythrop Journal* in 1993, 2005, and 2006. The volume reviewed here is also extensive bibliographically, offering a chronological list of nearly 400 studies of the *sensus* from 1940 to 2000.

The importance of Burkhard's work rests on the centrality of the *sensus fidei* in Vatican II's teaching, as brought out recently in several passages of Ormond Rush's theological *summa* of the Council, *The Vision of Vatican II* (Liturgical Press, 2019). For the *sensus fidei* is a key dimension of a basic theological principle of the Council, namely, faith's graced adherence to God's saving revelation. The *sensus* is the capacity, sometimes called an "instinct," given by the Holy Spirit's "anointing" (1 John 2: 20.27), to enable the believer and the believing community to lay hold of God's word in its true meaning while dismissing inauthentic versions. It is at the heart of living faith in personal adherence, penetration of revealed meaning, and the application of God's word to life in the Lord (so, *Lumen gentium* 12, also 35, with *Dei verbum* 8, and *Gaudium et spes* 44 and 62).

In ten substantial chapters, Burkhard presents the history of treatments of the *sensus fidei* in Catholic teaching, both by theologians and the magisterium, beginning with scattered references to doctrines held by an unexplained "sense of the church" both before Trent and in that council's decrees. Learned accounts treated the *sensus* in nineteenth-century works by Johann Adam Möhler, Giovanni Perrone, and John Henry Newman, with its importance being sealed by Pope Pius IX's consultation of the Catholic people's *consensus* in adhering in faith to Mary's Immaculate Conception, as a step to the dogmatic definition of 1854. In the twentieth century, two Dominicans treated the *sensus*, first as a major factor in doctrinal development (Francisco Marin-Sola) and then as the instinctive wisdom of the believer's graced sensibility (Mannes D. Koster). After the dogmatic definition of Mary's Assumption in 1950, the Alsatian Redemptorist Clément Dillenschneider promoted attention to the *sensus fidei* while relating it to the Church's *lex orandi*, while Yves Congar's *Lay People in the Church* (originally 1953) situated the *sensus* in God's spiritual endowment of the whole Church to enable it to carry out its share in Christ's prophetic office.

Burkhard relates the *iter* of the *sensus fidei* through the labors of Vatican Council II, beginning textually with a later chapter of the 1962 schema *De ecclesia*, which contrasted public opinion in the Church with the grace-effect that enables the believing people to respond obediently to proposed teaching and understand its meaning. In early 1963 a transformed ecclesiology schema located the *sensus* in a new second chapter on the whole people of God, who are indefectible in believing, taught and anointed as they are by God (Jn. 6:45; 1 Jn. 2:20.27), for carrying out in the world Christ's offices of priest, prophet, and royal servant. The *aula* discussion of 1963 led to several refinements now in *Lumen gentium* 12, which distinguishes sharply the one *sensus* of all believers from the great variety of charisms for special callings, with the former leading believers to adhere to what is truly the word of God (1 Thes. 2:13), both grasping its depths and applying it more completely in life.

Burkhard treats the reception of Vatican II's doctrine of the *sensus fidei* in several venues, as in ecumenical dialogue documents, in the new codes of Catholic canon law, in papal teaching, especially by John Paul II and Francis, and in the admonitory *Donum veritatis* of 1990 issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Something of a climax comes with the International Theological Commission's comprehensive study-document of 2014, "*Sensus Fidei* in the Life of the Church." In a final more reflective chapter, Burkhard assembles "components of a possible synthesis," while leaving the work itself of synthesis to those who are well prepared by following the grand narrative of his work.

A reviewer has to express gratitude to Father Burkhard for his sustained work across the ample field of this problematic. Theological students, teachers, and educated lay readers will gain much by study of what he offers. Some sections are a bonus, in excurses from the main narrative, for example, by moving from the Marian dogma of 1854 into reporting recently developed accounts of the fall and original sin, or similarly, from treating Mary's bodily Assumption into surveying new views of the passage into God that is human death.

Along the way, however, the present reviewer experienced some desires not fulfilled by the narrative, which in many places is really describing a great *ressourcement* process concerning God's grace given the believer and the church. But works of biblical theology, say, of the Johannine "anointing which teaches" (1 Jn. 2:20.27), do not appear in the book. From the First Vatican Council, one misses even a brief treatment of the Constitution *Dei Filius*, with its several brief references to the grace-dimension of divine revelation's coming to be personally possessed by faith's assent. Typically, when Burkhard treats Vatican II's 1963 revised *De ecclesia*, in par. 24 on the *sensus*, he gives no account of the dense set of biblical and patristic references, given in the schema's backnotes to illustrate and ground the new text which gained the hearty approval of the Council Fathers (see Vatican II's *Acta Synodalia*, vol. II/1, pp. 259 and 265–66). These issues point to a work of further penetration of the *sensus fidei*, for which this book prepares its readers well.

Colombiere Center, Clarkston, Michigan JARED WICKS, S.J.

The History of Galilee, 1538–1949: Mysticism, Modernization, and War. By Matthew M. Silver. (Lanham: Lexington Books. 2022 Pp. ix, 391. $125.00. ISBN 978-1-7936-4942-3.)

The two-volume *History of Galilee* begins with the period 47 BC to 1260 AD: *From Josephus and Jesus to the Crusades* (Lexington Books, 2021) and the volume under review. The author, a professor of Jewish history and world history at the Max Stern Yezreel Valley College and the University of Haifa, presents this work "based on principles of liberal humanism and inter-faith dialogue" (p. 5). This volume moves from sixteenth-century Kabbalistic mysticism in Safed to "the 1948 events known as Israel's War of Independence or the Palestinian Nakba" (p. 1). Silver notes ". . . Galilee's history attains singular import in world history as the place where monotheism multiplied" (p. 1).

The prominence of Galilee in Jewish thought relates to the centers of study developed after the disastrous result of two revolts against the Romans. Unable to return to Jerusalem, Jewish scholars founded academies in Galilee. In medieval Spain the life of Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai (Rashbi), a hero of the second revolt (132–135 AD), was idealized. Scholars in the mystical traditions of Judaism looked to Rashbi as their hero. As healer and martyr he was portrayed in ways that seem to provide an equivalent to Jesus of Nazareth. Tracing Jewish mystical teachings to this period, the *Zohar* (Book of Splendor) was attributed to him. With their imagined background of Galilee, Spanish Jewish mystics prepared for Jews exiled from Spain to return to the area where Rashbi was buried. In the Sixteenth century the mystical traditions developed by Isaac Luria, linked with Joseph Karo's *Set Table* of Jewish Law, exercised enormous influence on Jews of Europe.

The chapter "Ottoman Galilee" begins with the rule of a Druze prince Emir Fakhr al-Din about 1622. He paid tribute to the Ottoman empire but, facing its army and navy, he fled to Florence under Medici auspices. He dreamed of leading a crusade to recover his dominance in Palestine. The Franciscans are mentioned in this context, for the only time in this book. Captured by the Ottomans, Fakhr al-Din was executed in 1635.

Orthodox Jews from eastern Europe and from within the Ottoman Empire became immigrants to Safed and Tiberias. They included members of Hasidic communities, followers of the Baal Shem Tov.

Chapter 3, "The Quest for Historical Galilee," portrays the increasingly secular images of Jesus in his home region. Silver reviews the works of David F. Strauss, Ernest Renan, and Albert Schweitzer's evaluation of this quest. Silver includes Abraham Geiger, founder of Reform Judaism, and Heinrich Graetz, for whom Jesus was a country yokel pitted against the sophisticated teachers in Jerusalem. The review of the last century moves from Joseph Klausner's 1922 "biography" of Jesus to Richard Horsley and John Hanson's *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs* (1985) and Reza Aslan's *Zealot* (2013). Silver follows Horsley to question "[t]he pertinence of

Zealotry to the specific period of Jesus's life in Galilee, its impetus, and its scope" (p. 201). In contrast to European gentiles, "Americans have had a manifest tendency to see the Holy Land, its past and ongoing development, through their own American frames" (p. 202). Silver reviews the Protestant "lives of Jesus" in the nineteenth century and then looks at "the American pilgrimage scene in Israel today" (p. 204). Protestants are not impressed with the traditional shrines (in the hands of Orthodox and Catholic clergy) but seek "the fifth Gospel in Galilee" (p. 210), where these pilgrims feel most at home (p. 228).

Chapter 4, "Zionist Pioneering Galilee," describes the migration of Jews, especially from Eastern Europe, with return to the land to develop its agricultural potential, with less emphasis on piety than earlier immigrants had.

Chapter 5, "The Fight for Galilee, 1948," begins with mini-biographies of a prominent Arab fighter, Fawzi al-Qawuqii, a native of Tripoli and leader of the Arab Liberation Army, and a Jewish native of Galilee, Yigal Allon, leader of Palmah, a unit of the Israeli army that showed an independent streak. This approach offers a personal dimension to the War of Independence, known from the other side as the Nakha (catastrophe).

Silver hopes that the tragedies of the past will not prevail over choices that "the better, shared side of their heritages will inspire them to make" (p. 351). The book has a helpful glossary, a bibliography, and an index.

Seton Hall University LAWRENCE FRIZZELL

The Divine Plan: John Paul II, Ronald Reagan, and the Dramatic End of the Cold War. By Paul Kengor and Robert Orlando. (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books. 2019. Pp. 221. $19.21. ISBN: 9781610171540.)

When John Paul II was elected to the papacy in 1978, no one quite knew what to expect. This Polish Pope, the "man from a far country," as he called himself, was not well known outside the Catholic Church. The media were initially fascinated with him but only because he was a non-Italian pope. Some pundits predicted the beginning of liberal reforms in the Church, but they were obviously unfamiliar with John Paul II's writings or his reputation for theological orthodoxy. Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, an ethics professor at the Catholic University of Lublin, was a resolute defender of *Humanae Vitae* along with the traditional principles of Catholic morality.

No one, however, would have predicted that this philosopher-pope would be instrumental in ending the protracted cold war and dissolving the Soviet Union. *The Divine Plan* explores the consequential alliance between Pope John Paul II and Ronald Reagan who joined forces in this noble effort. The book is based on a documentary of the same name, and is structured as a play in five acts with these two major actors. The book's basic premise is that Divine Providence brought these two leaders together on the world stage so that they could rescue the world from com-

munism. Secular historians will not find this argument persuasive, but it will surely resonate with Catholic historians. What might be surprising for the latter group is that Ronald Regan saw himself as a "tool of God" for this memorable undertaking.

The Divine Plan devotes several instructive chapters to reviewing the symmetries between the lives of these two men. Both survived an assassination attempt within two months of each other. And both believed that they were spared by Divine Providence for a transcendent purpose. John Paul II was convinced that Our Lady of Fatima intervened to save his life. As he confided in an interview shortly before his death: this professional assassin certainly shot to kill, "yet it was as if someone was guiding and deflecting that bullet." There are other interesting parallels as well. Both men were actors—Reagan, of course, was a professional actor before he entered politics, and Wojtyla loved the stage as a young student. They shared similar political philosophies, with strong convictions about the "ideologies of evil," including communism. And these "kindred spirits" were known for their constructive optimism despite the traumas and challenges they encountered on their road to the world stage.

But how precisely did President Regan and John Paul II cooperate with each other in this common purpose? Reagan vigorously supported Poland's Solidarity Movement, calling for an end to the marital law that had been imposed on this "martyred nation" in the early 1980's. The partnership between President Reagan and John Paul II also included the exchange of classified intelligence. When Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power with promises of *glasnost* and *perestroika,* John Paul II and President Reagan seized the opportunity to convince him to unravel the oppressive Soviet system.

The Divine Plan is a gripping historical account of these events, even though we all know how the story will end. The book's provocative thesis about the role of divine providence in the flow of historical events is well worth pondering. As John Paul II often said, "In the designs of Providence there are no mere coincidences." In Hegel's *Vernunft in Geschichte,* where history is defined as the manifestation of the Absolute Spirit, the author refers to the "cunning of reason" (*List der Vernunft*). While history is not determined in any direction, it is possible to speak about the cunning of providence that coalesces with the free will of heroic men like John Paul II and Ronald Reagan.

Boston College Richard A. Spinello

Ancient

The Donatist Controversy, Volume I. Translated by Maureen Tilley and Boniface Ramsey, edited by Boniface Ramsey and David G. Hunter. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2019. Pp. 689. $89.00. ISBN: 9781565484047.)

The publication, in 2019, of the first volume of the Anti-Donatist works of Augustine was a significant, albeit late, step forward in the progress of *The Works of*

St. Augustine: A translation for the 21st Century. The volume was delayed by the illness of its translator, Maureen Tilley, and the completion of her unfinished work by Boniface Ramsey after her death. Three of the five texts presented appear in English for the first time; the other two were available only in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene* printing of the nineteenth century translation of J. R. King.

The translations are clear and, with a very few exceptions, accurate in conveying the meaning of Augustine and of the opponents he occasionally quoted. The notes are spare but helpful in guiding the reader through Augustine's allusions and contrasts of opposing positions. The scriptural references—especially for the Psalms—have been updated into modern usage, but their translation has respected the Latin versions used by the ancient authors (on which their arguments often depended). For the most part, the translation follows the most recent critical edition by Michael Petschenig, in CSEL 51–53, published in 1908–10. The manuscript tradition of *de baptismo* omits the texts of four of eighty-seven episcopal *sententiae* from the *acta* of the Council of Carthage in 256, upon which Augustine was commenting. Petschenig noted that Erasmus had supplied these four from the surviving text of *acta* of the council; he omitted them from his text of *On Baptism* because they were not included in its surviving manuscripts (CSEL 51:308, 309, 312). The editors of the French and Italian translations placed Erasmus's supplements in a note to their translation of *On Baptism*. Tilley inserted them into her text, with appropriate notation, in order to clarify Augustine's responses.

Infelicities in translation are infrequent and minor, usually resulting from the compact syntax and complex sentences of Augustine's Latin. However, the rendering of a paragraph of *Answer to the Letter of Parmenian* 1.4.9 (pp. 279–80) fails to communicate its counter-factual nature. The English translation does not use the subjunctive verb forms necessary to express what Augustine suggests would have been Parmenian's disapproval of the actions of his episcopal successor, had Parmenian still been alive (and, therefore, not yet had that successor). The translation of a sequence of interrogations that bridges pages 331–32 might have been made more successful by rearranging its parts to specify who is (supposed) to be speaking in each. Similarly, the Latin of the sentence bridging pages 520–21 seems to have resisted the—clearly evident—efforts of the translator. At the end of that paragraph, finally, an ambiguous ablative absolute construction may have been misconstrued. Augustine did not affirm that God gives the Holy Spirit *by* a murderous baptizer but rather *when* a murderer baptizes (p. 520). This distinction is important because of the role Augustine assigned to the unity of the holy Christians within the assembly in conveying the Holy Spirit to those being joined to their unity. Such lapses in the process of translation, no matter how carefully performed and repeatedly reviewed, are recognized generally as inevitable—not unlike Augustine's estimation of the sins of daily living.

The chronology adopted by Professor Tilley for some of these anti-Donatists writings has been challenged by scholars exploring the implications of Augustine's sermons recently discovered by François Dolbeau and by the results of analysis of

his *Tractates on the Gospel of John* initiated by Anne Marie LaBonnardière. As a result, Augustine's response to Parmenian's letter is now assigned to the winter of 403–404, followed immediately by the treatise *On Baptism* and the *Letter to Catholics*. The arguments for these decisions are detailed in Pierre-Marie Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne* (Paris, 2000), pp. 89–94, 189–93.

A series of interpretations of the Donatist controversy that Professor Tilley advanced in her scholarly work, and that were disputed by her colleagues, have been used in the notes to her introductions and translations. Three in particular might be signaled so that readers recognize that they are not generally accepted as accurate.

First, the Donatist claim that Caecilian's ordination as the bishop of Carthage was irregular because he should have been installed by another primate and, in particular, that of Numidia, (p. 35 n. 10) was rejected as unsupported by any documentary evidence, in Augustine's *Summary of the Meeting with the Donatists* (3.16.29). The necessary evidence remains undiscovered. For a fuller explanation, see *Christianity in Roman Africa* (Grand Rapids, 2014), pp. 47–48 n. 61, a study to which Professor Tilley collaborated extensively.

Second, the charge that Caecilian had abused Christian confessors during the Decian persecution (pp. 35 n. 11, 82 n. 15, 323 n. 82) is based on an account of the prosecution in Carthage of Christians from Abitina, whose translation is published in Professor Tilley's *Donatist Martyr Stories* (Liverpool, 1996). The historical implausibility of elements of that narrative has led many scholars to interpret it as a propaganda piece produced during the early fifth-century conflicts between Caecilianists and Donatists rather than as an historical report of events in the early fourth-century during the persecution of Christians under Diocletian. For a fuller explanation, see *Christianity in Roman Africa,* p. 101 n. 60.

Third, the explanation that Donatist clergy being received into service in the Caecilianist communion were subjected to penance in private rather than before the community in order to avoid the appearance of a repetition or replacement of an invalid ordination in the Donatist communion (p. 324, n. 83 and p. 393 n. 4) is speculative. It ignores the available evidence that the penitential ritual was avoided lest it injure the sacrament of orders already received by these Donatists and recognized as valid by the Caecilianists. The Caecilianist proposal for their purification of clergy from the prior sin of schism was focused on the efficacy of the intercessory prayer of the newly united congregations they would serve. The plan was introduced in a council in 393 and confirmed four years later in the *Brevarium Hipponensis* 37 (CCSL 149:42–43); it was repeated as an explanation of practice in Augustine's later *Contra Cresconium* 2.16.19 and late *Letter* 185.10.45. A private penitential ritual was initiated in this period but was offered only to protect penitents from admitting before a congregation a crime for which they could be prosecuted in imperial courts. When the sin was already widely known, such a private ritual of confession would not have been allowed. To foster the great good of the Church's unity, the converting bishops were accepted without a formal confession of their prior, public sin. The African bishops were guided in these decisions by the

canons of the Council of Nicaea, which may also be the source to which Augustine referred in support of the practice of accepting Donatist baptisms (in addition to that of Arles [314] which the Donatists disputed). For a fuller treatment of both issues, please see *Christianity in Roman Africa*, pp. 339–345, 390–91.

To fault the translator(s) and editors for these infrequent lapses in precision and prudence would involve gross ingratitude for a work that required and demonstrates such wide erudition and sustained labor. *The Works of St. Augustine for the 21st Century* was established by the extensive contributions of Maria Boulding, Edmund Hill, and Roland Teske; it has been carried forward by William Babcock, Joseph Lienhard, among many others. This volume—and the promise of its successor, whose completion was prevented by her death—place Maureen Tilley among these luminaries of scholarship and of service to a widely shared mission of understanding and interpretating the past for the sake of the present.

University of Notre Dame J. PATOUT BURNS, JR.

La saluberrima auctoritas del sinodo: il tracciato della sinodalitá al tempo di Agostino d'Ippona. By Giuseppe Di Corrado. (Trapani, Italy: Il Pozzo di Giacobbe. 2022. Pp. 165. €20,00. ISBN 978-88-6124-997-4).

The title of his book in English would be: *The Healthy Authority of the Synod: the Pathways of Synodality at the Time of Augustine of Hippo*. As noted by Cardinal Mario Grech, in the introduction to this book, this is an important work that will help the Roman Catholic Church find its path along the tortuous road of the third millennium. Grech is absolutely right.

As observed by the author, Giuseppe Di Corrado, reconstructing the history of the origins of synodality within the Church is not easy, as the early fathers did not keep records or have fixed rules and regulations about how these synods were to be convened and held. Therefore, even the *percursus* of constructing such a history represents a mammoth task. However, the end result is more than rewarding, for it can help today's Church establish the correct way of holding synods and what these synods should represent to the faithful of God.

Di Corrado has built his narrative step by step from snippets, and detailed references, to the administrative procedures from works of St. Augustine and other early fathers of the Church. No source has been ignored, including those considered controversial such as the works and letters of Pelagius. Even disputed theological treaties can furnish invaluable historical information. Nothing in history can or should ever be discarded.

What is of great interest here, and this is not only for those who study early church history but also for those interested in the development of democracy in Europe, is that this process of synodality began in North Africa. It was the work of the bishops in North Africa, starting with Augustine of Hippo—but not only Augustine—who established the Roman authority of the pope on the principle of collegiality.

Thanks to this process, Rome had left it in the hands of local bishops to regulate issues of discipline within their own dioceses. On their part, the bishops did not take matters into their hands but sought to regulate their actions through the governing body of the synod. The way these synods met was not much different from the way parliaments or Estates-General worked in Europe during Early Modern Times. What made these synods unique, and I would add precursors of modern parliaments, was the fact that the laymen had a right to attend and even to set and influence the synods' agenda. As happens in parliaments today, they were not allowed to sit with the elected who, in the case of the synods, were the priests and presbyterians; the rest stayed outside the presbytery.

At the same time, Di Corrado warns the reader that the synods should not be considered—as rightly stated by Pope Francis—to be a sort of church parliament. Synods were not held to confront theologians nor to set up policies but to bring reconciliation within the Church's fractured communities. This was to materialize through *auctoritas* or authority. This explains why authority is described as salubrious in this book. Therefore, *auctoritas* goes beyond the Foucauldian interpretation of power. The power of the Church, Di Corrado reminds us, should be employed differently from the power or *auctoritas* of the state. The power of the Church should be led by the Holy Spirit and the love toward one's neighbor.

Di Corrado's work reveals another interesting aspect that deserves attention. In this period of early Christianity, there was no concept of separation of powers. This is what the author of this book means when he states that the Church of Africa, in particular St. Augustine, upheld the principle that the ultimate power lay with the pope in Rome. In other words, in the Early Church, there were different concepts of power or *auctoritas* and the *auctoritas* of the pope in Rome was understood differently from the *auctoritas* of the synods. Therefore, those within the church, the author notes, who are seeing the synods as a tool of separation of authorities within the Church are making the wrong reading of history. This idea of no separation allowed the pope to interfere in all matters and aspects of religion. But what is interesting here is that it was not the popes who sought to interfere in local matters; indeed it was the bishops, through the synodal processes, who sought the direct intervention and guidance of the supreme pontiff.

What comes out strongly from this narrative is that the synods, and even church councils, were held primarily and exclusively to affirm unity within the Church. Secondly, there was no great difference in the manner early councils and synods were held. Synods were used to discipline priests and even bishops who were in error. Councils acted as a supreme authority over the pope and were employed to correct erring popes and, in the process, reinforced the figure of the pope not just as *primus inter pares* among bishops but as the overall authority within the Church.

In Augustine's views, the reference to music in the prodigal son's parable (Luke 15:26) expresses the way collegiality and synodality should work. Augustine

explains that synodality stands for the ability of those participating to listen to each other. As in a choir, a community needs to be in unison. It was this one voice that according to St Augustine gave the pope *auctoritas.* When a choir is not in unison, St. Augustine explains, there is cacophony.

Di Corrado arrived at these conclusions by analyzing the Latin texts and providing his own interpretations that sometimes differ from those already established on this subject of *auctoritas*, synods, and church councils. His interpretations are well grounded within the events that he recounts in this book, and therefore, his text is an indispensable tool for both the historians and the theologians who want to understand better the origins and function of the church synods. As rightly stated by Cardinal Grech, this historical analysis is worthy to be taken into account in the formation of the plan of action for the Church of today.

University of Malta SIMON MERCIECA

Penser la tolérance durant l'Antiquité tardive. By Peter Van Nuffelen. [Les conférences de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, 10.] (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 2018. Pp. 181. €16,00. ISBN: 9782204126489.)

The most important point of the many important points in Peter Van Nuffelen's study of toleration in Late Antiquity is that scholars (including, alas, the author of this review) err when we carelessly transfer modern concepts onto ancient texts, especially those that use the same words (such as "religious liberty") to mean very different things. We usually remember that there was no separation of Church and State in antiquity, but too often we forget that the ancient state could never be a neutral party in the same way that modern states can, because its purpose (at least theoretically) was to create virtuous citizens. Also unlike the modern state, the ancient one did not lay claim to a monopoly on the legitimate use of coercive force. Accordingly, the modern binary of toleration/repression does not accurately reflect ancient conditions.

Each of the four ensuing chapters enlarges on these introductory observations. Chapter One expands on the difference between ancient and modern ideas of toleration. Looking at texts from Tertullian in the second century to Themistius in the fourth, Van Nuffelen argues that orators put forth toleration not as a principle but as a rhetorical strategy built on long-standing views of the role of the state and the importance of divine support that both Christians and pagans shared. Especially because of the latter, emperors could not stand by when divinity (Christian or pagan) did not receive its due. Chapter Two takes on the assertion that Christianity stifled debate in Late Antiquity. To the contrary, a variety of texts from the second to the eighth century show the importance not only of debate but of the premium placed on providing rational argument. Christians like John Chrysostom even argued that authority without reason was not sufficient to justify faith (p. 82).

A key question is the subject of Chapter Three. If rational argument was the *sine qua non*, why did authorities turn to coercion when argument did not work?

For an answer, Van Nuffelen distinguishes between two groups. Philosophers and their followers had already made pursuit of virtue their highest goal, and therefore did not need further incentive. But the same was not the case for ordinary citizens. For them, the state was obligated to intervene, if only to remove obstacles to a more virtuous life. Failure to distinguish between these two groups leads to a false equivalence when comparing Christian and pagan ideas about coercion. Christian treatment of the laity may seem intolerant when compared with philosophers and other elites, but they are completely normal when compared with the state's obligation to remove obstacles to the moral improvement of ordinary citizens (in an epilogue, Van Nuffelen cites modern "sin taxes" on tobacco and alcohol as an example).

With the air cleared, Chapter Four turns specifically to the topic of religious violence. Here, Van Nuffelen takes on the argument that Christianizing the empire was fundamentally a violent process—an argument supported by focus on spectacular events like the murder of the philosopher Hypatia in 415, the closing of Plato's Academy in 529, and the destruction of pagan temples. Arguing that using the term "violence" for all such actions effectively homogenizes their causes, Van Nuffelen chooses to focus on two incidents as case studies: the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria in 391 and the conversion of the Jews on Minorca in 418. The destruction of the great temple quickly became a symbol of triumphant Christianity, but as Van Nuffelen points out the story told by Rufinus on which all other accounts rely, is contradictory and vague, and seems to have been written to reassure his readers that God would not abandon them in times of distress. His account cannot be accepted uncritically. As for Minorca, Van Nuffelen suggests that the letter written by Bishop Severus a year after the event, read carefully, does not celebrate the violent events, which included burning their synagogue to the ground, as the cause of the mass conversion of the island's Jews. To the contrary, it seems that he wrote defensively to head off a legal and moral backlash, and went to great lengths to characterize the conversions as the result of persuasion and miracles.

Van Nuffelen's knowledge is encyclopedic, and he musters his arguments carefully and persuasively. But, as the case of the Minorcans should indicate, his emphasis on the rhetorical context of violence can stretch the bounds of credulity. One wonders how a different pair of examples—say Ambrose of Milan's hectoring of Theodosius (also over the destruction of a synagogue) and Augustine's baleful reinterpretation of the meaning of "compel them to come in" (Luke 14, cf. Matt. 5) might have produced a different result. It is also reasonable to ask if the difference between ancient and modern understandings of toleration means comparison with the proper disclaimers is completely misleading. Documents can have significant impact beyond their original circumstances. A case in point is the "Edict of Milan," which Van Nuffelen argues (p. 51) is only significant for its clauses that restore property seized from Christians during the late persecution, despite other clauses that guarantee freedom of religion to all Romans and express a refreshing uncertainty about "whatever divinity there is in the seat of heaven"—a bit like saying Magna Carta was nothing more than a property dispute between King John and a handful of disgruntled barons.

But these are the types of questions that can be dealt with by rational argument, of the sort Van Nuffelen here celebrates. They pale in comparison to his major achievement, which is to lay bare the intellectual and cultural roots that shaped the thinking of both pagans and Christians in the ancient world.

University of California, Santa Barbara HAROLD A. DRAKE

MEDIEVAL

Confronting Crisis in the Carolingian Empire: Paschasius Radbertus' Funeral Oration for Wala of Corbie. Translated and annotated by Mayke de Jong and Justin Lake. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 2020. Pp. xx, 264. £19.99. ISBN: 9781526134844.)

Confronting Crisis in the Carolingian Empire presents a welcome new translation of one of the ninth century's more enigmatic literary texts, the "Funeral Oration for Wala" (*Epitaphium Arsenii*) by Paschasius Radbertus. Until now, Anglophone Carolingianists have appreciatively consulted the venerable, if sometimes eccentric, translation by Allen Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins* (Syracuse, 1967). Mayke de Jong and Justin Lake offer scholars a new alternative to Cabaniss that manages to be at the same time more consistently legible and more stylistically representative of Paschasius's original Latinity.

Abbot Wala of Corbie (d. 836) was a cousin and close confidant of Charlemagne, who served that emperor and his imperial successor, Louis the Pious, in sundry roles before being implicated in the two rebellions against Louis that took place in 830 and 833. The *Epitaphium* represents Paschasius's attempt to rehabilitate his former abbot's reputation. De Jong and Lake argue that Paschasius wrote the *Epitaphium* in two parts at two distinct political moments. The first part, written during the 830s soon after the rebellions, makes a case for Wala's exemplary life and virtues as a servant of God and empire. The second part, very different from the first, comprises a fiery retrospective of Wala's final years that Paschasius wrote during the 850s, when he felt freer to speak openly and to pillory Wala's former detractors and enemies. The full text of the *Epitaphium* provides, therefore, a unique witness to the troubles of this period, reflecting both the chaos of Louis's final decade and the sorrowful modes by which Carolingian society later made sense of it.

After a useful biographical index of the *Epitaphium*'s dramatis personae, a scholarly introduction offers a summary of the text's narrative, a history of its central figures and events, and a brief overview of relevant research to date. Sections ably analyze the text's distinctive composition, style, and language within the broader context of the early Carolingian literary corpus—Paschasius chose to write his account as a prose dialogue, and his characters often borrow wholesale from the language of ancient Roman theater. Specialist readers will wish to read the introduction alongside De Jong's most recent monograph, *Epitaph for an Era* (Cam-

bridge, 2019), in which she presents her extended research on the text and the historical moment to which it speaks. Of particular interest to Latinists, furthermore, will be De Jong and Lake's discussion of the *Epitaphium*'s parallels with Ambrose of Milan's *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, a funeral oration that Ambrose composed in the year 378 on the occasion of his own brother's death. Connections to this earlier text have gone virtually unnoticed by previous editors and translators of the *Epitaphium*. Yet Paschasius's extensive intertextual borrowing (made patent in extensive notes to the body of the translation) proves crucial to De Jong and Lake's arguments for Paschasius's planned composition of the two books.

In sum, De Jong and Lake have provided a readable and erudite update and companion to Cabaniss's earlier work. Carolingian scholars will welcome with open arms both the new translation and the fresh scholarship that it will no doubt facilitate and inspire. Paschasius Radbertus's literary art is certainly rich enough to sustain further scholarly attention.

New York University Andrew Romig

Le "catharisme" en questions. Edited by Jean-Louis Biget, Sylvie Caucanas, Michelle Fournié, and Daniel le Blévec. (Fanjeaux: Centre d'études historiques de Fanjeaux, 2020. €30,00. ISBN: 97829568972.)

Since the publication of the first *Cahier de Fanjeaux* back in 1966, this series, a treasure trove for scholars of medieval culture and religion, has devoted four volumes—namely CF3 (1968), CF14 (1979), CF20 (1985), and CF55 (2020)—to what has come to be known as the "Cathar debate." Significantly enough, the only title where we can find the term "catharisme" surrounded with scare quotes is that of the most recent installment, as if, in keeping up with our times, the volume tried to distance itself from an uncomfortable concept. One must appreciate the refreshing candor of such an open display of skepticism, especially in a research area that has turned into something of a scholarly minefield to be navigated with the utmost care.

This skeptical perspective gains momentum in the preface to the volume, where Michelle Fournié and Daniel le Blévec present *Le "catharisme" en questions* as a *Festschrift* to honor the work of Jean-Louis Biget, a French scholar widely renowned for his holistic approach to the study of heresy, as well as for pioneering the questioning of the 'Cathar paradigm.' In the Introduction (pp. 13–34), Biget himself criticizes what he considers to be the shortsightedness of historians who resist the revision of traditional views. He follows this up with a barrage of seemingly open questions whose rather rhetorical nature leaves no doubt as to his position in the debate. Arguing that the Albigensian Crusade marked a turning point for the perception of the religious groups known in French as the *bons hommes* and *bones dames*, Biget underscores how polemicists and clerics alike could only understand their religious expressions by shaping them to conform to the model of an alternative Church. His praise of the colloquia of Fanjeaux, the academic events that produce the *Cahiers*, is far from formulaic, and instead compares them favorably to previous

gatherings; more specifically, the 2013 conference that resulted in *Cathars in Question*,[1] a volume that casts its long shadow over the one discussed here.

Le "catharisme" en questions is made of four sections that present the Albigensian Crusade as a watershed moment. The first one, looking into the twelfth-century origins of this religious movement, gathers five chapters that run the gamut from outright rejection to willing embrace of long-standing views on the spread, hierarchical structure and, in sum, the existence of Catharism. Thus, Alessia Trivellone (pp. 37–63) argues that conclusions about Italian Cathars have been drawn from theoretical treatises with little or inconsistent use of factual data and calls for a deeper philological study of these; Edina Bozoky (pp. 65–80) does not question the sources of Italian treatises but takes these at face value. The reader almost wishes these two chapters were arranged in reverse order, as Bozoky, in her discussion of the circulation of the well-known *Interrogatio Iohannis*, makes the more traditional argument that Trivellone's piece questions. In keeping with the latter, Jean-Louis Biget, in his second contribution to the volume (pp. 81–110), torpedoes the cornerstone of pan-Catharism, that is, the infamous document known as the Charter of Niquinta, a 1167 record of a council that allegedly brought together the whole leadership of the alternative Cathar Church, including a Cathar pope and bishops, for the official establishment of Cathar dioceses. While few scholars still defend its authenticity, many argue for it being a thirteenth-century forgery. In contrast, Biget vindicates the erudition of Pierre de Caseneuve and Guillaume Besse, the seventeenth-century French scholars who respectively discovered and edited the documents, and their intellectual milieu, arguing that they produced the successful forgery themselves and rooting their motivations in their own political context and personal aspirations. In a more ecclesiological vein, Dominique Iogna-Prat (pp. 111–25) reflects on the "othering" of heresy as a means by which the Church, within the context of the Gregorian reforms, emphasized its unity in contrast to the disordered diversity of those who were excluded from it. Likewise, Uwe Brunn (pp. 127–53) provides an overview of the development of the twin themes of the *filii Dei/filii diaboli*, retracing how these expressions went from moral categories that singled out sinners to political categories that separated those who supported the unity of the Church from those who defied it. Brunn goes on to show how these concepts were ultimately subverted and repurposed by heretics.

Picking up the thread of the weaponization of heresy already suggested in the Introduction, the second section of the volume discusses the formation of the image of a heretical Occitania. Robert I. Moore (pp. 157–72) puts forward the Gregorian reforms as triggering factor for the appearance of dissidence. Unauthorized itinerant preachers went too far and suffered from it in the climate of reconciliation between the papacy and the emperor that led to the Concordat of Worms. Accusations of heresy were wielded to bring down political opponents, particularly

1. Antonio Sennis, ed., *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer–York Medieval Press, 2016).

by Plantagênet propaganda against the Counts of Toulouse, which presented Occitania as a hotbed of heresy. Emmanuel Bain (pp. 173–95) situates the theologian Alain de Lille within this context, presenting his sojourn in Montpellier, under the aegis of the Guilhems, lords of the city, as a major influence on his *De fide catholica,* widely known as *Contra haereticos*, which served the political interests of both Guilhem VIII and the papacy by painting the region under the rule of Toulouse as overrun by heretics. Moreover, Bain argues that this treatise was meant to be a compendium on heresy rather than a reflection of local realities. Allegiance to the lords of Montpellier and bitter enmity to the Counts of Toulouse are also brought up in Helène Débax's chapter (pp. 197–223), which focuses on the personal background of the papal legates Peire de Castelnau, Master Raoul, and Arnau Amalric to explain the role they played in the run-up to the Albigensian Crusade. Débax presents the appointment of legates as an experiment in papal encroachment on episcopal authority and secular jurisdictions; an experiment that would later be resumed with the appointment of inquisitors. Her contribution to the trajectory of Amalric is especially noteworthy, as Débax argues for Castilian origins that would connect him at the same time to a powerful Castilian lineage and to the dukes of Narbonne, further justifying his actions as part of the anti-Toulousan party.

The third section of the book turns to the religious scene in Occitania before the start of the Albigensian Crusade. Guy Lobrichon (pp. 227–44) explores evangelical movements in the twelfth century, showcasing the plurality of such expressions that started to crystallize towards the end of the period, with ecclesiastical authorities playing no small part in that process. In his final contribution to the volume (pp. 245–84), Jean-Louis Biget explores the groups of *bons hommes* and *bones dames* before the Crusade and presents them as communities with local roots, faithful to traditional religious and social mores, who rejected the novelties of a post-Gregorian Church in search of unity and uniformity. Biget concludes that it was not their religious way of life that was imported from outside the region, but rather their stigmatization as heretics. In the chapter closing this section, Bernard Hodel (pp. 285–97) insists on the need to revise the established chronology for the trajectory of Dominic of Caleruega, Dominic of Guzmán, and his mentor Diego de Osma in the Midi, blindly accepted as a "vulgate" version of the life of the founder of the Order of Preachers but full of inaccuracies.

The final section of the volume is devoted to the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade. Jacques Paul (pp. 301–29) uses the case brought against a man called Peire Garsias in 1247 to gauge the understanding of Cathar doctrine among what he calls "simple believers." Paul argues that such depth of knowledge, coming from a presumably illiterate man who did not belong to the elite of the movement, implies the pre-existence of a tradition. He claims that ignorance was not the rule for Cathar believers and goes on to establish a connection between theoretical works such as Alain de Lille's and more widespread beliefs in the mid-thirteenth century, in clear opposition to Trivellone's and Bain's arguments. If this whole volume can be seen as a response to *Cathars in Question* (2016), no chapter makes it clearer than Mark Gregory Pegg's piece, which contends that *ad hominem* attacks against him and

Moore have turned historians themselves into the subject of the "Cathar debate." Defining heresy in terms of self-awareness, Pegg does not reject the existence of groups of good men and good women, nor the polemicists' perceptions of the heretical threat, but rather the representativeness of the Cathar paradigm, whose nineteenth-century construction he surveys. The true innovation in this chapter, however, is Pegg's suggestion that, when the long-prevailing paradigm of Catharism is shown to be false, Cathars turn into Karl Popper's black swans, providing the falsifiability that turns history into a science. Finally, Jean-Paul Rehr states the need for a critical edition of the famous MS 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, which he is currently producing. He argues that in contrast to the claims of traditional scholarship about the manuscript, the Great Inquisition of 1245–46 was not an enquiry into the religious landscape of the region, but rather a targeted inquest into a specific social group, that of village consuls or *probi homines*; he proves this through an ingenious use of social network analysis.

In his conclusions to the volume, André Vauchez does not dispute the presence of organized unsanctioned religious groups in Occitania in the second half of the twelfth century, but refuses to explicitly call them Cathars, or to associate them with all that this term has come to signify. His words round off the main common thread of the volume, that is, the fact that new expressions of evangelical revival were weaponized into heresy mainly due to political motivations, which prompted a change in narratives that was then projected backwards in time after the Albigensian Crusade. The volume succeeds in calling for a bottom-up approach to the sources that does not rely on existing theoretical frameworks. Yet, one wishes that some of the chapters confronted their stance on the existence of dualism more explicitly, as therein lies the rub. Compelling as some of these arguments are, they only stand if dualism is removed from the conversation.

At the end of the day, the question that remains open is a counterfactual one. Without the nineteenth-century paradigm in place and only the bare sources as evidence, would present-day historians still produce the same picture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Occitania? This is a question that any scholar working in this particular field must ask and answer carefully; a question that is most certainly not rhetorical.

Queen Mary University of London DELFI I. NIETO-ISABEL

Remembering the Crusades and Crusading. Edited by Megan Cassidy-Welch. (New York: Routledge. 2017. Pp. 266. $56.95. ISBN: 9781138811157.)

Megan Cassidy-Welch has assembled an excellent and exceedingly helpful set of contributions on the ways in which the meaning of crusading was constructed and reconstructed through historical memory. That the crusades informed the creation of family and, ultimately, national histories, has been central to crusades studies for two decades now, and several contributors to this volume have been instrumental in bringing this insight into the scholarly mainstream. Remembrance, as

these scholars have recently shown, was as essential as ecclesiastical prescription in helping to define the crusades for contemporary Christians.

Following upon Cassidy-Welch's introduction, six chapters on "Sources of Memory" (Part II of the volume) survey the vehicles through which Christians encountered crusading memory. According to M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, when the liturgy celebrated the 1099 conquest of Jerusalem with invocation of the Psalms and Isaiah, the city's capture "was in a sense taken out of time and submerged through Prophecy into Eschatology" (p. 42). A similar sensibility informed the composition of the crusade sermons that provide the subject of Jessalynn Bird's essay. An event in historical time, when liturgically remembered, partakes of eternity. The next two chapters in Part II similarly provide a bridge from the ideological and military aspects of crusading to the quotidian experience of Latin Christians. Elizabeth Lapina's amply illustrated contribution on visual culture shows how crusading informed the artistic representation of saintly intervention (again relating the crusades to a larger divine plan), while Anne Lester demonstrates that Christians recreated the sacral importance of crusading through the preservation of material objects. Part II concludes with thoughtful studies of historiography and romance as genres that both conveyed and re-negotiated the memory of the crusades.

Part III includes five essays on "Communities of Memory," which for the purposes of this volume include monasteries, royal dynasties, various examples from the Jewish diaspora, and families with cross-generational commitments to crusading. Katherine Allen Smith demonstrates that the monastic memory of the crusades, like everything else monastic, was a communal endeavor, constructed through memories of returned crusaders, but always mediated by the exegesis of exemplary wars in scripture. The medieval and modern memory of medieval kings, and indeed the very notion of Capetian sacred kingship, also built on crusading exploits, as discussed in a useful summary by James Naus and Vincent Ryan. For Jewish communities, on the other hand, invoking the memory of crusader violence, and papal protection from it, was a matter of collective safety. Rebecca Rist reads two Hebrew texts—the *Terrible Event of 1007*, and Shelomo bar Shimshon's chronicle of the First Crusade—as part of a continuing negotiation over the pope's role in safeguarding the Jews of Latin Christendom. In the final essay in this part of the book, Nicholas L. Paul and Jochen G. Schenk revisit some of Paul's earlier ideas about the role of crusading in creating family memories, using an impressive theoretical framework to explore kinship relations within crusading families. Family memories inspired and even obliged further participation in the movement.

Part IV includes four excellent contributions to the burgeoning literature on the enduring cultural resonance of the crusades in both medieval and modern contexts. Late medieval Byzantine chroniclers, despite the availability of early sources like Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*, reckoned primarily with the sack of Constantinople in 1204—a reckoning that continues to influence modern accounts of the relations between eastern and western Christians (as neatly outlined Jonathan Harris's contribution). Ana Rodríguez turns her attention to Iberia where, as scholars have long

argued, the memory of the crusades cannot be separated from the experience of the so-called "Re-conquest."

The final two essays of the volume directly confront the weaponization of crusading memory in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Alex Mallett traces the evolution of Muslim views of crusading from the twelfth century through the age of European imperialism and beyond, offering a useful corrective to recent claims that the rhetoric of crusading in the modern Islamic world was largely a recent invention. The final essay, by C. S. Jensen, offers a refreshingly original discussion of how the experience of the "northern crusades" informed Baltic liberation movements of the nineteenth century, as well as those that arose in the aftermath of World War II and of the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The essays are well suited to a scholarly audience looking for succinct summaries of each contribution's general topic, and the essays in Part II are especially helpful in summarizing some of the most important developments in recent crusading scholarship. In addition, the wonderfully detailed bibliographies will provide an ideal starting point for additional work on crusading memory.

Whitman College JOHN COTTS

EARLY MODERN

The Invention of Papal History: Onofrio Panvinio between Renaissance and Catholic Reform. By Stefan Bauer. [Oxford-Warburg Studies]. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. Pp. ix, 288. $110.00. ISBN: 9780198807001.)

Onofrio Panvinio was a great scholar in a century of great scholars. His expert studies of antiquity, resulting from an extraordinary care for chronology, won nearly universal acknowledgment. Joseph Justus Scaliger even called him the "father of all history." Panvinio had a remarkable mastery of non-narrative sources (monuments, inscriptions, coins) that enabled him to supply background and to correct the narratives of Roman history both of the ancients and of his more recent predecessors. The chronological lists and tables in his books became helpful tools of reference precisely in the decades when antiquarianism was becoming a serious enterprise in Europe. Already by his early death in 1568, at the age of 38, this Augustinian hermit had published ten books under his own name, plus an edition and continuation of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*. Panvinio's work on Roman history was treated as "safe" in an age of religious controversy, and it served as the foundation of his later reputation. But a great deal of his writing in ecclesiastical history remained in manuscript, including a number of important books that were completed or nearly so. Unfortunately, after Panvinio's death, although his remarkably detailed work was advanced by supporters, official authorization of selected works was slow in coming and then only for texts that were censored. The records of the Congregation of the Index, established in 1571, now make it possible to examine the procedures by which these manuscripts were reviewed and censored.

Stefan Bauer's splendid new book comprises four rich chapters: the first two are biographical; the third explores Panvinio's history of papal elections; and the fourth looks carefully at the procedures and goals of Church censorship as revealed by the not especially welcoming reception of Panvinio's writings by the Congregation of the Index. A biography of Panvinio has been very much needed, as the only prior attempt was Davide Aurelio Perini's book of 1899. In my own copy of this volume, one that formerly belonged to the Collegium Leoninum in Bonn (now a hotel), an unknown German scholar once littered the margins to a shocking degree with penciled corrections of Perini's transcriptions of documents. In more recent years, the Augustinian Karl A. Gersbach has published numerous well-documented articles on Panvinio that do much to expand our knowledge and to set the record straight. Bauer, for his part, adds much that he himself has found, while offering needed general considerations of Panvinio's aims and, most usefully, of the extent to which Panvinio, in his early conclusions concerning the medieval Church, anticipated modern historical research.

Bauer makes a compelling case for Panvinio's role as the most important writer of Catholic history between Platina (d. 1481) and Baronio, the first volume of whose *Annales* was published in 1588. Most importantly, Panvinio abandoned the humanist mode of historical writing, which, in imitation of the ancients, resulted in finely structured narratives, and instead privileged evidence over narrative, discussing and quoting documents in his text in the fashion of the first Church historian, Eusebius. Thus Panvinio, who edited Platina's humanistic *Lives of the Popes*—its censorship was studied in a previous book by Bauer—pointed the way to the methodical source criticism adopted by Baronio. Yet Baronio would represent something different: "a confessionalized view of history . . . in which theological and historical truth could not diverge" (pp. 13–14). As Bauer emphasizes, when Panvinio was writing in the 1550s and '60s, he was able to bracket theological concerns in order to pursue the traces left by the past wherever they might lead.

Panvinio's talent was recognized early on by Girolamo Seripando, the prior general of the Augustinians, who commissioned his first major work (at the age of 19), a history of the Augustinian Order that was printed in 1550. He soon entered the well-established circle of Roman scholars under the patronage of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, to whom he dedicated his important work, *De primatu Petri* (1553), which would only be published posthumously in 1589. After Cervini's election as Marcello II, followed by his sudden death, Panvinio was able to secure the patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to whom he dedicated a chronological study of popes and cardinals published in 1557. Under Paul IV, Panvinio followed his patron, Farnese, into exile, making a subsequent journey to Germany in search of documents and Fugger patronage, but with the election of Pius IV he was able to remain in Rome. Pius appointed him to the historical commission charged with responding to the *Magdeburg Centuries*, and 1565 he made Panvinio *corrector* and *revisor* of the manuscripts in the Vatican Library. But Panvinio died unexpectedly during a trip to Sicily with Cardinal Farnese. Pius V at first instructed Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto to study Panvinio's manuscripts and to publish "for the common

benefit" those that were "worthy of being approved" (p. 83). But Pius, who was famous for changing his mind, reneged in this case as well, and in 1569, via his nephew, Cardinal Michele Bonelli, he forbade the publication of all Panvinio's manuscripts as well as the reprinting of any of his previously published books. Only after the establishment of the Congregation of the Index in 1571, which had the authority to purge works for approved publication, did a trickle of Panvinio's work find its way to press. Bauer's study of the censors' notes shows that their chief concern was to eliminate passages that might offer historical grounds for challenges to the most expansive views of papal authority.

With this study of the writings in ecclesiastical history of one of the sixteenth century's best historical minds, Bauer illuminates the striking contrast between one man's new approach to history and the successive generation's determination to view the past quite differently.

Seton Hall University WILLIAM J. CONNELL

Eloquent Images. *Evangelisation, Conversion and Propaganda in the Global World of the Early Modern Period*. Edited by Giuseppe Capriotti, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Sabina Pavone. (Leuven: Leuven University Press. 2022. Pp. 345. Plates, 27 color and 73 b/w. €69,50. ISBN: 9789462703278.)

A collaboration between cultural historians and historians of art, this volume collects seventeen essays of which twelve were written by art historians. All except one chapter is devoted to art in the Catholic world during the centuries of Catholic renewal and Counter-Reformation; and there is a fine balance between essays devoted to Europe and others concerned with the non-European world (largely about China and the Iberian global empires). In methodology, the collection reflects a diversity of approaches, ranging from traditional iconography to theories of cultural practices. Nevertheless, many essays cite the crucial Tridentine texts regarding sacred images (that representations should not be confused with idolatry), which provided the launching ground for theoretical excursions. A strength in this collection is the synergy between articles: Fabre's essay on Jerónimo Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* and Ariana Magnani's study of its diffusion by the Jesuit Giulio Aleni in seventeenth-century China; the studies by Federico Palomo, Michela Catto, Maria Vittoria Spissu, Valentina Borniotto, Francesco Sorce, and Roberto Ricci on the use of images in global evangelization; detailed interpretations of European Catholic art by Mauro Salis, Clara Lieutaghi, Silvia Mostaccio, Maria Coutinho, Paulo Pinto, Silvia Ferrira, Lorenzo Ratto, Gwladys Le Cuff, Silvia Notarfonso, and Stehanie Porras. While it is beyond the scope of a short review to evaluate every contribution, special mention should be made of the following: Magnani's study, which provides the best analysis of the handful of articles that exist on Aleni's cultural adaptation of Nadal; the attention to the image and metaphor of a nautical *Ecclesia* in the Iberian global empire in the article of Spissu; the intricate analysis of the interplay between image and word by Lieutaghi; the original insights into angelology by Le Cuff and Porras; and Palomo's research into

the visual images of the martyrs of Japan. Somewhat out-of-sync are the essays by Fabre, Mauricio Salazar, and Catto. The theoretical ambition of the first remains unachieved in an opaque essay, which is not helped by a shaky English translation. The second fails to develop the common cultural space between the Calvinist Jan Luyken's emblem of the heart as the organ for divine experience and the Jesuit authors of emblem books active in the southern Netherlands. This seems like one example of cross-cultural practices in an otherwise sharply demarcated confessional landscape in early modern Europe. Lastly, while interesting, Catto's study of Jesuit reports of supernatural phenomena in seventeenth-century China comes neither with illustrations nor with a strong thematic connection to the collection. These minor flaws notwithstanding, this is a beautifully produced book with twenty-even colored and seventy-three black-and-white images that reflect the fruitful collaboration between disciplines.

Penn State University Ronnie Po-chia Hsia

Irish Women in Religious Orders, 1530–1700: Suppression, Migration, and Reintegration. By Bronagh Ann McShane. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2022. Pp. xv, 324. $115.00. ISBN: 9781783277308.)

Long considered nearly impossible due to the disparate nature of the sources, Bronagh Ann McShane has produced the first overarching study of Irish women associated with religious orders in the early modern period. Gathering evidence from mentions scattered throughout a range of materials, McShane successfully traces various forms of Irish female religious commitment from the dissolution of religious houses in the 1530s and 1540s to the end of the seventeenth century, including both those at home and in mainland Europe.

Her opening two chapters consider the suppression and survival of female religious life during the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries. McShane judges the reformation in Ireland to have been far less systematic than that in England, though, unlike their male equivalents, it did manage to crush institutional expressions of female religious life. Having to rely on some conjecture to draw conclusions about what happened to the women after their convents were dissolved, McShane uncovers evidence of different types of religious life being adopted, including as tertiaries affiliated to male mendicant orders, and the short-lived but pioneering Catholic Reformation experiment that was the *Mná Bochta* (Poor Women), who worked alongside the small Jesuit mission in an active apostolate.

Fairly heavy on detailed financial records and Irish family history, these two chapters are followed by a shift in focus to look at migration, and those women who went abroad to pursue their vocations. Really hitting her stride, McShane tracks several Irish women who made the journey to mainland Europe. Some entered local convents, though a number headed to English houses established in exile, especially the Poor Clares at Gravelines. Nevertheless, a Dominican convent was

founded for the Irish nation at Lisbon. Intriguingly, it seems to have been markedly different from the exile English convents; both enjoyed local support, though the Irish Dominican convent appears to have been wealthier than the majority of English ones, and was a popular destination for Portuguese nun recruits as much as it was for Irish women.

The final section examines the return of professed female religious life to Ireland. The slightly more tolerant 1630s witnessed a cautious return, which flourished under the Catholic confederacy of the 1640s before being crushed during the Cromwellian wars. Following the restoration of the monarchy with Charles II in 1660, McShane outlines attempts at again fostering female religious life in the country that reached greater heights under the Catholic toleration that followed the accession of James II. However, the Glorious Revolution and the Williamite wars halted official advancement, McShane judging, though, that it was nowhere near as traumatic as the Cromwellian period, and female religious life continued in Ireland into the eighteenth century.

Tracing down these stories across a variety of sources is an impressive achievement that should not be underestimated. At times, the book's shifting focus affects its wider definitive positioning, whether to go all out for Irish national history, the history of the Catholic Reformation, or gender history. There is also a question at the book's heart: as McShane acknowledges, the formation of Irish women religious in exile English convents was "pivotal" (p. 249); yet the question of why there was not an equivalent exile movement for Irish women religious is not answered. With far greater numbers of Catholic women in Ireland, why was it that the English conventual movement was so much bigger?

That this book raises such a question is testament to McShane's convincing achievement. *Irish Women in Religious Orders, 1530–1700,* fills an obvious gap in the scholarship and, proving that it can be done, should encourage others to work on early modern Irish women religious.

Durham University JAMES E. KELLY

Vittoria Colonna: Poetry, Religion, Art, Impact. Edited by Virginia Cox and Shannon McHugh. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2022. Pp. 406. €115,00. ISBN: 9789463723947.)

Virginia Cox and Shannon McHugh appropriately dedicated this beautifully illustrated volume to Giovanna Rabitti, the late editor and translator of works by Chiara Matraini (1515–1604), an author of both spiritual texts and Petrarchan-style love poetry, just like Vittoria Colonna. They have presented fifteen different contributions grouped into six parts, adding a masterful introduction by Cox.

The argument of Cox, and the thesis of the book overall, is straightforward. The negative image of Colonna—like that of her counterparts Marguerite de

Navarre and Veronica Gambara—nursed over most of the twentieth century must be rejected. Critics honing in on the apparent participation of these women in a patriarchal literary culture they chose not to threaten, according to Cox, McHugh, and their collaborators, missed an important part of the story. Colonna, they persuasively demonstrate, was a prototype and inspiration for Italian women who wrote from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Much is revealed in the demonstration. In part 1 on social relationships in the literary circles Colonna frequented, there's no prosopography, but contributors identified links between the Neapolitan Accademia Pontaniana and the circle that Colonna gathered on the island of Ischia, and analyzed the attachment of Colonna to Reginald Pole through their correspondence between 1541 and 1545. Part 2 turns on role models from Colonna's widowhood, and the way she became a model for others. Colonna emulated not just conventional models like the Virgin Mary, but also Birgitta of Sweden, a reform-minded aristocratic widow in fourteenth-century Rome. Colonna in turn became a model author for female poets in the second half of the sixteenth century, like Laura Battiferri, Matraini, and Francesca Turina, who used her reputation to legitimate their own voices. The editors organized part 3 around Colonna's poetry, especially where she expressed religious desire, but also included a contribution making claims about Colonna's network of epistolary relationships that seems out of place. Part 4, on the other hand, is wholly focused on art, including Colonna's relationship with Michelangelo, and her use of art to promote devotion. One essay considers possible Colonna patronage of Titian for a Mary Magdalene painting that suggested presentation of female nudity was not always seen as deleterious to devotion in this era. Another explained that Colonna was the original recipient of Pontormo's *Noli me tangere* (1531), and discussed the implications of the unorthodox depiction of Jesus and Mary Magdalene it contains. Parts 5 and 6 include essays on the readership of Colonna's works and the long-term impact of that literature. Her poetry, these scholars assert, not only became a dominant tradition in the late Renaissance, but also quickly established Colonna as an author who surpassed the accomplishments of Virgil, Dante, and Petrarcha.

These findings, and the overall argument, are surely consistent with the results of my investigations into the literary production of Camilla Battista da Varano (1458–1524). The deeper implication of it all, as Cox rightly indicated in the introduction, is to further delineate the limits of any pernicious literary effects wreaked by the Counter-Reformation. Benedetto Croce, who—with Francesco de Sanctis—helped enshrine the polemical view of those effects, gets some critical attention here. But among Anglo-American scholars, Eric Cochrane began questioning such oversimplifications fully fifty years ago, in works now far-too-infrequently cited, such as *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries* (1973), *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (1981), and *Italy 1530–1630* (1988). He was right. And he would have loved this book.

Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania William V. Hudon

Giulia Gonzaga: A Gentlewoman in the Italian Reformation. By Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi. Translated by Richard Bates. [Viella History, Arts and Humanities Collection, 11. Società di Studi Valdesi—English Series] (Rome: Viella. 2021. Pp. 248. € 49,00. ISBN: 978-88-3313-763-6.)

Specialists in early modern Italian history know this first volume in the new Viella series, translating a work originally published in 2012. Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi, lauded for her studies of reform in Italy, particularly in Modena, here provided reconsideration of a central figure in that history, Giulia Gonzaga (1513–1566). Rambaldi plays off an early, defective, and mannered initial biography of Gonzaga by Giuseppe Betussi (c.1512–c.1573). Gonzaga was significant not just for the dynastic and political life Betussi traced, Rambaldi maintains, but also because of her hazardous spiritual interests and contacts with heterodox individuals, features that Betussi omitted. Rambaldi argues that Gonzaga was affected by the social tension generated by growing Spanish imperial power and by Italian ruling factions allying with it, but never abandoned the largely clandestine, Nicodemitic culture she found appealing, not even when living in a Neapolitan convent. Instead, Rambaldi maintains, she and other women of the time exhibited a cultural and spiritual restlessness, plus a commitment to religious renewal they thought could be achieved within protective familial and political loyalties that ultimately proved not-so-protective.

After this prefatory thesis statement, Rambaldi delivered a focused, five-chapter biography, one that revolves around the action of women from aristocratic families in the Gonzaga orbit. She highlights Giulia's agency throughout. Gonzaga, as a widow at the age of twenty-two, could have been considered socially and politically weak, but she proved overwise. She was, as Rambaldi said, "beautiful and difficult, . . . strong, proud . . . [and] sometimes vindictive" (p. 137). She was a protagonist, not a bystander, actively advising political leaders such as her cousin Ferrante (1544–1586), governor of Milan; Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505–1563), the governor of Mantua; and a beloved nephew, Vespasiano (1531–1591), founder and duke of Sabbioneta. She represented the family before Charles V on his tour in Naples, served as an unofficial marriage broker guiding her extended family on prospective alliances, and, as the close friend of Pietro Carnesecchi (1508–1567), narrowly escaped an inquisitorial trial—and likely execution—of her own. Rambaldi traced Gonzaga's movement around courtly circles, including her "ruling from the convent," the subject of a meaty chapter (pp. 137–96). All this seemed, for Rambaldi, to illustrate the inadequacy of standard images that circulate about early modern widows and nuns. I couldn't agree more, as my examination of the life and writings of Camilla Battista da Varano (1458–1524) confirms the point. Individuals like Gonzaga and Varano show how widely varied contemporary female experience of convent life really was.

Rambaldi's findings are based on prodigious research. At the center lies her analysis of Gonzaga's vernacular correspondence scattered across numerous archives in north-central Italy. Imbedded in the notes are hints toward projects for

still more historical investigation, among the numerous individuals with whom Gonzaga corresponded. She was not alone in the activities that Rambaldi found so fascinating, including in her relationships with religious dissenters. And while the study highlights inquisitorial action under popes Paul IV (1555–1559) and Pius V (1566-1572), Rambaldi's analysis shows—like so many studies of local behavior—that institutional intent under those popes to restrict the spread of dissenting, heterodox ideas was firm, but their ability to shut it down, even among women like Gonzaga, was limited.

Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania William V. Hudon

Egidio Foscarari—Giovanni Morone: Carteggio durante l'ultima fase del Concilio di Trento (1561–1563). Edited by Matteo Al Kalak. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2018. Pp. 267. €64,00. ISBN: 9783402105276).

For more than a century, historians of the Council of Trent have sought to overcome stark and often cliched judgements on the council born in a more sectarian era through examination of the substantial documentation left behind by participants in the form of letters and diaries. This has allowed for greater nuance in judgements on the Council of Trent. Matteo Al Kalak has made a significant contribution to this work. His recent biography of Bishop Egidio Foscarari, *Il riformatore dimenticato: Egidio Foscarari tra Inquisizione, concilio, e governo pastorale (1512–1564)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016) shed light on the life and career of this Dominican bishop who succeeded Cardinal Giovanni Morone as bishop of Modena where he took a conciliatory position towards Modenese Protestants and was subsequently imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo by Pope Paul IV. At the council, Foscarari continued to seek reconciliation where possible not only between the emperor and the pope but between Protestants and the Catholic Church. Al Kalak has since edited and published *Egidio Foscarari—Giovanni Morone: Carteggio durante l'ultima fase del Concilio di Trento (1561–1563)*, a valuable collection of the correspondence between Foscarari and his patron Morone during the final phase of the Council. These 133 letters, all but three of them from Foscarari, show the efforts made by the two to find practical means to obtain agreement not only between the often polarized Catholic factions at the Council but even in the hope of bringing some Protestants on board.

Foscarari's efforts at conciliation are seen on three principal issues. One concerned whether the renewed meetings of the council in 1561 should be considered a continuation of the previous sessions and therefore prohibited review of previously decided issues. The Bull of convocation makes it clear that the pope considered it a continuation of the earlier sessions. Nevertheless, Foscarari sought middle ground by suggesting that flexibility as to the interpretation of the previously agreed upon decrees would allow for the possible reconciliation of at least some Protestants. Foscarari wanted similar room for maneuver regarding the Index of Prohibited Books of Pope Paul IV. If a complete retraction of it were not possible, in Al-Kalak's terms, they should propose "corrective measures that worked either

by moderating excessively severe prohibitions or by interpreting existing provisions in an accommodating key with respect to the requests of the Protestant reformers." (p. 11) Foscarari took a similarly flexible position on emending the text of the Bible for publication. If Foscarari and Morone found common ground on many issues, they came to strong disagreement on the issue that nearly wrecked the council, the residence of bishops, and whether that obligation was understood as according to *jus divinum* and therefore not open to exemptions. Foscarari strongly supported the *jus divinum* interpretation as necessary for a real reform of the clergy, a position rejected by Morone.

This correspondence not only sheds light on the debates at the final sessions of the Council of Trent but also brings new issues into focus regarding these two well-known figures. The letters reveal Foscarari to have remained largely faithful to the path of reform he had followed from the time he became bishop of Modena, thus illustrating a great deal of continuity with an earlier generation of Italian reform. The letters raise questions about Morone, in contrast, as one who in the end opted for positions, on the residence of bishops in particular, that stood in contrast with those of Foscarari and a number of his earlier defenders. Al Kalak suggests that as one who had only recently been rehabilitated by Pope Pius IV after his imprisonment at the hands of Paul IV, Morone not only wanted to see the council come to a successful conclusion but also may have continued to feel vulnerable to the suspicions of some in the Roman Curia. Matteo Al Kalak enriches our understanding of the final sessions of the Council of Trent and provides useful material to any who are interested in the long drama of reform in Early Modern Catholicism.

John Carroll University PAUL V. MURPHY

Berruyer's Bible: Public Opinion and the Politics of Enlightenment Catholicism in France. By Daniel J. Watkins. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2021. Pp. xviii, 325. $130.00 CAD. ISBN 9780228006305.)

This is a history of French Catholicism in the long eighteenth century organized around the history and reception of a single book, the French Jesuit Isaac-Joseph Berruyer's *Histoire du peuple de Dieu*. Published successively in three parts in 1728, 1753, and 1757, the work was a rare, if tremendously popular, French example of what the historian Jonathan Sheehan has described, with reference to the more prevalent varieties in England and Germany, as an "Enlightenment Bible," an attempt to apply Enlightenment scholarly practices, attitudes, and opinions to the hermeneutical investigation and translation of Scripture. In Berruyer's case, the work reflected, as well, the broader Jesuit effort to accommodate time and place in its teaching of the Christian word. Whereas Matteo Ricci and his brethren had famously donned the vocabulary and dress of China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to proselytize more effectively there, Berruyer made a similar calculation about eighteenth-century France. "To combat the unbelievers of our day," he insisted, the Church needed "new weapons." Drawing freely on the Enlightenment's own arsenal, Berruyer produced a Bible that aimed to appeal to an

enlightened eighteenth-century public. Employing novelistic conventions (and in a revised edition the illustrations of the great rococo painter François Boucher), the booked aimed to appeal to the sentiments, recounting the Biblical narrative through characters and stories in paraphrase that relegated the actual words of the Vulgate to glosses in the margin. It also stressed that the Bible's chief aim was that great eighteenth-century concern—earthly happiness—and it used sensationalist epistemology, accounts of natural religion, and doctrines of human progress to show Christianity's evolution and consonance with reason.

If in this way, as Watkins observes in a nice line, "The Enlightenment became yet another mission field" for Jesuit proselytism, the impact of Berruyer's Bible was decidedly mixed (p. 28). Enlightenment authors like Voltaire predictably mocked it as a "salon novel," while others, like the radical abbé Morellet, hailed its innovative Christology. Yet despite evidence of the work's genuine popularity among the laity (precise publication figures, unfortunately, seem to be lacking), the work irked the Jesuits' Jansenist critics, who drew attention to theological concerns and decried the book's allegedly lax morality and its presumption in substituting the word of man for the word of God. For their part, more traditionally minded figures within the Jesuit order itself worried out loud about dangerous "innovation," and their complaints soon caught the ear of Gallican authorities in the French hierarchy, who detected their own dubious departures from tradition and orthodoxy, as well as hints of ultra-Montanism.

Watkins spends the bulk of the book showing how these disputes metastasized into a full-blown *affaire*, which not only divided Jansenists from Jesuits, and Gallicans from Ultramontanes, contributing ultimately to the expulsion of the order and various official condemnations of Berruyer's book, but drove a further wedge between those ready to accommodate aspects of Enlightenment thought to Catholic teaching and those who saw any such flirtation with Catholic Enlightenment as traffic with the enemy. The upshot of his analysis, Watkins argues, "flips the traditional narrative of the Enlightenment . . . on its head, by suggesting that the damage that the Enlightenment did to the church had as much to do with internal efforts of Catholic theologians to appropriate it as it do with external assaults by radical, anti-clerical *philosophes*" (p. 5).

Tracing that same tension into the nineteenth century, when various French Catholics attempted to revive Berruyer's book in the effort to better reach the laity, Watkins writes with an admirably limpid style and is well-versed in the relevant scholarship. The consequence is a book about a book, which is also a great deal more. Scholars of Catholicism, the Enlightenment, and the interaction of the two over the course of the long eighteenth-century will want to take note.

Dartmouth College Darrin M. McMahon

Herrnhut: The Formation of a Moravian Community, 1722–1732. By Paul Peucker. [Pietist, Moravian and Anabaptist Studies.] (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2022. Pp. xvii, 320. $54.95. ISBN: 978-0-271-09239-3.)

The premise of this book is that in order to understand the eighteenth-century Moravian movement scholars need to understand the formative years, from 1722 to 1732. Yet scholarship on Herrnhut's early years is "not as exhaustive as one might expect," notes Peucker. "No monographs on the origins of Herrnhut have been published during the last five decades" (p. 17). Peucker's study is based on an abundance of archival records from Herrnhut's early years, and on recent scholarship in fields "relevant for the understanding of early Herrnhut": radical Pietism, the history of upper Lusatia, and the history of crypto-Protestantism in the Habsburg Empire. He orients his study to the broader field of radical German Pietism and the contributions of the late Hans Schneider. This marks a significant re-orientation for Moravian historiography, which has often existed in isolation from the broader field of Pietism scholarship.

There are two main genres of archival records: the congregational diary, beginning in April, 1727, that recounted special divine action with many miracle stories; and memoirs (*Lebensläufe*) of individual members (p. 19). Peucker, director and archivist at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, makes impressive use of these sources, especially writings by Christian David, Martin Dober, David Nitschmann, David Schneider, Friedrich von Watteville, Melchior Scheffer, and Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.

Peucker's book offers some insightful and provocative arguments. Foremost is his conviction that Herrnhut is rightly characterized as a radical Pietist, separatist movement informed by the Philadelphian thought of Jane Leade and by Gottfried Arnold's writings on the early church, especially *die Erste Liebe*. Philadelphians promoted impartial, brotherly love and opposed denominational divisions. Peucker joins Hans Schneider in finding "Philadelphian principles at play in the Moravian church of the eighteenth century" (p. 17). The ecclesiology of Zinzendorf represents a radical departure from the *ecclesiola in ecclesia* of Philipp Jakob Spener and from Martin Luther's clerical church marked by sacraments and preaching. Peucker rejects the view found in later histories of the Moravian Church, such as Spangenberg's biography of Zinzendorf, that Zinzendorf was a Lutheran who wanted to keep Herrnhut within the Lutheran Church. Herrnhut was not a community within the Lutheran church, but one *outside* the church (p. 198).

A second conclusion is that Zinzendorf was not only a brilliant organizer and leader; he was also an astute and deceitful manipulator in achieving his ends. A key question for this early period is how the new religious community in Herrnhut was able to survive at a time when religious and secular authorities did not permit religious activity outside the recognized churches. The answer is that Zinzendorf misled the royal commission when they investigated the community in January, 1732. Herrnhut survived as long as it did because it developed a narrative that

masked its true identity in order to make it more acceptable to the authorities. "Herrnhut masked its separatism behind a pretense of affiliation with the Lutheran Church and behind a chosen historical identity, that of the renewed Unity of Brethren" (p. 3). Moravians claimed to be a distinct church dating back to the fifteenth century and one ostensibly adhering to the *Augsburg Confession*; in reality they were radical Pietists living by Philadelphian ideals (p. 210).

Zinzendorf also misled his own community. He incorporated Comenius's 1702 Latin *Brevis Historiola* of the *Unitas Fratrum* into his own "The Newest History of Herrnhut," adapting Comenius to align with the theology and practice in Herrnhut. He made Comenius's summary of the teachings of Jan Hus into a summary of Philadelphian teachings, making Hus into a Philadelphian. Peucker follows the unpublished manuscript of Joseph Theodor Müller (1937), who showed that Zinzendorf "deliberately misconstrued the regulations of the ancient [Bohemian] Brethren to match the Herrnhut statutes" (p. 127). Zinzendorf "forged" the statutes of the early Brethren, something scholars previously have not noticed. He includes references to the Love Feast, which was practiced by the Herrnhuters but unknown to the Bohemian Brethren (pp. 126–29). The idea that Herrnhut represented a renewal of the ancient Unity of Brethren was a useful model that Zinzendorf invented and presented to Moravian settlers in summer 1727 (p. 5).

Peucker builds his case with analysis of beginnings in Berthelsdorf and the plan formulated by the Brotherhood of Four (*Vierbrüderbund*): Zinzendorf, pastors Johann Andreas Rothe and Scheffer, and von Watteville (p. 54). He considers the three migrations of the Moravians, causes of dissent among the settlers, their beliefs and ideals, liturgical life including song services (*Singstunden*), and creation of "the Herrnhut model" to mask their true identity. A recurring theme is Zinzendorf's gradual assumption of absolute authority in the community and side-lining of Rothe and Scheffer. Peucker highlights the "passivity trope" in Zinzendorf: throughout his career he pretended ignorance about situations he was well aware of (p. 51). He did this to avoid responsibility when things went badly.

One can only marvel at Peucker's achievement in *Herrnhut*. Grounded in a mass of archival and printed sources, the author wears his scholarship lightly and has produced a readable and interesting narrative. At the same time, he has revised the scholarship around the Moravian movement and its founder. He has firmly placed the Moravian story within the larger orbit of radical German Pietism and put to rest the claim of affiliation with the Lutheran Church. The book is enhanced by numerous images, three maps, tables listing offices in Herrnhut in 1725 and population numbers, and an index.

University of Calgary Douglas H. Shantz

MODERN EUROPEAN

The Persistence of the Sacred: German Catholic Pilgrimage, 1832–1937. By Skye Doney. [German and European Studies.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2022. Pp. xxii, 345. $85.00. ISBN 978-1-4875-4310-5.)

Skye Doney's book is a study of two major pilgrimages in western Germany during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the septennial pilgrimage to the relics of the Aachen Cathedral and, especially, the pilgrimages to the Holy Coat of Trier, occurring at irregular intervals. Based on extensive unpublished material in ecclesiastical archives, the contemporary periodical press, the many pamphlets, fliers, memorial images, medallions, and other ephemeral forms of commemoration, and a thorough evaluation of the anthropological and historical literature on popular religious practice, the book contrasts official and expressly stated opinions of the church hierarchy and more bourgeois and educated Catholics on the one hand, and the not explicitly articulated aspirations of the hundreds of thousands or even millions of less educated and lower-middle or lower-class pilgrims on the other. The upshot is an eminently readable and very fruitful study, whose main premises might require some additional consideration.

Doney outlines the development of a more bureaucratic organization of the pilgrimages—complete with pre-registration, entry tickets, assigned viewing times, and even medical questionnaires to fill out, in order to evaluate claims of miraculous healing. Proposals for pilgrimage songs or for memorial images and medallions required approval of the cathedral chapter, whose canons applied strict aesthetic criteria. Coterminous with this organizational process was the growth of a more empirical attitude toward the sacred. Positivist historical investigation would demonstrate the authenticity of the relics; pilgrims' claims of being cured of disease would no longer be accepted at face value but would require medical confirmation. The author is critical of this whole line of intellectual development, seeing it as a concession to Protestant and rationalist critics of Catholic piety and the sexist imposition of the evaluation of male clergy and physicians on the claims of miraculous healing by female pilgrims—although he does show that there was a male minority of claimants to the miraculous as well.

Doney contrasts these changing opinions with the attitudes of the pilgrims, who yearned for the physical presence of the sacred in their lives. They aspired to touch the relics, to touch objects which had touched the relics, or, at the very least to take home a picture or medallion with an image of a relic. He argues that these attitudes persisted, largely unchanging, spontaneously expressed, and unprepared, over the entire period his book covers.

This idea of a naïve, spontaneous, and unchanging popular piety is the weakest point of the book, largely because the author does not investigate any potential influences on it. He has nothing to say about the impact of ecclesiastically sponsored devotions—the two great nineteenth-century ones, to the Virgin and to the Sacred

Heart, and the early twentieth-century Christ the King devotions. (One of the officially disapproved proposals for a pilgrimage song does seem to work from Christ the King devotions.) Widely publicized experiences of other pilgrimage sites, especially Lourdes, are missing from his argument, although his study of potential pilgrims' correspondence with the pilgrimage organizers contains many mentions of Lourdes. Changes in the prevalence of disease, attitudes toward illness, or in the practice of medicine, as well as the increasing familiarity of Germans with medical treatment and the medical profession, as a result of the growth of the social insurance system, do not enter his discussions of claims to miraculous healing. Without any consideration of these developments, the assertion of an autonomous, persisting popular piety, in contrast to a changing clerically sponsored one, remains unproven.

University of Missouri Jonathan Sperber

Sacred Sounds, Secular Spaces: Transforming Catholicism Through the Music of Third Republic Paris. By Jennifer Walker. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2021. Pp. x, 355. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-19-757805-6.)

Paris was the setting for compositions and performances of religious (and here read Catholic) music in secular venues. Jennifer Walker offers as her first example a performance of the mystery play *Sainte-Genviève de Paris* in the Montmartre cabaret Le Chat Noir on January 6, 1893. For Walker, the history of such performances is, in effect, a history of Church-State interchange, yea even reconciliation. She narrates the rich and varied musical history of a secularized Catholicism, which presumably gives the lie to the old standard notion of "two Frances"—a Church and State in mutual opposition.

Musical notation is integral to the analysis of religious music throughout the book, which is a volume in a remarkable series of studies labelled "AMS Studies in Music," a joint effort of the American Musicological Society and the Oxford University Press. Footnotes include a wide and detailed range of references, with the French texts translated by the author expanded to include preceding and following sentences. Too extensive to be read in full—they almost created an overweight metanarrative—these notes can serve for subsequent use by researchers.

In "The Catholic Church in Republican Musical Aesthetics," Walker introduces both the Catholic in-house churchmen and musicologists who tried to define "sacred" music and the secular critics who, surprisingly, even more severely limited the texts, melodies, and harmonies that deserved the label of "sacred music." At the center of such discussions figured the works of Dubois, Fauré, Massenet, Saint-Saëns, and Widor. The centerpiece of the next chapter, "Pious Puppets and the Limits of Symbolism," is the puppetry of the Petit-Théâtre de la Marionnette, wherein the musical narratives were almost exclusively Catholic, to wit, *Tobie* (Tobias) and *Noël, ou le Mystère de la nativité*. Reporters and critics provided detailed presentations of story and musical line. In "Sincerity and the Limits of Symbolism," the author juxtaposes the Petit-Théâtre's offering of *La Légende de Sainte-Cécile* to

the Théâtre de Vaudeville's *Les Drames sacrés* to show again how critics, believers, and non-believers alike demanded text fidelity and musical seriousness.

In chapters four and five, Walker trains a much more wide-angle lens on the series of concerts at the Church of Sainte-Eustache, "The Republic's Sacred Cathedral," and at the Trocadéro, "The Republic's Secular Cathedral."

The Sainte-Eustache oratorio performances were religious in musical content but were problematically tied to the government's control of the 1900 Exposition Universelle. Handel's *Messiah*, Berlioz's *Requiem*, Gounod's *Mors et Vita*, Wagner's *La Cène des Apôtres*, Massenet`s *La Terre promise*, and Bach's Saint Matthew Passion constituted the series, the use of Sainte-Eustache as a "theater" disturbing Cardinal François Richard and pleasing secular critics. Walker calls the ensemble a "Repertoire for the Republic." She details here the subtleties of the story lines, the mechanics of the musical lines, their place within each composer's total oeuvre, and the usually favorable critical response, concluding, "Much to the Church's chagrin, the church of Saint-Eustache thus became a key site in dismantling the polarizing dichotomy between Church and State" (p. 191).

At the Trocadéro and the Champ de Mars, the 1900 Exposition Universelle featured displays of Catholic art, literature, and music. Cardinal Richard was absent from the opening liturgical celebration, but in his place Father Stéphen Coubé preached reconciliation with the Republic, pointing out that work, science, and art could be sanctified and given moral force by the Church. For all this to take place in 1900, ideologies had shifted in the preceding ten years, according to Walker, although, in fact, featured composers and works in 1889 (the Fair commemorating the 1789 Revolution) and 1900 overlapped considerably in their story, musical lines, and critics' responses. Brand new was Dubois's *Le Baptême de Clovis*, which had premiered the preceding year in Reims cathedral, and so inspired critics to favorably compare the results: one in a sacred setting and the other in a secular setting. At the same time Gabriel Pierné's *L'An mil* at the Théâtre du Châtelet seemed to accomplish for the Middle Ages what the Clovis drama accomplished for an earlier era.

The final chapter, "The Republic's Righteous Empire at the Opéra-Comique" is an exploration of the feminine ideal embodied in an updated version of Boccaccio's *Griselda*, who was chaste and devout, faithful to her husband, and dedicated to her son. This was Massenet's *Grisélidis*, another appropriation of the religious Middle Ages minutely analyzed by the author.

The conclusion reviews the book chapters in relation to the wider historical literature on Church and State, and here we can see clearly Walker's contribution to that literature: her thesis and its problems. She has clearly shown how Catholic and anti-Catholic artists and intellectuals valued the beauty of religious musical works. But this makes musical life a middle ground aesthetically and socially, *not* a religious or political middle ground. Mutual acceptance, a détente of sorts, meant more of an agreement to disagree on the part of conciliatory individuals on both

sides, not the creation of a middle ground. Resentment over the legislative *manigances* to push through the law expelling unauthorized religious congregations (1880) and the Separation of Church and State law (1905) had almost disappeared, but as Jean-Jacques Becker, doyen of World War I historians, says, "If the French were in agreement in facing what they considered to be aggression, if they agreed to limit the violence of their former antagonisms, no one . . . had the intention of abandoning his deep convictions for the sake of those others." (See his "Union sacrée et idéologies bourgoises," *Revue Historique,* 264 [1980], 65–66.)

Catholic religious culture was certainly—Walker is right—a "Lieu de Mémoire" as presented several times by Pierre Nora in his *Lieux de Mémoire*, the volumes variously entitled *La République*, *La Nation*, and *Les France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982–92) , but it was lived and interpreted in very different ways by the "two Frances," believers and unbelievers divorced as before but after World War I getting along amiably.

Oklahoma State University Joseph F. Byrnes

Religious Vitality in Victorian London. By William M. Jacob. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2021. Pp. viii, 348. £75,00. ISBN 978-0-19-289740-4.)

Victorian London, like other great cities, has often been presented as a place where religion went to die. Contemporary sermons, pastoral letters, reports, newspaper articles and novels portrayed the capital sensationally, as a sink of immorality, heathenism, infidelity, religious indifference, the modern Babylon. Secularization and urbanization, popular theories of the 1960s which only began to be challenged by scholars in the 1980s, still exercise considerable hold over the popular imagination. In this densely packed survey of religious life in Victorian London, W. M. Jacob argues for the pervasiveness of religiosity—a term which goes well beyond formal church affiliation or attendance—at every level of society.

Religious Vitality in Victorian London offers a useful service in bringing together two generations of scholarship on how the Church of England, together with a variety of Nonconformist and Dissenting traditions, fared in the Victorian religious marketplace. Like them, Jacob frames much of the discussion through the prism of social class and gender; the focus on London enables the study meaningfully to incorporate Judaism and Roman Catholicism into his analysis. Jacob's definition of "religion" follows trends in post-1990s scholarship in including nominal, tacit, or implicit faith. The monograph further builds on the work of others in bringing into "religiosity" what Jacob terms "quasi-religious" movements (including even ethical and humanist movements), and "parareligions" (including phrenologists, spiritualists, theosophists, and occultists). By bringing both supernaturalist and secularist organizations under the blanket term "religion," it could be argued that *Religious Vitality in Victorian London* expands the term "religion" so far as to invalidate comparisons with earlier works about the decline of religion, thereby weakening its revisionist claims.

Religious Vitality in Victorian London concludes that "in the context of the massive social disturbance of migration, urbanization and industrialization religion continued to be a vital core ingredient framing the nature of this great modern metropolis" (p. 308). While this statement might not come as news to specialists in Victorian religion, the message still needs to be heard by non-specialists and students, for whom W. M. Jacob offers a careful, detailed compendium and discussion of religious activity of all sorts which took place in London during the reign of Victoria.

Cardi MARY HEIMANN

A Heart Lost in Wonder: The Life and Faith of Gerard Manley Hopkins. By Catharine Randall. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2020. Pp. 195. $22.95 paperback. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7770-3.)

Professor Randall offers readers a refreshing and succinct reflection upon the life, writings, and faith of Gerard Manley Hopkins. Her book is scholarly in its roots yet purposefully accessible to a wide audience as an introduction to the person, art, and religious experience of Hopkins. Randall's presentation of Hopkins contains no hint of hagiography. The Hopkins portrayed is fully human—brilliant, loved, not always understood, steel-willed at times, physically fragile, and substantially plagued with neuroses and depression. Her realistic portrayal of Hopkins makes his incarnation-amplifying faith and chiming poetic creativity all the more shining and striking. A reader new to Hopkins, however, may underappreciate the degree to which the joyful and playful seasoned much of his life.

Professor Randall describes her method in this biography as holistic. This means that the chronologies of Hopkins' life and writings do not always correspond, particularly in the first chapters of her book. She purposefully follows this method to heighten a "you are there" feeling and face-to-face encounter with Hopkins (p. xiv). More importantly, she hopes that this interpretive biography will assist readers in seeing Hopkins' life through the prism of his theology. I think her method will help a new Hopkins reader move to the heart of the matter with alacrity. A reader familiar with Hopkins, however, may experience some disorientation.

Professor Randall quickly moves the reader into the mainstream of Hopkins' faith and art—the world of the senses is the high road to the world of the spirit. Woven through by this contextual theme, her summative recounting of Hopkins' childhood, education, conversion to Roman Catholicism, and formation and life as a Jesuit priest is substantive and, at times, innovative. For example, while discussing how Hopkins experienced nature, Randall offers the possibility of some neurological idiosyncrasy as the cause. While I do not think that Hopkins was in some altered state in his perception and experience of beauty in nature, I appreciate the thought-provoking discussion. In any case, Professor Randall here introduces a hermeneutic lens through which she views Hopkins—he is an "ecstatic," "one who entered into and took on the life around him in an imagined, artistic creation of a new form of participation in essence" (p. 59).

While focusing upon Hopkins' Jesuit formation and training, Professor Randall justifiably discusses at length the probable influence of Duns Scotus. In this context, she suggests and supports the possibility of influence by the Cappadocian fathers.
and currently prevalent theme of the Cosmic Christ into the discussion of Hopkins' theological thought and its expression in prose and poetry. Her following analyses of Hopkins' "
bring this Scotian influence and theological theme to life.

Professor Randall's last chapter, "Desolation," portrays the final years of Hopkins' life in Dublin as a time of internal disintegration and physical collapse. She weaves Hopkins' own words and the reflections of others to show how near he was to madness and even temptation to suicide. It is a dark, distressing portrayal rooted in primary sources and well conveyed by the author.
book, Randall wonderfully describes Hopkins' sudden break into light as best expressed in his poem "
Resurrection." She suggests this re-enlightenment is a return to or remembering of an earlier shining faith in and perception of the Cosmic Christ in creation.
time and last flash of creativity in Hopkins' life seems not so much a resolving denouement as a kind of resurrection from darkness and internal death. I wonder if Hopkins' experience of abandonment by God was so discontiguous from the end of his life and his final words—"I am so happy."

Professor Randall has created for new Hopkins readers an academically substantial yet accessible introduction to a great English poet and even theologian. For seasoned Hopkins readers, she offers not only a synthesis of recent scholarship, but also a deeply thoughtful, innovative reflection on the life, mind, and faith of this deeply loved poet and priest.

University of Washington, Seattle Philip Ballinger

Carteggio Scalabrini e Zaboglio (1886–1904). Edited by Veronica De Santis and Giovanni Terragni. (Rome: Istituto Storico Scalabriniano. 2021. Pp. 416. ISBN: 9788885438279.)

The years Veronica De Santis and Giovanni Terragni's edition of the correspondence exchanged between the Scalabrinian missionary Francesco Zaboglio (1852–1911) and Monsignor Giovanni Battista Scalabrini (1839–1905) represents a welcome and useful research tool for understanding one of the most dramatic phases of Italian emigration to North America.
spanning the years from 1886 to 1904, to which it is added an appendix of articles written by Zaboglio, upon Scalabrini's solicitation, on the Italian emigrants in America. The last part of the book provides a very detailed list of the missions managed by Italian Catholic missionaries in the United States in 1899. The book has many merits. First, it sheds light on a period of crucial changes for Italian emigration to North America, also showing how the Catholic Church responded to it.

Secondly, it offers a first-hand account of the difficulties and perils faced by the Italian missionaries vis-à-vis their fellow countrymen and the other migrant communities as well as the American authorities.

The importance of the correspondence between Zaboglio and Scalabrini becomes more and more evident as one goes through the letters. Indeed, from the beginning, Zaboglio offers a vivid portrait of the Italian emigration and its consequences both on the Italian society and on the American society. Zaboglio's gloomy but detailed descriptions funnelled a flow of constant information to Scalabrini, and more broadly to the Holy See, which was used to develop a missionary strategy. Clearly, Zaboglio was not a mere observer. He put forward concrete missionary plans, such as—to name the most relevant one—the project to establish an institute for the training of the priests who were to operate among the Italian emigrants. A further crucial aspect, which comes out from Zaboglio's letters, is his "transnational" outlook. Very soon he realized that the development of any missionary plans could not be limited to the Italian community but had to encompass all migrants. From the very first letter to last one, the correspondence between Zaboglio and Scalabrini demonstrates the harsh aspects of the Italian emigration and the persistent difficulty to elaborate and implement effective plans geared toward the complex economic and social situation in the Americas.

This edited collection is enriched by a very well written introduction authored by Matteo Sanfilippo and Giovanni Terragni, two leading experts on the history of migrations and of the Scalabrinians. They effectively reconstruct the multifaceted world of Scalabrini and Zaboglio and their web of institutional and private networks in the Americas and Italy. The fact that the book can be downloaded for free as a PDF file from the website of the Centro Studi Emigrazione di Roma is a further merit to be ascribed to the editors, who deserve to be praised for their scholarship which so much improves our knowledge of the Scalabrinian order and more broadly of the Italian emigration to the Americas.

Universitá degli Stranieri di Siena MATEO BINASCO

Jesuit Kaddish: Jesuits, Jews, and Holocaust Remembrance. By James Bernauer, S.J. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2020. Pp. xxx, 220. $55.00. ISBN: 9780268107017).

In James Bernauer's work, readers are drawn into the distinctive elements of Jesuit spirituality: the examination of conscience and the discernment of spirits in order to address and more fully understand the Holocaust and members of the Society of Jesus's attitudes toward Jews. His work challenges the reader to think about how Jesuits thought about the Jews. How did Jesuits perpetrate evil against the Jews, but also how did actions of Jesuits bring about good for Jews as well? By scrutinizing the conduct of Jesuits, the hope is to gain not only a greater understanding of the events of the Holocaust, but also to achieve a type of reconciliation

with the Jewish community. The Kaddish is recited as a prayer of mourning that praises God and the gift of life.

From the opening chapter the reader is invited to accompany Bernauer on a pilgrimage. He begins with the work of Pope Saint John Paul II in seeking forgiveness for past sins against the Jews. In calling for genuine brotherhood with the Jews, the Pope made confessions of guilt for Catholics who participated in crimes against Jews, from his visit to Auschwitz in 1979, through his visit in 2000 to Yad Vashem in Israel. In all of these travels, the Pope instructed Catholics that honestly addressing the errors of the past would be a step toward atonement and forgiveness. What the Pope had done was earth-shattering in importance. The Pope had recognized that in order for a true reconciliation with Jews to happen, Catholics would first have to remember what had actually occurred.

Readers continue their pilgrimage in Chapters Two and Three, learning about the concept of "asemitism" which was often practiced within the Society of Jesus. Asemitism meant strict separation between Jews and Catholics, accompanied by an indifference to what was happening to Jews in society. This attitude of indifference also did not argue against other forms of antisemitism that were running rampant in European society. It essentially rendered Jews and their problems invisible to Catholics. Despite the separation that "asemites" might have wished for, there were tracts published intimating that Jesuits and Jews shared similar characteristics, e.g., a desire for world domination, wealth, etc. By Chapter Three, one encounters the subtler forms of Jesuit hostility toward Jews, particularly in the realm of fears over the sexualization of culture which were then linked to a supposed Jewish materialist, carnal way of living. The Jesuits were calling for chastity and obedience. The Church, along with the Nazi state, were out to cleanse the German people from the sensual and erotic elements of Weimar Germany. That frequently meant that "Jewish influence" had to be eradicated.

The final portion of the pilgrimage brings readers out of the darkness of the previous chapters. Here we encounter French and German Jesuits who realized that they were part of a larger, wider community: the community of the human race. They recognized that one could not remain indifferent. These individuals aligned themselves with persecuted Jews, at times sacrificing their lives in order to save the persecuted. The work then takes us back to the central image of the pilgrimage, where the image of Jesus as a Jew becomes central to our understanding of Catholicism and concludes with the author's proposed statement of Jesuit repentance.

The Society of Jesus has come a long way from its early history of banning men of Jewish origin as members to embracing true community with Jews. A 1995 Jesuits' General Congregation recognized the need for special dialogue with Jews, "The first covenant which is theirs and which Jesus the Messiah came to fulfill, has never been revoked. A shared history both unites us and divides us from our elder brothers and sisters, the Jewish people, in whom and through whom God continues to act for the salvation of the world" (p. 118). Bernauer's work on the evolution of

Jesuit approaches to the Jewish community offers a refreshing way to think about penitence, atonement, forgiveness, and ultimately, signals the promise of a new relationship between Jews and Catholics.

Pacific Lutheran University BETH A. GRIECH-POLELLE

The Pope in Poland: The Pilgrimages of John Paul II, 1979–1991. By James Ramon Felak. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2020. Pp. 344. $30.00. ISBN: 9780822945987.)

John Paul II's first Polish pilgrimage, in June, 1979, ignited a revolution of conscience throughout east-central Europe that would give the Revolution of 1989, and the subsequent collapse of European communism, their distinctive moral and political texture. The Polish pope's second pilgrimage to his homeland, in June, 1983, restored hope among a people who had briefly tasted a measure of freedom in the first year of the Solidarity movement, but who had then been demoralized by the Polish communist regime's imposition of martial law on December 12–23, 1981. John Paul's third Polish pilgrimage, in June, 1987, presciently assumed the communist crack-up that would come two years later, and sought to put before his countrymen the moral and cultural requisites for living freedom nobly and well—themes on which the pope would expand during his first pilgrimage to a post-communist Poland, in June, 1991.

James Ramon Felak's explication of these four epic moments in modern Catholic and Polish history draws on a wealth of primary source materials to offer readers a sturdy, if somewhat dry, account of what transpired when religious themes, brilliantly preached and taught, shaped events with world-historical consequences. Those looking for a day-by-day chronology of the papal pilgrimages will be grateful for Professor Felak's industriousness in mining his sources, especially the records of the Polish communist regime and its mouthpieces in 1979, 1983, and 1987. Those records demonstrate, yet again, the self-delusory character of communist functionaries, either too besotted by ideology or too stupid to recognize what was unfolding in front of them: a process of social renewal, spiritual as well as political in character, over which they had no control, and to which they had no answer insofar as maintaining their own position was concerned.

Felak's use of his sources is not, however, as judicious—or as wide-ranging—as it might have been. The credibility the professor extends to the veteran communist apparatchik Mieczysław F. Rakowski, an especially slippery character even by Leninist standards, seems quite misplaced; Rakowski was just as likely to lie to his diary as he was to the public. The author of martial law, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, is also treated more gingerly than my own studies suggest is appropriate. There is no mention, for example, of the fists-pounding-on-tables aspect of John Paul II's first meeting with the Polish leader in 1983; nor does the author record the pope telling Jaruzelski at the beginning of that meeting that Poland was "one great concentration camp" under martial law.

Felak's account of the 1983 visit also goes out of its way to downplay the pope's insistence on meeting Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa, to the point of John Paul threatening to return to Rome if the regime blocked such an encounter. In dealing with that subject, and indeed with the negotiations preceding the 1983 pilgrimage, the author also overplays the role of various Vatican diplomats to whom John Paul always listened politely, but whose strategic or tactical advice he rarely followed. Moreover, Felak wholly ignores the ways in which East Bloc secret intelligence services tried to undercut the 1983 pilgrimage to the point of clumsily attempting to blackmail John Paul II—matters discussed in detail in the second volume of my John Paul II biography, *The End and the Beginning*, which is not referenced in the book's Selected Bibliography.

In sum, then, *The Pope in Poland* is a useful reference source, but less helpful as analysis.

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AMERICAN

America's Jesuit Colleges and Universities: A History. By Michael T. Rizzi. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2022. Pp. xvi, 512. $34.95. ISBN: 9780813236162.)

Michael Rizzi provides a comprehensive history of the formation and development of Jesuit universities in the United States. However, Rizzi has done more than that. He provides an overview of the Society of Jesus, its spirituality, its approach to education, its experience in colonial Maryland, including its participation in the plantation economy entwined with slavery, the suppression of the order in 1773, and its rebirth in the United States in 1804 as a component of the Russian province of the Society, which had avoided suppression. By that time the former Jesuits of Maryland had maintained their corporate identity and their considerable land holdings as the Select Body of Clergy. In 1789, they founded their first American college, Georgetown under the leadership of the ex-Jesuit John Carroll before his consecration as the first bishop of Baltimore.

Beginning with the foundation at Georgetown, Rizzi traces the development step by step, and sometimes with missteps, of the educational enterprise undertaken by the Jesuits, following the order's universal reconstitution by Pius VII in 1814. Of their fifty-four colleges and universities founded in twenty-five states and the District of Columbia, twenty-seven Jesuit colleges and universities exist today. These institutions have played an outsize role in American Catholicism. They constitute one out of six Catholic colleges in the United States and educate nearly a quarter million students, twenty percent of students in American Catholic higher education. This a book that should be of interest to anyone interested in Jesuit higher education or the Catholic Church in the United States.

Rizzi describes how the Jesuits eventually adapted to the educational needs of an immigrant Catholic community in a predominantly Protestant country, and to the developing system of American higher education. Rizzi's work is very much an institutional history, almost exclusively concentrating on the leaders of the institutions. He seldom provides much biography of individual Jesuits, which might provide some insight into their persons, their leadership, and their objectives. This is unfortunate but perhaps in line with the Jesuit ethos. Presidents of Jesuit universities were until late in the nineteenth century also the religious superior of the university's Jesuit community. The Society treated these leaders as largely interchangeable. Presidencies were generally limited to three years. However, capable presidents were moved to other institutions and often served at a single institution for several discontinuous terms. Rizzi indicates that this had the advantage of giving multiple institutions the benefit of effective leadership, but it had the disadvantage of not allowing creative individuals to leave their stamp on a particular institution. The situation changed in the twentieth century. Effective Presidents were left in place much longer and were enabled to imprint their stamp upon the institution. Nevertheless, readers will probably wish that Rizzi would have devoted more time to individual administrators and professors rather than discussing topics such as school colors, mascots, and athletic programs.

In telling this broad ranging story, Rizzi does not omit what he calls "the darkest year in the History of the American Jesuits," the sale by the Jesuits of over 270 slaves on their Maryland plantations. The Jesuits long excluded African Americans from their universities. Though a number of Jesuit universities admitted Black students during the 1920s and 1930s, the real breakthrough did not come until after World War II. Rizzi's treatment of the heroic challenge against segregation by Claude Heithouse, S.J., at Saint Louis in 1944, is a welcome highlighting of an exceptional individual.

Blacks were not the sole victims of prejudice. The Jesuits at Gonzaga accepted a large donation with the stipulation that Native Americans were to be excluded from the college. However, Jesuits were more open-minded toward Jewish and Protestant students and eventually women. Nursing programs allowed women to enroll in Jesuit universities in a technical sense. Education programs led to coeducation by first allowing women into evening and weekend courses. Despite opposition from Jesuit leadership in Rome against women enrolling in liberal arts programs, women as part of their professional programs began attending liberal arts courses with males. Marquette claims the honor of introducing coeducation in 1909. Today women are an essential part of Jesuit higher education, forming a substantial portion of faculty, department chairs, and deans. Since 1990, women, beginning with Sister Maureen Fay, O.P., at the University of Detroit Mercy, have become presidents at a number of Jesuit universities.

Rizzi concludes with the transforming *aggiornamento* which occurred among the Jesuits and their universities following Vatican Council II. As many Jesuits left the priesthood, others, led by Pedro Aruppe, the Jesuit Superior General, envi-

sioned their ministry in new and visionary fashions. Groundbreaking conferences re-envisioned Jesuit higher education. Jesuit colleges and universities were transformed. Lay professors became predominant. Universities separated themselves from direct ecclesiastical management. Boards became predominantly lay. Loyola Marymount appointed a non-Catholic president in 2010. By 2022, a majority of Jesuit universities had lay presidents, female as well as male. These changes were accompanied by on-going efforts of discernment about the role of Jesuits within what were traditionally their universities and, indeed, the nature and character of universities in the Jesuit Catholic tradition.

Rizzi does not deal adequately with the Jesuits' loss of control of their universities. As the Jesuits relinquished control of universities, their institutions have been challenged to maintain their Jesuit Catholic identity and to fulfill their Christian educational mission: to train young people, who are not only intellectually prepared, but who are also aware of their social and moral obligations. The decline of, sometimes absence of, Catholic theology in the universities' common or required curriculum speaks to an identity and value issue. Rizzi does not address this.

Rizzi is overly optimistic that boards of directors, no longer composed of a majority of Jesuits, will in the long run preserve a commitment to Jesuit Catholic values, including a commitment to social justice. One might ask if business schools at Jesuit universities value and promote social justice issues with the same enthusiasm as they promote profitability. Rizzi also ignores the tendency for departments in interviewing and hiring new faculty to de-emphasize commitment to the Jesuit Catholic mission. What these universities become in the future is an open question. Despite the optimism of Rizzi, it remains to be seen if these schools remain in any meaningful sense Jesuit and Catholic.

Nevertheless, this is a book that should be of interest to anyone seeking to understand the evolution of Jesuit higher education in the United States and its role in transforming the Catholic community while itself attempting to adapt to changing religious and social environments.

Loyola University New Orleans Bernard A. Cook

American Crusade: Christianity, Warfare, and National Identity, 1860–1920. By Benjamin J. Wetzel. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2022. Pp. x, 228. $47.95. ISBN: 9781501763946).

Benjamin Wetzel has taken up a civic mission in his new book. He seeks to alert readers to the deeply problematic tradition of religion—especially Protestant churches—underwriting the patriotic ideology present in American wars. This problem has a long history, of course, dating back to the earliest European settlement and extending to our present day. At its core, Wetzel finds Protestant elites conflating "Christianity with nationalism, associating America's enemies with the devil, and equating dead soldiers with religious martyrs" (p. 2). While this intellectual

ground has been covered before by scholars such as Jill Lepore and Amanda Porterfield, Harry Stout, Jonathan Ebel, and Stanley Hauerwas, Wetzel contends that most studies have missed the relationship between "confident white Protestants . . . [and] counterpoint groups [who] regarded racism, imperialism, and an unholy civil religion as sins in ways that the mainline establishment never could" (p. 3). To make his argument, Wetzel does not attempt a grand sweep of American history, but rather chooses to focus on three wars from 1860 to1920; and he emphasizes what he calls the "social location" of those who both dissented from and defended the dominant narrative of American religious nationalism in a time of war. In the end, Wetzel hopes to help readers better understand America by confronting "the ways religion and war have reinforced and challenged each other" (p. 9).

Wetzel is a fine and careful historian, letting his subjects speak for themselves and tracking, as best he can, the significance of counterpoint groups. By following this tack, though, Wetzel has also demonstrated something he might not have fully intended—that different faiths, classes, and races largely agreed about the sanctity of war, especially after the fighting, killing, and dying had begun.

Despite a cast of characters who opposed confident White Protestants, Wetzel's evidence clearly illustrates how patriotic influence overwhelms dissent and independent thought in a time of war. For example, in the Spanish-American War, Wetzel writes extensively about Catholic ambivalence and outright opposition to America's war against Spain in Cuba and especially the Philippines. But he also makes clear, writing about the Catholic population in late nineteenth- century America is a tricky enterprise—were these American Catholics or Catholics in America, or hyphenated Americans who were also Catholic? The tangle of class, ethnicity, and social locations of Catholics made it impossible to speak about a "Catholic position" or even to delineate opposition to the war from a profound unease with American providentialism. Wetzel's conclusion about Catholics echoed similar insights about the African Methodist Church in the Civil War and the Missouri Synod Lutherans in the First World War: "Ultimately, the debate in the American Catholic Church was only partly about the war itself. . . . Instead, American armed conflict provided the impetus for a larger discussion of the church's relationship to the American nation-state as a whole" (p. 95). In a sense, the counterpoint positions Wetzel highlights in his book remind his readers that in a time of war, we rarely debate the valor of those who fight and die, but should consider the integrity of those who order them to do so.

Throughout my reading of this book, I couldn't help but consider how Wetzel's argument related to the one made by Andrew Preston in his history of American religions in war and diplomacy, *Sword of Spirit, Shield of Faith*. Like Wetzel, Preston wrote extensively about those who questioned and even opposed aspects of the Spanish-American War and concluded (not unlike Wetzel): "Some Christian leaders may have opposed the war, but most did not" (p. 224). The inability of Americans to sustain opposition to war, imperialism, Christian nationalism, and providentialism, is a remarkable lesson to take from

Wetzel's book. Even Mark Twain felt the pressure; he declined to publish his essay "The War Prayer," written in 1905, out of fear that his scathing indictment of religious endorsement of the Spanish-American War would prove too sacrilegious even for him.

Indiana University IUPUI Raymond Haberski, Jr.

Ingrained Habits: Growing Up Catholic in Mid-Twentieth-Century America. By Mary Ellen O'Donnell. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2018. Pp. xviii, 164. $75.00. ISBN 9780813230375).

As Mary Ellen O'Donnell explains in the preface, this book began at a memorial Mass for her mother. In the kneeling figures of her mother's generation, O'Donnell caught a glimpse of the passing world in which she learned to be a Catholic. Her three-year-old daughter might grow up to be a Catholic, but she would never know that world. Her daughter's Catholicism would not be embedded in a culture. O'Donnell sensed an emerging "chasm," based on fundamental generational differences "in the way Catholicism has been lived, shared, and internalized" (p. xiv). This book explores the "cultural Catholicism" (not a pejorative term for the author) of northeastern and midwestern descendants of European Catholic immigrants, mostly Irish and Italian, born between 1940 and 1965. Since O'Donnell is part of the cohort she is writing about and often finds her own experience mirrored in the narratives on which she draws, *Ingrained Habits* sometimes reads as a memoir. Rather than an intrusion, however, this autobiographical dimension adds to the book's overall impact.

Ingrained Habits is a work of cultural studies, a literary ethnography—a salvage ethnography perhaps—that draws upon almost fifty authors, e.g., Mary McCarthy, Garry Wills, Alice McDermott, Robert Orsi, Claudia DeMonte, Donna Brazile, Anne Rice, Thomas Ferraro, and Anna Quindlen. Their literary productions, some fictional, some explicitly autobiographical, depict their Catholic culture as an "all encompassing, world determining experience" to which there appears to be no alternative (p. xviii). The author locates this work in a thick social network that includes parish and school, home, and neighborhood and community. After an opening chapter that introduces them historically and sociologically, these three sites structure the book's remaining three chapters. This world's tension arises from its rarely seamless blending of "celebration and community" with "rules and enforcement" (p. 5).

O'Donnell's carefully circumscribed study of the "bridge generation" to which she and I belong, by definition, leaves out many voices. The divide this generation crossed, however, led not only from one experience of Catholicism to another, but also from ethnic enclaves to what sociologists of this generation might have called the dominant culture. Here there are alternatives, choices to make, and inevitable ambivalence. I would like to have heard more of the author's reflection on this ambivalence.

Nevertheless, O'Donnell's insightful, elegantly written account of a particular "cultural Catholicism" makes a valuable contribution, capturing the "feel" of European American Catholicism in this period. One of this book's main audiences would be cultural studies scholars in the field of Catholic Studies. A strong secondary audience would be educated Catholics who are members of the generational cohort the author is writing about. *Ingrained Habits* would also work in undergraduate courses on U.S. Catholicism, Catholic Studies, or American religion, giving a real-life, narrative feel to the kinds of formal sociological and historical works the author cites in Chapter 1. It is especially effective in opening a window on women's experience of what O'Donnell calls "Catholic culture." It is highly recommended.

University of Dayton WILLIAM L. PORTIER
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Seeing Jesus in the Eyes of the Oppressed: A History of Franciscans Working for Peace and Justice. By Paul T. Murray. [United States Franciscan History Project.] (Oceanside, CA: The Academy of American Franciscan History, 2021. Pp. vii, 283. $20.00. ISBN 978-0-8838-2274-6.

Seeing Jesus in the Eyes of the Oppressed focuses on the activism of eight Franciscans: four priests, three sisters, and one brother, who addressed social issues in the era since 1945. They drew inspiration from core Franciscan charisms, such as the respect for the dignity of the poor and marginalized, official Catholic social teaching, and ecumenical and global sources. In these profiles, Franciscan activists have supplemented charity with creative justice initiatives as a path to address the root causes of social and economic ills.

The author of this engaging volume, Paul T. Murray, came to this project with a deep connection to Franciscans as teachers and colleagues and to the struggle for Black civil rights. Half of this volume features racial justice activists. The story of Father Nathaniel Machesky details his path toward outright confrontation with white supremacy. Participation in the Selma campaign for voting rights launched Sister Antona Ebo into leadership roles. The first Black Capuchin, Brother Booker Ashe, promoted interracial awareness and Black pride through a variety of programs in Milwaukee, including establishment of the House of Peace and a summer enrichment and recreation program for children. The chapter on Sister Thea Bowman unfortunately relegates her to a secondary position by highlighting the works of the Holy Child Jesus Mission, where she was educated and baptized into the Catholic church.

Profiles of Father Alan McCoy and Sister Patricia Drydyk focus on support for the farm workers' movement. Influenced by Cesar Chavez, McCoy prioritized tackling inadequate wages to supplement providing relief. Additionally, he addressed such international concerns as the war in Vietnam. An inspiring and energetic picketer, organizer, and publicist, Drydyk dedicated herself to the farm workers' cause. Father Joseph Nangle's profile considers how his experiences as a

missionary in Latin America and familiarity with liberation theology shaped his prophetic role upon his recall to the United States. Involved in protesting overseas sales of infant formula and arms, and supporting the Sanctuary Movement, he helped create an intentional community dedicated to simple living and acts of social justice. Before joining the Franciscans, Father Louie Vítale, an Air Force intercept officer, nearly shot down a U.S. passenger plane that was mistaken for a Soviet bomber. Shaken by the experience, Vitale pledged himself to protesting militarism and war, which resulted in his hundreds of arrests.

As Murray makes clear, these prophetic activists lived in Franciscan communities that represented a range of opinion on how sisters and friars could best effect social change—or if they should even try. They would enlarge Catholic teaching and practice as they confronted the moral challenges of the outside world. Yet like the larger American Catholic community, Franciscan houses struggled with the activism of vowed members and racism, an indication of the limits of "made in the image and likeness of God" belief.

This book is an exciting example of the possibilities of researching the histories of religious orders. Each portrait contains a wealth of details on the interplay between Franciscans and social and economic realities. Oral interviews add insight and broaden historical context. Surprisingly, despite the growth of lay associate groups in the post-Vatican Council II era, this volume does not include an in-depth profile of a lay Franciscan activist. Overall, readers can expect an absorbing and well researched visit into living Franciscan values nearly nine centuries after Francis of Assisi.

University of St. Thomas Anne Klejment

Latin American

The Religion of Life: Eugenics, Race, and Catholicism in Chile. By Sarah Walsh. [Pitt Latin American Series.] (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2021. Pp, x, 223. $50.00. ISBN: 9780822946649.)

The author argues that the "raza Chilena" (the Chilean race) was construed as an enduring national myth and does so by explaining how Chileans incorporated eugenic discourse into a myth that characterized their national racial identity as homogeneous, and therefore unique. Walsh's starting point is the work of Nicolás Palacios, *Raza Chilena: Libro escrito por un chileno para los chilenos* (*The Chilean Race: Book Written by a Chilean for the Chileans*), published anonymously in 1904, a book not analyzed in English literature. This Chilean exceptionality was construed based on the encounter "between a superior Indigenous group," mainly the "Araucarian" (Mapuche people), and "hardy Europeans," and Walsh asserts that "packaged in this way, being Chilean meant being effectively White and therefore racially superior in comparison to other Latin Americans" (p. 149). This, she argues, would lead to the erasure of minorities from the Chilean social

imaginary. Central contextual components were the patriarchal structure of society and the convergence of Catholic and secular ideas on eugenics theories, sustained by ideas of gender difference. In an original way, Walsh examines social constructions from the perspective of science, medicine, and religion; in fact, as she asserts, the dominant Catholic Church did not oppose science. An interesting dimension of Walsh's research is her discussion of the translation of North Atlantic eugenics to the Chilean context, taking the form, as in other Latin American countries, of a "synthesis of neo-Lamarkism and Darwinism" (p. 7), with strong traces of Lamarkism.

The book is grounded in primary sources and has an extensive bibliography. It contains six chapters, and although it covers from the end of the nineteenth century in Chile to c.1952, the approach is thematic. The first three chapters deal with Catholicism and gender, the harmonizing of science and Catholicism, and eugenics in Chile. The last three chapters focus more on the literature on eugenics in Chile while discussing the construction of the "Chilean race" in a transnational framework, the modernization of patriarchy, and finally the visual imagery in relation to the creation of a racial type.

The approach is original, and it is engaging, albeit a bit repetitive. However, as a Latin American reader familiar with Chile, I miss a richer historical contextualization. This was a time of intense political developments, in which Emilio Recabarren founded the Partido Obrero Socialista in 1912 (becoming in 1922 the Partido Comunista de Chile), and the new Socialist Party was founded in 1933. The left and the right were clearly defined. The left had developed a discourse centered in internationalism, class struggle, exploitation, class awareness, and political consciousness with Latin American tones. There were nationalist populist discourses as well. Patriarchy was quite intact, although there was an incipient feminist movement in Latin America. Of course, the place of the state in the solution of social issues, including healthcare, was central. These discourses would intersect with dominant eugenic notions and provide particular political tones. The Chilean Catholic Church would develop strands that advocated for a re-configuration of the Christian social order, in which charity appears to be related to social justice. These are some of the contextual elements missing for me as a reader and scholar.

As a reader, I sensed, on occasion, the use of forced inferences and the pursuit of a linear interpretation leading to causality—even if I take into account that Walsh wants to move beyond ideological and socio-political explanations. An example of this is found in the conclusion where the author builds a connection between President Salvador Allende and General Augusto Pinochet. This connection is grounded in the sharing of a supposedly common privileged background and an environment of dominant ideas, a shared culture. The basis of the comparison is arguable and even erroneous in terms of the personal history of each one. Although Salvador Allende, a mason and co-founder of the Socialist Party, had a highly regarded and progressive background, Pinochet did not belong to an intellectual elite, held a lower rank, and climbed socially by virtue of his marriage to Lucía Hiriart.

Beyond the above observations, the book offers an interesting and well-examined history of eugenics and Catholicism framed in a local and global context. The book does not neglect how eugenics sustained a hierarchical, classist society, and it makes a substantial contribution to historiography on eugenics.

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Asian-Pacific

This Suffering Is My Joy: The Underground Church in Eighteenth-Century China. By David E. Mungello. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 174. $100.00 hardcover ISBN: 978-1-53815-029-0.)

This new monograph on the emergence of China's "underground" Catholic community is a welcome addition to the extensive scholarly oeuvre of David E. Mungello, whose early works include such important studies as *Leibniz and Confucianism: The Search for Accord* (1977), *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (1985), and *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou* (1994). In this study, Mungello effectively reasons against the usual assumption that the underground Catholic community first emerged during the 1950s, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Instead, he asserts that "the longer view of history shows that the underground church dates from the eighteenth century" (p. 7). Rather than locate the first movement underground during the Maoist era (1949–1977), Mungello suggests that China's Catholics were forced to conceal themselves after the Yongzheng (r. 1722–1735) emperor banned the propagation of Christianity in his 1724 edict after the Vatican's refusal to align with the Jesuit position regarding China's Confucian and ancestral rites. Responding to previous books that consider China's underground Christians, such as Ian Johnson's *The Souls of China: The Return of Religion after Mao* (2017) and Paul Mariani's *Church Militant: Bishop Kung and Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai* (2011), Mungello has provided a timely study that views the "underground" movement as part of a more protracted chronological landscape, one that analyzes the *longue durée* of underground Catholics that connects long-embedded religious strategies of survival from the imperial to modern eras.

Chapter one describes the various responses of three Qing (1644–1911) emperors to the vicissitudes of Catholic missionaries and faithful within the empire: Kangxi (r. 1661–1722), Yongzheng, and Qianlong (r. 1735–1796). Mungello notes that the "auspicious beginning of Catholicism in China" that began during the end of Matteo Ricci's (1552–1610) life in China's capital city and reached a peak of tolerance during the reign of Kangxi, ended in 1724 when Yongzheng publicized his view that Christianity was an unorthodox (*yiduan* 異端) teaching that transformed Chinese into disloyal citizens (pp. 10–12). Rejecting the narrative that Yongzheng's prohibition was merely "xenophobic" and "anti-foreign," Mungello aptly demonstrates that coterminous with the 1773 suppression of the Society of Jesus was a Vatican culture which "demanded that the European

missionaries of the eighteenth century become less accommodating" to Chinese mores, a rigidity that "eventually forced the Church to go underground" (p. 14).

Chapter two examines the efforts of Matteo Ripa (1682-1746) to establish a college in Naples for Chinese seminarians, and it does not overlook several of the significant historical details that influenced Ripa's life such as his sexuality and his distinctly eighteenth-century spirituality. A member of the anti-Jesuit Propaganda Fide, Ripa was granted access to the imperial court in Beijing in a characteristically Jesuit fashion, as an artist. After his appointment as an engraver at Chengde (Jehol), where he produced several engravings of local scenes for the Kangxi emperor's sixtieth birthday, Ripa formed an interest to "develop a native priesthood" in 1714, and he began to train Chinese boys at a makeshift seminary at his own residence (p. 32). Here, Mungello outlines accusations against Ripa for having "abused" his pupils, underscoring well some of the controversies that surrounded Ripa in both China and in Europe. Given the complaints against his school, Ripa decided to return to his native Italy in 1723 and reestablish his school in Naples.

Chapters three and four are of particular importance because they examine the complications engendered from displacing young Chinese boys from their native China into the entirely different culture of eighteenth-century Europe. Mungello inverses what the predominance of previous Western scholars have done; instead of describing how Western missionaries struggled to acclimate to China, he recounts how Chinese struggled to acclimate to Europe. Following Eugenio Menegon's 2010 article that also discusses Chinese students at Ripa's Collegio de' Cinesi, especially the escapades of Cai Ruoxiang (1739–1806), Mungello expands our understanding of the trials of Chinese attempting to either adjust to the West or hasten their return to China (Eugenio Menegon, "Wanted: An Eighteenth-Century Chinese Catholic Priest in China, Italy, India, and Southeast Asia," 2010). Four Chinese students were trained at the Naples seminary in hopes that they would be able to clandestinely replace the Europeans who had been expelled after the 1724 prohibition against Christianity. Mungello underlines several examples of how Ripa's "tyrannical" treatment of the Chinese seminarians resulted in acute "cultural dislocation and homesickness" (pp. 64-65). Chapters four and five consider tensions between Chinese and European clergy and the materialization of China's underground Catholic community during the eighteenth century. Quoting one Chinese priest, Huang Batong, European priests "are eternally hostile to the Chinese priests," so hostile in fact that Huang and other Chinese clergy alleged that "they do not want Chinese priests" at all (p. 93).

Despite these tensions, Chinese clergy continued their pastoral work in underground networks unique to China. Mungello compares China's underground Catholic perseverance to the hidden Christians (*kakure kirishitan*) of Japan. Unlike Japan's hidden Christians, China's underground "was never completely cut off from Rome," and thus China's Catholics remained aligned with the orthodoxy and orthopraxy of Rome (p. 110). One important point that Mungello makes is that during the eighteenth century the number of Chinese clergy out-

numbered European priests, a reality that served to more effectively indigenize Chinese Catholicism. This study also includes an important description of how Catholic "virgins" contributed to the growth and formation of the underground Church as "baptizers" and "catechists," a community of women who provided a cultural blending of "Christian theology with the Confucian idea of a 'chaste woman' (*zhennu*)" (pp. 120–21).

Chapter six and the conclusion trace China's history of indigenization through periods of martyrdom, though Mungello frames this history within a context that is more Chinese than Western. This is a welcome approach. Scholars have mainly focused on the death or apostasy view of martyrdom common of Tridentine Catholicism, whereas Mungello argues that "the more pervasive model of Chinese martyrdom involved extended suffering that expressed itself in long-term commitment rather than death" (p. 135). China's underground Catholic community, Mungello suggests, survived and persisted precisely because its own cultural views were more easily applied to its Christian practice when China was largely untethered from European missionary oversight. Mungello draws expansively from archival sources in several languages to provide his thorough analysis of the circumstances and historical emergence of China's Catholic underground community. *This Suffering Is My Joy* represents a noteworthy contribution to the field of Sino-Western and China Christianity studies, and we can hope that other researchers continue to uncover new sources and scrutinize them with the same deftness that Mungello has demonstrated in this important new work.

Whitworth University, Spokane Anthony E. Clark

Titus Coan: "Apostle to the Sandwich Islands." By Phil Corr. (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock. 2021. Pp. 513. $60.00. ISBN: 978-1-6667-1393-0).

In the annals of missionary history, few places were evangelized as thoroughly as Hawaii (the Sandwich Islands), where missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational/Presbyterian) converted the bulk of the populace to Christianity in the 1800s. Generally intolerant of native Hawaiian customs and beliefs, ABCFM missionaries on the islands were definitely not broad-minded by the standards of today. They were at the forefront of progressive nineteenth-century movements such as abolitionism, however, and they were exceptionally well educated for their day (the women as well as the men). They also included intellectually curious individuals such as the Reverend Titus Coan (1801–1882), whom Phil Corr writes about in his absorbing new biography, *Titus Coan: "Apostle to the Sandwich Islands*."

That Coan is the worthy subject of a biography cannot be denied. A Presbyterian missionary in Hilo on Hawaii (the big island) for forty-eight years (1835–1882), he was a powerful preacher, and he was a prolific writer, with a gift for describing people and places. He was also an ardent revivalist, and he did more than anyone else to instigate the Great Awakening in Hawaii (1836–1840), a

period during which tens of thousands of Hawaiians converted to Christianity. On a Sunday in 1838, at the height of the Awakening, Coan used a bucket and paintbrush to baptize 1,705 adults, whom he subsequently made members of his church in Hilo. The church had over 7,000 members in 1841, and Coan could boast of it being the largest church in the world at that time.

In addition to being a successful evangelist, Coan was a skillful (albeit amateur) scientist, and he made important discoveries in the field of vulcanology. As a resident of Hawaii (one of the most geologically active islands in the world), Coan experienced earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions, and he provided detailed descriptions of them for missionary publications and leading scientific journals. He also made innumerable trips to Mauna Loa and Kilauea (the island's two active volcanos), and he risked death on many of those trips. Most people avoid erupting volcanoes, but Coan (who possessed a strong physique and a fearless nature) liked to climb them, even when plumes of red-hot lava were splashing down around him.

For his biography of Coan, Phil Corr spent years doing research, relying on published works (especially Coan's autobiography) and unpublished materials, such as letters. From these materials, Corr provides readers with a richly comprehensive portrait of Coan ("the bishop of Kilauea"), encompassing the missionary's childhood on a farm in Connecticut, his conversion during America's Second Great Awakening, his acquaintance with the famous revivalist Charles Finney, his experimental mission in the wilds of Patagonia (1833–1834), his clashes with conservative members of the ABCFM (who opposed Coan's style of revivalism), his two marriages (the latter to a woman thirty-three years his junior), his successful outreach to white sailors, his participation in the American peace movement, his two-year (1870–1871) tour of America (where he was greeted by crowds that sometimes numbered in the thousands), and his long presidency (1863–1882) of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, the successor body to the ABCFM in Hawaii.

Throughout his biography of Coan, Corr expresses admiration for the man and his work. Corr is an evangelical pastor (just as Coan was), and he rarely provides secular explanations for religious phenomena, preferring instead to take the religious phenomena at face value. Doubtlessly this will frustrate secular readers of his book, but even they might well come away from the volume with a liking for Coan, who was not a toxic missionary of the sort found in novels such as *The Poisonwood Bible*. Rather than being harshly judgmental and arrogant, Coan was a deeply caring individual, and he won the enduring love of people around him.

Bentley University CLIFFORD PUTNEY

Notes and Comments

Causes of Saints

On March 23, 2023, Pope Francis declared six persons as venerable servants of God due to their heroic virtue:

— Father Carlo Crespi Croci (1891–1982), a priest of the the Salesian Society of St. John Bosco, was an Italian botanist and archaeologist, who worked in Ecuador in a ministry to the young and in hearing confessions.

— Mother Maria Caterina Flanagan (1892–1942) of the Order of the Most Holy Saviour (known as Bridgetines) was born in London but worked in Stockholm in dialogue with Lutherans.

— Sister Leonilde of San Giovanni Battista (1890–1945) of the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary worked in Italy, teaching and helping the poor.

— Sister María do Monte Pereira (1897–1963) of the Congregation of the Hospitaller Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus worked on the Madeira archipelago, caring for the sick.

— Maria Domenica Lazzeri (1815–1848) was an Italian lay woman who suffered from anorexia, bore stigmatic wounds, and was nourished only by the Eucharist.

— Teresa Enríquez de Alvarado (1456–1529), a noble lady, attendant to Queen Isabella of Castile, and mother, she spent her time and wealth caring for the sick and poor and promoting devotion to the Eucharist.

Fellowships

The Center for Research on Global Catholicism at Saint Louis University is pleased to announce the launch of its inaugural Seminar Fellowship Program for 2024–2025 on the theme of "New Directions in Research on Global Catholicism: Mobilities, Migrations, Circulations."

The program will bring together eight scholars from different professional ranks, disciplinary perspectives, and personal backgrounds to share and advance their current lines of research within the framework of global Catholicism.

Successful applicants will be engaged in research projects related to Catholicism on the move—that is, the mobilities, migrations, and circulations of Catholi-

cism in all of its manifestations across chronologies and geographies. The CRGC invites applicants at any academic rank, including ABDs, from any humanities or social science discipline to apply.

The Seminar will consist of eight fellows: four from academic departments at Saint Louis University; four scholars from other universities or academic institutions (research library, museum, archives, etc.) in the United States or around the world. Six of the eight fellowships are reserved for scholars holding a PhD with active research and publishing agendas. The two remaining fellowships are reserved for advanced PhD students. The CRGC will provide additional resources for seminar meetings, such as guest speakers, respondents, and moderators, to enrich the intellectual experience for participants. Scholars selected to participate in the Seminar Fellowship Program will receive a $4000 stipend. The CRGC will subsidize all costs for transportation, meals, and accommodations for the on-campus seminar meetings.

Fellows will meet four times between January 2024 and April 2025 to share work in progress: January 26, 2024 (full day) on campus at SLU; April 12, 2024 (half day) by Zoom; October 23, 2024 (half day) by Zoom; and April 11, 2025 (full day) on campus at SLU. Fellows are responsible, in consultation with the CRGC, for organizing a book symposium featuring an author-led discussion of a recent publication related to the seminar themes of global Catholicism, mobilities, migrations, and circulations. The book symposium will be the capstone event of the final meeting on April 11, 2025.

Interested applicants should submit a C.V., contact information for two references, and a one-page letter of interest describing their research project in light of the Fellowship program themes by June 15, 2023 to crgc@slu.edu.

CONFERENCES

On May 5, 2023, the Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies in Chicago sponsored a European Art Seminar on the theme "When the Replica Becomes the Model" that was led by Erin Griffin. It dealt with how the Santa Casa di Loreto, or Holy House of the Virgin Mary, was recreated extensively throughout the early modern Catholic world, due to its perception as the site of the Annunciation, Jesus' childhood home, and the purported first church of the faith consecrated by the apostles following Christ's ascension. Rather than cultivate a single site of pilgrimage worship, the cult at Loreto flourished through its replicas, though these recreations introduced subtly competing iconographic narratives that disseminated distinct iterations of the Santa Casa throughout the Catholic world. Taking its departure from a manuscript reproduction of the Santa Casa in the Newberry Collection, this presentation maps the Loretan cult's malleable messaging and the effect of replicas upon the original.

On June 1–2, 2023, the Canadian Cathoic Historical Association will hold it annual meeting in Toronto, Ontario. Among the featured presentations will be: "A

Double-Edged Sword: Excommunication and its Unanticipated Effects in Nineteenth-Century Canada" by Emma Anderson; a panel on Jesuits and Global Catholicism will include "Neo-Confucian Debates in 18th-century Korea" by Jooyoung Hong, and two other papers by Mairi Cowan and Fannie Dionne; and a panel on Catholic Archives will include presentations by Linda Wicks and Deb Majer. In a book launch session, Peter Ludlow's *Disciples of Antigonish: Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1880–1960* will be discussed by Edward MacDonald. He will later present a paper on "Catholic Clio: The Writing of Catholic History on Prince Edward Island, 1885–1922," and Ross Hebb will also treat Catholicism in Atlantic Canada in his paper. Finally, Mark G. McGowan will speak on "'Much remains to be learned': Ninety Years of the CCHA, 1933–2023."

Publications

The history of the Council of Nicaea is studied in eight articles published in Volume 32 (2023) of the *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*. Following a "presentación" by Manuel Mira Iborra (pp. 15–18) are: Almudena Alba López, "Histoiografía sobre el Concilio de Nicea: el Concilio de Nicea a la luz de sus historiadores" (pp. 19–48); Ramón Teja and Silvia Acerbi, "El Concilio de Nicea y los inicios de una nueva relación entre el poder imperial y la jerarquía eclesiástica" (pp. 49–68); Giulio Maspero, "Nicea como crisis filosófica de la telogía: La transferencia de la fe bíblica de la Iglesia al mundo filosófico helenístico" (pp. 69–96); Samuel Fernández, "Eusebio de Cesarea y desarrollo del sínodo de Nicea" (pp. 97–122); Angelo Segneri, "Atanasio e Melezio: tentative e fallimenti alla ricerca della comunione ecclesiale" (pp. 123–58); Xavier Morales, "What did Constantine learn in 325? Constantine's theological declarations before, at and after Nicaea" (pp. 159–87); Josep Vilella Massana, "De Córdoba a Nicea: Osio en la política eclesiástica constantiniana" (pp. 189–214); Angelo Di Berardino, "Concilio di Nicea: la fine della controversia sulla data della Pasqua?" (pp. 215–46).

One of the observances of the eighth centenary of the founding of the Order of Preachers was a conference held in Vienna on October 27–29, 2016, on the theme "Bibelstudium und Predigt im Dominikanerorden: Geschichte, Ideal, Praxis." The papers presented on those days have been published in Volume XXXVI (2019) of *Dissertationes Historicae*. The first of the fifteen articles is "From the University to the Order: Study of the Bible and Preaching against Heresy in the First Generation of Dominicans at Bologna," by Riccardo Parmeggiani (pp. 21–38); the last is "The Spiritual Conferences in the Church of Saint Carolus Borromeus in Antwerp (1927–1940): An Example of Dominican Preaching Apostolate in Turbulent Times," by Anton Milh, O.P. (pp. 343–68). The other thirteen articles are in German.

The "Historia fratrum laicorum in Ordine Minorum" is the subject of both fascicles (1–2 and 3–4) for 2019 (Volume 112 of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*). There are twelve articles in Italian, English, Spanish, and German, including in the issue for January–June,"The Minorite Vocation of the *fratres laici* in the

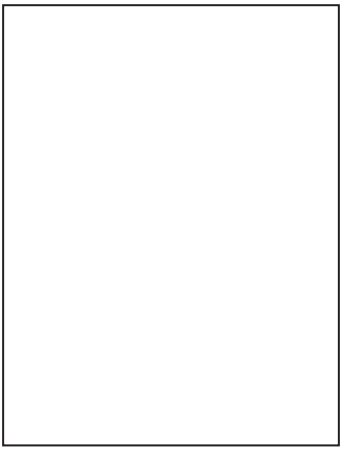
Franciscan Order (13th–Early 14th Centuries)," by Michael F. Cusato, O.F.M. (pp. 21–124); "Franciscan Servants, Tertiaries and Lay Brothers in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," by Stephen O'Kane, O.F.M. (pp. 235–314); and "Spiritual Exercises as a Means of Disciplining Lay Brothers? A Bavarian Case of 1722," by Benedikt Mertens, O.F.M. (pp. 505–34), and in the issue for July–December, "Los hermanos laicos en las provincias de México, siglos XVI y XVII. Dos temas por estudiar; evangelización y sociedad," by Francisco Morales, O.F.M. (pp. 433–68).

The entire volume (115) for 2022 of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* contains seventeen articles in various languages in 531 pages on the theme "Franciscans and Nature." Among them are "Franciscan Missionaries as Witnesses of Nature in Colonial Mexico," by Asunción Lavrin (pp. 237–85); "The Great Comet of 1680. Amandus Hermann between Theory and Experience," by Martin Elbel (pp. 409–36); and "A Recollect among the Dakota Sioux: Louis Hennepin and the Plains Bison," by Jordan Kellman (pp. 437–54).

The sesquicentennial of the founding of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference is commemorated in the issue of the Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly for spring, 2023 (Volume 96, Number 1).

The second number for 2022 (Volume 48) of the *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento—Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient* is devoted to the theme "Motherhood Denied, Motherhood Rejected: Abortion in the 20th–21st Centuries." Edited by Marina Garbellotti and Cecilia Nubol, there are eight articles in Italian, German, and English.

Obituary



Dale K. Van Kley
(July 31, 1941–March 14, 2023)

A self-professed "Protestant historian of the Catholic Jansenist controversy," Dale K. Van Kley was a pioneer in the field of eighteenth-century European history. Van Kley studied at Calvin College before pursuing a Ph.D. in History at Yale University. After a brief time as a professor at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, he returned to Calvin where he taught for twenty-eight years. He spent another fourteen years at The Ohio State University, training and mentoring both undergraduate and graduate students.

Van Kley dedicated much of his career to studying the impact of the Jansenist movement on the politics, society, and intellectual culture of Old Regime and revolutionary Europe. His first book, *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France*, uncovered the role that Jansenist barristers and their allies played in the downfall of the Society of Jesus in France. Through meticulous archival research, Van Kley singlehandedly dismantled the narrative, propagated most famously by Jean le Rond d'Alembert himself, that the *philosophes* were the sole figures responsible for the Jesuits' demise. In the 1980s, Van Kley turned his eyes toward the French Revolution. His first step was to explore, in his words, "the relevance of the Jansenist controversy to the 'social'" by way of a book on the Robert-François Damiens, a domestic servant who attempted to assassinate King Louis XV in 1757. *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime* showed that the Jansenist controversy permeated the popular elements of French society and, in so doing, contributed to

the "de-sacralization" of the monarchy and the collapse of the Old Regime. Van Kley's study of the French Revolution reached new heights at the end of the decade when he—along with many of the most notable scholars of the revolution in the United States, England, and France—participated in a series of conferences on "The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture." The conferences commemorated the bicentennial of the event and ushered in a rethinking of the French Revolution and its impact on the modern world. Van Kley's own work on the revolution continued into the 1990s with numerous articles and essays in *The Journal of Modern History*, *French Historical Studies*, and other outlets. In 1996, he published his intellectual *tour de force*, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*. *The Religious Origins* masterfully traced the role that religious disputes played in shaping constitutional and "patriotic" discourses from the sixteenth-century Reformation through the initial years of the revolution. It remains required reading for all those studying the intellectual culture of revolution in the early modern period.

By the opening of the new millennium, Van Kley's interests turned to lands beyond France. In an edited volume and a number of essays and articles—including "Catholic Conciliar Reform in an Age of Anti-Catholic Revolution" and "Religion and the Age of 'Patriot' Reform"—Van Kley investigated the ways that the Jansenist controversy and other neo-Augustinian reform movements took hold in Catholic Europe. His final monograph, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe,* completed his transnational and comparative historical work and brought his career full circle by returning him to his initial research interest in the Jansenists' role in the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

As much as Van Kley's work broke new ground, his career is best understood in continuity with his ideological predecessors, Robert Palmer and Carl Becker. Palmer, Van Kley's doctoral advisor at Yale, and Becker, Palmer's advisor, stand as paragons not only of American historians of France but also of historians who valued the role that religion played in the lives of eighteenth-century Europeans. Van Kley remained committed throughout his career to understanding what he called "the fundamentally religious character of human nature." Perhaps no work exemplifies this better than the thoughtful article that he co-wrote with Susan Rosa and published in *French Historical Studies* in 1998. Together, Rosa and Van Kley made a powerful plea for historians to understand religion "in religious terms . . . as a response to the transcendent that may in turn motivate people to take actions that have the potential to transform the world." As simple as this idea was, it nonetheless ran counter to much of the Marxist historiography that dominated the study of early modern Europe in the 1960s and the decades that followed. An acknowledgement of religious ideas as powerful forces of change stood at the center of Van Kley's methodological framework, and his research continues to impact the study of early modern history and religion today. Dale will be missed by all those whose careers he shaped and whose lives he improved through his kindness, generosity, and grace.

Baylor University DANIEL J. WATKINS

Periodical Literature

General

Collective memory and sanctity: the case of equivalent canonization. Marco Papasidero and Gabriele Vissio. *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa,* 58 (1, 2022), 119–38.

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SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES (EASTERN HEMISPHERE)

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